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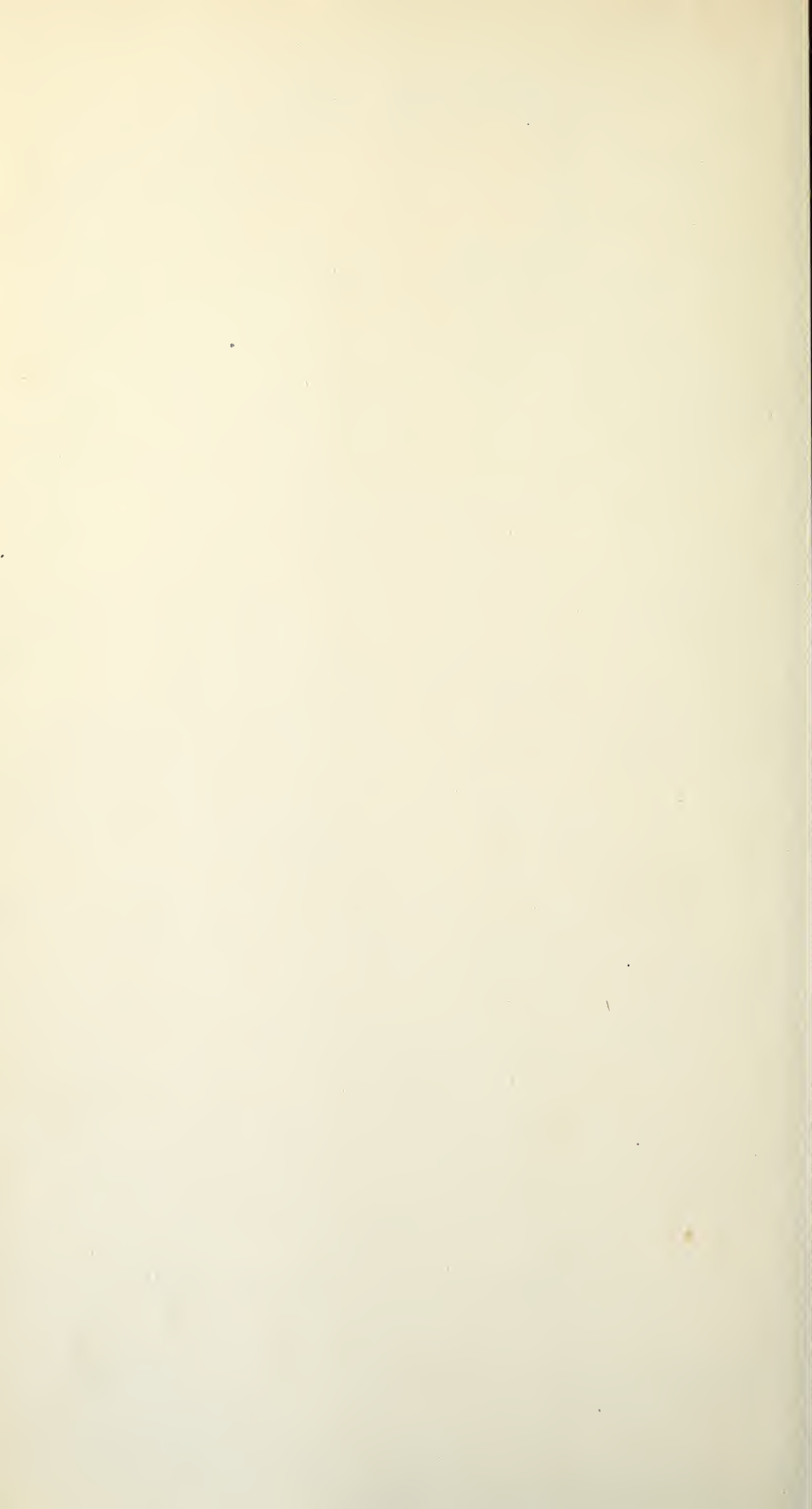
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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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In *German American Annals*, n. s., XVII. 3-6, under the title "Deutsche Charakterbilder aus der Brasilianischen Geschichte", Mr. Friedrich Sommer of São Paulo gives an account of Hans Staden of Homberg.


The firm of Ernesto Tornquist and Company of Buenos Aires, desiring to furnish full information on the economic, commercial, and financial progress of Argentina, has published in English a substantial volume of statistics, mostly from official sources, and presented without comment, *The Economic Development of the Argentine Republic in the Last Fifty Years* (Buenos Aires, 1919, pp. 328).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Marc de Villiers du Terrage and P. Rivet, *Les Indiens du Texas et les Expéditions Françaises de 1720 et 1721 à la "Baie St. Bernard"* (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, n. s., XI.); W. F. Dodd, *Political Geography and State Government* (*American Political Science Review*, May); G. Bradford, *American Portraits, 1875-1900*: I. *Mark Twain*; II. *Henry Adams* (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, May); J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, shown in his Own Letters*, VII., VIII., IX. (*Scribner's Magazine*, March, April, May); Capt. E. S. Beach, U. S. N., *Manila Bay in 1898* (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, April); Munroe Smith, *War Books by American Diplomats* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); E. Chartier, *Le Canada d'Autrefois, 1608-1840: le Régime de la Tutelle Coloniale* (*Revue Canadienne*, April); O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfred Laurier*, VI.-IX. [concl.] (*Century Magazine*, March-June); J. V. Eriksson, *Montezumas Mexiko, en Indiansk Storstad* (*Ymer*, 1919, 1); H. Franck, *The Death of Charlemagne* [Charlemagne Masena Peralte, commander of Haitian bandits] (*Century Magazine*, May).

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WAS THERE A "COMMON COUNCIL" BEFORE
PARLIAMENT?

IT has been more or less generally supposed that the assembly which came to be called Parliament was at some earlier time called the "Common Council"—that would be some time between the Conquest and, say, the middle of the thirteenth century, when Parliament was rapidly becoming the usual name. No doubt most who have been teaching the history of this period with any care or engaged in research upon it have become suspicious of this term and disinclined to use it. But there it stands in most of the best books to trouble us with doubts. It is not a harmless term. It may play a trick upon any unwary reader and even the cautious writer may corrupt himself with his own phrases. To English minds "Common Council" (as it is often translated and capitalized) is bound to suggest things national or representative or related to the middle classes, or all of these. If there is no ground in the phraseology of the time for such suggestion we should know it.¹ Not enough study has been given to matters of language in connection with the origin of Parliament; words and phrases have been taken for granted and traditions respecting these have been passed on from generation to generation of students, and no one has stopped to put them to the test of the sources and find out securely what they originally meant. In this time of gleaning after the great workers and the great discoveries in English constitutional history it has seemed worth while to devote one bit of investigation directly to this phrase.²

¹ It is not in the least the object of the present paper to discuss whether or not the central assembly might have been appropriately called a common council at that time—if indeed there is anything to discuss along this line. The concern here is to know whether it was so called.

² When this investigation was nearly completed, my attention was called by Professor G. B. Adams to a statement by Mr. Robert Steele in *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns* (Bibliotheca Lin-

For it has been just these great workers who have continued the tradition respecting the "common council" and given that tradition authority. The Lords' Committees who drew up the *Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, Thomas Duffus Hardy, Hallam, Stubbs, Pike, Bémont, Maitland, Liebermann, are examples; and the text-books of Taswell-Langmead and Medley. It is not necessary to extend the list or cite instances; all students of English history know the fact. And the myth is not dying out. Some very recent works even emphasize the phrase in this sense. Pasquet not only uses it frequently but takes pains to state that *magnum concilium* and *commune concilium* (spelling the latter word with a *c*) superseded *curia* and *concilium*.³ And Dr. McKechnie, in the second edition no less than in the first edition of his great work on Magna Carta, makes it his regular appellation for the larger central assembly. Some of his pages bristle with it, and he states in several places that this was the assembly which became Parliament. Thus, when speaking of the omission of the twelfth and fourteenth articles in the 1217 edition of Magna Carta, he says: "All mention of the *Commune Concilium*—that predecessor of the modern Parliament, that germ of all that has made England famous in the realm of constitutional

desiana, vol. V.), I. li-lij. "A phrase familiar to modern students is liable to much misconception—the 'commune concilium [*sic*] regni'. It is important in such matters to adhere to the language of authentic records, which have, at any rate until their forms have become mere conventions, a real meaning. The difference between 'concilium' and 'consilium' does not exist in our records until comparatively late, and the term 'commune consilium regni', while it is often applied to the advice offered by a meeting, large or small, of magnates, unquestionably on some occasions means nothing more than what we should call public opinion. No assembly calling itself or called 'commune concilium regni' has left any trace upon the records, though many have given the 'commune consilium regni' to the King who summoned them. The former use of the term seems entirely due to the mistakes of the Stuart parliamentary antiquarians." While I can not at all agree with Mr. Steele about the lack of an early distinction between *concilium* and *consilium*, he has surely stated an important truth about *commune consilium* (though showing an unnecessary anxiety to connect *regni* with the phrase). But he could not in this place offer any proof of his statement, even supposing it had ever been a matter of enough interest with him to make the necessary collection of references. For that reason or because of its rather obscure and incidental appearance, it has passed unnoticed, at least unheeded. It is perhaps fair to add that I had adopted the large and small assembly sources of *commune consilium* and the "public opinion" idea and phrase as part of my classification and had so used them in a paper read publicly on the subject before I knew of Mr. Steele's statement. His suggestion that the "common council" tradition goes back for its source to the Stuart parliamentary antiquarians is interesting. I have made no attempt to trace it back of the nineteenth century.

³ D. Pasquet, *Essai sur les Origines de la Chambre des Communes* (Paris, 1914), p. 3.

laws and liberties—disappears."⁴ Sometimes, as here, he adopts the name untranslated, always, however, taking the liberty to change *s* to *c* in the second word; sometimes he calls it the "Common Council"; and he summarizes his notions of the term by saying that "The same Latin words which signify joint 'consent' or counsel thus came to signify also . . . that 'Common Council' afterwards of such vital constitutional importance, continuing under a new name the old *curia regis* . . . and passing in turn into the modern Parliament."⁵

In the course of the investigation the results of which are here submitted, much of the matter in print which was written in England between the Conquest and the middle of the thirteenth century⁶ has been examined.⁶ No claim of exhaustive search is made, yet it is believed that the process has been carried far enough so that any new instances found will not be likely to upset the conclusions, supposing these to have been correctly drawn from the evidence already in hand.⁷ Two hundred and fifty-eight independent⁸ instances of the use of *commune consilium* have been found in this period, and these have been transcribed with accompanying text. Besides these

⁴ W. S. McKechnie, *Magna Carta* (Glasgow, 1914), p. 149.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 249. The term *curia regis* is another about which much has been assumed and a good deal of myth and tradition gathered. It also should be studied.

⁶ Yet it would have been hard and in some cases inadvisable to hold strictly to these boundaries, and it will be observed that they have sometimes been passed rather freely both as to time and place. While it is hoped that a fair degree of care has been used in going through the material, there can be no doubt that some instances have escaped notice. Besides the material indicated in the references, the following have been examined without revealing any instances of the phrase in question. Hence the references and this list (under the time-limits indicated) constitute the bibliography of this paper: William of Malmesbury; *Gesta Herwardi*; Eadmer, *Life of Anselm* and *Miracles of Anselm*; William of Poitiers; *Brevis Relatio*; Guy of Amiens; William of Jumièges; Simeon of Durham; John of Hexham; Aelred of Rievaulx; *Ann. S. Edmundi*; Henry of Huntingdon; Gervase of Canterbury; Robert de Monte; Richard of Devizes; Étienne de Rouen; Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres de Rois, Reines, et Autres Personnages des Cours de France et d'Angleterre*. Various other sources, promising little of value for the present purpose, such as Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls, *Publications of the Selden Society*, etc., have been more or less fully examined—some of them very carefully.

⁷ The writer is wholly aware, however, that whatever value this paper has lies, not in the conclusions, but in assembling the references and drawing the attention of specialists in this field to an undoubtedly questionable tradition.

⁸ Cases in which one chronicler copies the identical language of another are, of course, counted but once. But there are not a few in which, while there has been evident borrowing of ideas or fact, the form of statement was independent, and these are properly independent instances for the present purpose.

there have been collected, out of numberless examples, some two hundred cases of words or phrases similar to or in some way illustrating the phrase under discussion, such as "common assent", "common consent", "common choice", "common discussion", "common sentence" or "judgment", "common decree", "common consideration", "common estimate", and the like. These latter cannot, of course, be examined within the limits and purposes of this paper. And yet they constitute a fashion or trick of phraseology of the time which helps one to sense the contemporary force and meaning of the phrase in question. Some of them come very close to frequent meanings of "common counsel", and often there are combinations of the phrases (illustrations of this may be found among those given below), made apparently in order to bring clearness or emphasis. *Commune consilium*, in its standard uses, clearly belongs to a large family of serviceable phrases.

Several different shades of meaning and usage of *commune consilium* begin to stand out before the work of collection has gone far, and a possible classification suggests itself when a large number of contexts is studied together. A five-fold classification has appeared convenient for presentation here. Others might serve as well, and, under any scheme, some of the cases would be very hard to classify; no two people would do it in the same way. One point—the spelling of the second word—applies equally to all these uses, and should be mentioned before they are taken up individually. Writers have felt free to change *commune consilium* to *commune concilium* (also to capitalize the words either untranslated or translated); the latter form looks better in connection with their interpretation of it as an assembly name, and they have taken this liberty evidently upon the assumption that *consilium* and *concilium* were interchangeable in the Latin of the time. This brings up a rather important linguistic point which cannot be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that after noting thousands of instances—too many to make it ever feasible to prove the point by a list of references—the writer is convinced that there was at least as much distinction between these words in the writings in England during the two centuries following the Conquest as there was in classical Latin. *Concilium* was always the name of an assembly; *consilium* regularly meant counsel; exceptionally it denoted an assembly.⁹ But, leaving this assertion un-

⁹ It is my belief, however, that from early in the thirteenth century *consilium*, while retaining its standard meaning of advice or counsel, came also to be the regular name of the king's smaller, perpetual council, that which later became the Privy Council. See *American Historical Review*, XIX. 740-741, 868; XX. 330-333. I intend at some time to furnish further evidence of this.

proved, it is necessary and significant to notice here that in the two hundred and fifty-eight cases of *commune consilium* now to be considered the spelling is uniform—always *commune consilium*, never *commune concilium*.

Undoubtedly the most common sense of *commune consilium* is that in which it approaches our phrase "public opinion", or general understanding, consent, or consultation, obtained in no definite or formal way. Often it is understood from the context that certain individuals, groups, or parties are referred to—as the general opinion or consent of a crusading group; indeed it is very often used in connection with a fighting group or expedition of some sort, also of groups of messengers or ambassadors. Sometimes, however, it is impossible to tell from whom it is supposed to come. Of course in some of these cases the common advice may have been obtained possibly in formal meetings of the groups; but no hint of this is in the text, and the writer in his choice of language appears to have been uninfluenced by such association of ideas. This use is stable. Instances have been found pretty evenly distributed through material written all the way from the late eleventh century to the twelve-fifties, where the search ends. Ninety-two are listed here¹⁰ (including the illustrations which follow).

In the few illustrations that there is space to give of this or other uses, it is impossible to convey the full or correct impression,

¹⁰ Something of the distribution is shown here and in the other classes of cases by grouping the references into three periods, 1066–1154, 1154–1216, 1216–1250 (or later); and within the groups the references are arranged chronologically as far as can be readily determined.

1066–1154: Matthew Paris, II. 55; Ordericus Vitalis (in Migne, *Patrologia*, CLXXXVIII. 678, 686, 710); Matth. Paris, II. 85, 118; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 287; Ord. Vit., pp. 497, 944; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, II. 115; *Gesta Stephani*, pp. 71, 81. 1154–1216: *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, III. 74, 91; V. 160, 304; Benedictus, I. 19; Walter of Coventry, I. 198; Diceto, I. 384, 387, 431; Bigelow, *Placita*, p. 235; Wendover, I. 156; Diceto, II. 63, 65; Matth. Paris, II. 341; Map, *De Nugis*, p. 30; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, II. 161, 165; Walter of Coventry, I. 393; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, III. 229; V. 315; VI. 432; Benedictus, II. 110; Rigord, I. 111; Diceto, II. 103; Hoveden, III. 36; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, III. 212; IV. 400; Hoveden, IV. 19, 54, 67; Coventry, II. 134; Coggeshall, pp. 149, 150; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 132 (*bis*); *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 133. 1216–1258: *Ann. Waverley*, p. 287; Coventry, II. 233; *Patent Rolls*, 1216–1225, pp. 22–23, 31, 54, 65, 141; *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 36, 73; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 475–476; *Ann. Dunst.*, p. 64; *Patent Rolls*, pp. 481–482; *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 232 (*ter*); *Patent Rolls*, pp. 497–498; *Ann. Dunst.*, p. 92; *Patent Rolls*, 1225–1232, pp. 25–26; Bracton, *Note Book*, II. 218; *Patent Rolls*, p. 397; Matth. Paris, III. 209 (*bis*); *Ann. Dunst.*, p. 142; Matth. Paris, III. 563–564; IV. 339, 341; *Ann. Burton*, pp. 258, 260; Newburgh, II. 522; *Letters of Henry III.*, II. 84; Matth. Paris, V. 360; *Ann. Burton*, p. 336; Matth. Paris, V. 519, 545; *Ann. Burton*, pp. 453, 465; Matth. Paris, V. 727.

as those who have ever done this kind of collecting will understand. A feeling of the inevitableness of certain conclusions grows only through intimate acquaintance with the long and monotonous list of contexts themselves. The very monotony tells its tale. On the first Crusade (1097): "Tandem innumeris hinc et inde interfectis, et maxime ex eis qui victualia quaerebant, deficientibus alimentis, dominus Boamundus et comes Flandrensis Robertus de communi consilio, ut pabula quaererent, exierunt."¹¹ A quarrel between the canons and citizens of Rouen (1192):

Eodem anno orta est gravis dissensio inter clericos, scilicet canonicos, Rothomagi et cives civitatis. Canonici namque murum novum fecerant circa coemeterium suum, et colligerant intus mercatores: et visum erat civibus quod hoc fiebat ad detrimentum civitatis: et petierunt ut canonici prosternerent opus illud, et nolebant. Unde factum est quod quadam die cives ex communi consilio irruerunt, et murum illum funditus subverterunt.¹²

Article 6 in the apocryphal "Willelmi Articuli Londoniis Retractati" (1210): "Statuimus [here follow regulations about watch and ward] prout vicecomites et aldermanni et prepositi et ceteri ballivi et ministri nostri melius per commune consilium ad utilitatem regni providebunt."¹³ A letter of Robert Fitz-Walter to William of Albini in which he seems to be speaking for the baron's forces (1215): "Et ideo per commune consilium prolongavimus torneamentum quod captum fuit apud Stanford."¹⁴ In the same conflict (1217): "Barones itaque cum, cimiteriis et ecclesiis omnibus more solito spoliatis per viam, ad castellum de Muntsoresel pervenissent, et obsidionem dissolvissent, communi omnium consilio decretum est, ut versus Lincolniam properarent, ubi Gilebertus de Gant cum aliis baronibus supradictis diutinam obsidionem egerant, sed inanem."¹⁵ From a letter of Richard of Cornwall giving an account of his crusade (1241): "Infra quem terminum apud Acon, vigilia Sancti Dionisii, ut vobis alias significavimus, applicantes, de communi consilio, praedicto Nazer mox misimus inquirendum, si treugam cum dicto rege factam nobis posset tenere."¹⁶ Agitation of the bishops against the archbishop's visitation (1250): "Et sigillis suis scripto communi appensis, bona fide ad invicem promiserunt, quod communi auxilio et consilio archiepiscopo resisterent."¹⁷

¹¹ Matth. Paris, II. 68.

¹² Benedictus, II. 250.

¹³ Felix Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 490.

¹⁴ Matth. Paris, II. 614.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III. 17.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV. 140.

¹⁷ *Ann. Dunst.*, p. 181.

A second set of contexts is that in which the term denotes the mutual advice, consent, or opinion of relatively small groups—groups which seem not to have constituted a summoned assembly and yet about which there is some definiteness of specification. That is, there is a clearer indication whence the common counsel came than in the preceding class. Perhaps the commonest illustration of this use lies in the many papal letters scattered through the English material. The pope does things by the common counsel of the cardinals. And the English writers regularly use the same expression when they refer to the papal acts. But there are many other examples. This use, like the preceding, remains quite stable throughout—no significant increase or decrease. Eighty-one instances have been collected.¹⁸ The following may serve to illustrate. From a letter to Henry II. by his envoys sent to Rome on the Becket matter (1171):

Cum vero nos quatuor cum episcopis [two] quidem, qui plurimum exire [from Sienna] desiderabant, non potuissemus, in maxima animi angustia positi, ex communi consilio media nocte et latenter exivimus. . . . Sic a curia venientes sero redierunt [two of the envoys] ad dominum papam, ei de communi nostro consilio exponentes quod nobis fuerat a vestra majestate injunctum . . . quod ea die immutabiliter disposuerat dominus papa in vos nominatim, et in totam terram vestram cismarinam et transmarinam, de communi fratrum consilio, interdicti ferre sententiam, et eam quae in episcopos lata fuerat confirmare.¹⁹

A certain case is to be tried in the locality (1226): "Et mandatum est vicecomiti Devonie quod certis die et loco, quos ipse et Wil-

¹⁸ 1066–1154: Bigelow, *Placita*, p. 66; Matth. Paris, II. 68; Eadmer, p. 219. 1154–1216: *Materials for the History of Becket*, IV. 58; V. 491; VI. 421; VII. 62, 371, 484, 500; Matth. Paris, II. 282–283; Thomas of Monmouth, *St. William*, pp. 23, 47, 110, 186; Diceto, I. 346, 368–369, 381; Matth. Paris, II. 292; Benedictus, I. 202, 208; Diceto, I. 425; Matth. Paris, II. 316; Hoveden, II. 269; Benedictus, I. 293; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, VII. 201; Diceto, II. 39–40; Benedictus, II. 19, 57; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, I. 27, 33; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, V. 355; VI. 68; Diceto, II. 75; Benedictus, II. 216; *Placita*, pp. 262, 282; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, III. 282; Hoveden, III. 275; Walter of Coventry, II. 80; Matth. Paris, II. 411; Diceto, II. 127; Hoveden, III. 292; Diceto, II. 141; Walter of Coventry, II. 107, 125; *Rotuli Chart.*, pp. 38, 45–46 (*ter*—in five letters following this in the rolls there are fifteen uses of the term which are little more than formal repetitions in duplicate letters sent to other places); Coggeshall, p. 133; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 64; Matth. Paris, II. 496 (*bis*); Stubbs, *Select Charters* (ninth ed.), pp. 279–280; Matth. Paris, II. 619; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 184, 187, 188, 269; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 126; *Ann. Waverley*, p. 283. 1216–1255: *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 190; *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 69; Bracton, *Note Book*, II. 139–140; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 532; Coventry, II. 274; *Close Rolls*, 1227–1231, p. 98; *Patent Rolls*, 1225–1232, p. 339, 362; *Letters of Henry III.*, II. 11; Matth. Paris, VI. 69, 144, 145; *Ann. Burton*, p. 339.

¹⁹ *Mat. for the Hist. of Becket*, VII. 471–473.

lelmus de Raleg et Hugo Peverel de communi consilio providebunt, convenient et diligenter et plene".²⁰ Certain men have been sent to Rome on the king's business, and now he is sending others to them with added instructions (1231): "Volumus etiam et mandamus quod in omnibus negociis nostris vobis et ipsis injunctis, ipsi vobis et vos eis fideliter assistatis, eadem vobis adinvicem communicantes, et de communi consilio inde disponentes."²¹ In a charter of the abbot of St. Albans (1258): "Deum habentes prae oculis, de communi fratrum nostrorum voluntate, consilio, et conniventia, subscriptas portiones duximus assignandas".²²

Thirdly, there have been collected fifty-three instances in which the common counsel came from a gathering apparently of considerable size and usually summoned for a definite purpose.²³ Here is a critical point in the investigation, for the summoned assembly whose common counsel is oftenest mentioned is just that great council—*concilium*, *magnum concilium*, *colloquium* it was surely called—soon to be called *parliamentum*. Was it called the "common council"? Was it in a fair way to be so called when "parliament" began to usurp the place of earlier names? The following cases seem typical of this third set of contexts, which it has seemed best to illustrate somewhat more fully. The distribution does not differ much from that of the preceding classes. From a speech of the archbishop in an ecclesiastical council of the province of Canterbury (1175): "Ideo in ecclesia Dei, secundum antiquam patrum consuetudinem concilia congregantur, ut ii qui constituti sunt in eminentiori cura pastoralis, vitam subditorum de communi consilio regularibus institutis informant, et enormitates quae pullulant incessanter consultiore censura compescant."²⁴ A central assembly

²⁰ *Patent Rolls*, 1225-1232, p. 73.

²¹ *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, p. 582.

²² Matth. Paris, V. 669.

²³ 1066-1154: Eadmer, p. 55; *Select Charters*, p. 117; Eadmer, pp. 148, 239, 291; Florence of Worcester, II. 70, 100. 1154-1216: *Mat. for the Hist. of Becket*, IV. 321, 327; VII. 56-57; Hoveden, II. 190, 239; Benedictus, I. 311; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, IV. 283; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, IV. 430; Coggeshall, pp. 102, 123; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, pp. 41, 52; Matth. Paris, II. 557; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 202. 1216-1259: *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, p. 125; *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 58; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 437; *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, p. 463; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II. 207; *Close Rolls*, 1227-1231, pp. 380-383 (the phrase is repeated in three duplicate letters following); *Patent Rolls*, 1225-1232, p. 463; Rymer, *Foedera*, I. 209; *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, pp. 317, 318; *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 451; *Close Rolls*, 1234-1237, pp. 399, 501; *Ann. Dunst.*, pp. 168, 169; Matth. Paris, VI. 124-125; V. 81, 343, 732; Bracton, *De Legibus*, II. 44-45.

²⁴ Benedictus, I. 84.

arranges for an *iter* (1179): "Tunc rex congregatis episcopis et comitibus et proceribus regni apud Windesovers, communi eorum consilio,²⁵ coram rege filio suo, divisit in quatuor partes Angliam; et unicuique parti praecepit viros sapientes de regno; et postea misit eos per partes regni eis assignatas, ut justitiam exercerent in populo."²⁶ An episode of the year 1201:

Statim post Pascha praecepit rex, ut comites et barones Angliae essent apud Portesmue ad Pentecosten, parati equis et armis ad transfretandum cum illo. . . . Interim comites Angliae convenerunt ad colloquium inter eos habitum apud Leicestre, et ex communi consilio mandaverunt regi quod non transfretarent cum illo, nisi ille reddiderit eis iura sua.²⁷

From the writs announcing a tax (1207): "Sciatis quod per commune consilium et assensum concilii nostri apud Oxoniam, provisum est ad defensionem regni nostri et recuperationem juris nostri".²⁸ Wendover's summary of discussions at Rome between the ambassadors of Louis and the pope about the deposition of John (1216): "Item dicit Papa, quod de communi consilio generalis concilii [Fourth Lateran, 1215] excommunicaverat barones Angliae et omnes fautores eorum".²⁹ Beginning of a letter from King Henry to the Bishop of Durham (1225): "Rex Dunholm' Episcopo etc. salutem. Cum satis recolat discrecio vestra qualiter de communi consilio et spontanea voluntate Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Comitum, et Baronum nostrorum quos generaliter ad presenciam nostram vocavimus concessa fuit nobis quintadecima rerum mobilium regni nostri".³⁰ From a similar letter (1233): "Rex abbati de Coggeshal' salutem. Satis vobis constat et bene recolitis qualiter de communi consilio et unanimi assensu omnium magnatum de regno nostro, tam episcoporum quam comitum, baronum, abbatum et priorum, concessum fuit nobis ab ipsis auxilium".³¹ Concerning the assembly at Merton which enacted the so-called statute of that name (1236):

Rex Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Militibus et omnibus libere tenentibus in Hibernia constitutis Salutem. Sciatis quod in presentia venerabilis patris E. Cant' Archiepiscopi Episcoporum Abbatum Comitum et Baronum de Regno nostro

²⁵ By a misprint this word appears *concilio* in the *Rolls Series* edition; but an examination of the manuscript has shown the regular spelling.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 238.

²⁷ Hoveden, IV. 160-161.

²⁸ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, I. 72.

²⁹ Matth. Paris, II. 662.

³⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II. 75.

³¹ *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 311.

Anglie et de communi consilio eorundem magnatum nuper provisum fuit quod. . . .³²

From Matthew Paris's well-known account of the 1244 council which attempted to appoint ministers (throughout, it furnishes interesting illustrations of the meanings of *concilium* and *consilium*):

Et cum per commune consilium, a quo noluerunt recedere, provisum esset, ut responsio ad literas Papales pro rege deprecatorias prorogaretur usque ad terminum praenotatum, et recedentibus magnatibus, ultimo die concilii, quod sex diebus duraverat, usque ad noctem sollicitavit singulos praelatos, deprecans ut in crastino iterum convenirent. . . . [Grosseteste says:] Non dividamur a consilio communi. Quia scriptum est; Si dividamur, statim omnes moriemur. . . . Et murmurante et rege, solum est concilium. [Provisions of the council:] . . . de communi assensu quatuor eligantur potentes et nobiles de discretioribus totius regni, qui sint de consilio³³ domini regis . . .³⁴

From the record of the year 1247: "De parlamento habito Londoniis . . . Tandem de communi consilio provisum est, ut gravamina terrae domino Papae seriatim monstraturi ad curiam Romanam nuntii discreti destinarentur".³⁵ From a letter of Innocent IV., written in 1252, to the bishops of the province of Canterbury about the exemption of parish churches from procurations. They are to be thus exempt, he says, unless by chance (*nisi forte*) the metropolitan, or someone acting on his authority, should decide that the visitation ought to be made—"ad singulorum vestrum petitionem, vel de communi majoris partis concilii consilio et assensu".³⁶ Provisions made respecting suit in baronial courts, etc. (1259): "Convenientibus apud Westmonasterium in Quindena S. Michaelis ipso domino rege et magnatibus suis, de communi consilio et consensu dictorum regis et magnatum, factae sunt provisiones subscriptae."³⁷ If there is anything to be detected in these illustrations, or indeed in the preceding uses, of what Maitland called the "slow and subtle process of personification", it is the personification of an abstraction, such as the result, action, or spirit of a council rather than the council itself. Common action, common deliberation, common consent, common advice—all at one time or another expressed by *commune consilium*—constituted an increasingly popular notion or ideal which was

³² *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 4. The text as there printed indicates erasure of *nostro* in the manuscript.

³³ That is, of the king's small, continuous council.

³⁴ Matth. Paris, IV. 365-367, *passim*.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 594.

³⁶ *Ann. Burton*, p. 302. Probably the *concilium* indicates the synod of the province of Canterbury.

³⁷ *Letters of Henry III.*, II. 394.

being handed about in language. In fact, much might be said about the rise of the "common" or "community" idea in the middle of Henry III.'s reign.³⁸ During the twelve-forties especially, writings, both chronicle and official, were becoming suddenly filled with every possible use and combination of *communis* and *communitas*, and the ideas these words carried were ideas to conjure with in those days.³⁹

The next group of cases, the fourth, is little more than a variation of the preceding. It is where the term is followed by the word *regni* (sometimes alone, sometimes in combination with other words)—*commune consilium regni*. These have been separated (thirty-two are listed here)⁴⁰ because the phrase has become so well known through the famous articles XII. and XIV. of Magna Carta, and because writers have been especially inclined to see an assembly name in this combination; it is familiar to us as the "Common Council of the Realm". It is significant, however, that Maitland and McKechnie—both convinced that at some time the larger central assembly was called the Common Council or the Common Council of the Realm—nevertheless translate the two notable instances of the phrase in Magna Carta as "common counsel". When they studied a particular text with care the notion of an assembly-name

³⁸ One is tempted to speculate on whether or not common counsel were a kind of predecessor of the majority idea. To-day, when a group, committee, or assembly speaks in a formal way it usually means the majority. But the majority opinion may or may not be a *resultant*. Were those who had charge of assemblies in the thirteenth century trying to get the "sense of the meeting", as we sometimes say?

³⁹ No doubt here and in the other groups there is an occasional case, where the context is scanty, which anyone who was convinced in advance that there was a common council, and so called, would so interpret, and which might puzzle an unprejudiced reader who should study that isolated text. And, of course, the Latin of this time was no dead language, used with stereotyped precision; there were constantly varying shades of meaning and many individual vagaries. But to any one who has got the language-atmosphere of the time and who may venture to supply the unexpressed but determinative notions of the occasional scanty context, there can be no doubt about the *regular* meaning of this phrase, a rule proved by remarkably few exceptions. In view of this the burden of proof is always on the conciliar idea in the doubtful cases.

⁴⁰ 1191-1215: Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, V. 186; Hoveden, III. 155 (an examination of the manuscript has shown a printer's error in the *Rolls Series* text in making the second word *concilium*), 236-237; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 54; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, p. 490; *Select Charters*, pp. 288, 294, 295. 1216-1255: *Foedera*, I. 140; *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, pp. 54, 71; *Select Charters*, p. 344; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 336, 371, 349; *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, pp. 153, 177 (*bis*); Walter of Coventry, II. 252; Matth. Paris, III. 126; *Select Charters*, pp. 324-325; *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 551; Matth. Paris, III. 362; VI. 65, 66, 68; *Letters of Henry III.*, II. 37; *Reports on the Dignity of a Peer*, III. 9 (followed by two writs on the same subject containing the same words); Matth. Paris, V. 7; *Flores Historiarum*, II. 346; Matth. Paris, V. 494 (*bis*).

vanished. But the convincing procedure here, as in the other cases, is to bring the contexts together. Then it appears that *commune consilium* with the *regni* added is still a descriptive phrase for an abstract notion, appearing in various verbal settings and combinations. And it may be stated here that in the uses thus far considered (including the present) *commune consilium* has been found but once in the nominative—then the subject of an intransitive verb and obviously bearing the meaning of common plan or counsel.⁴¹ There have been 214 ablatives (121 after *de*, eighty-one without preposition, twelve after *ex*), forty accusatives (thirty-seven of them after *per*), and three genitives. Very little trace is to be found of what Liebermann has called “the operating subject of an action”. Just the phrase *commune consilium regni*, without further modifying words, has been found twelve times; eleven times, *commune consilium regni nostri* (all but two of these twenty-three after *per* or *de*—*per* appearing more frequently here); three times, *commune consilium totius regni*; and the following once each: *commune consilium totius regni nostri*, *commune consilium regni nostri Angliae*, *commune consilium totius regni nostri predicti*, *commune regni consilium et approbatio*, *commune regni convocati consilium et deliberatio*, *commune consilium domini legati et regni nostri*, *commune consilium omnium fidelium nostrorum regni nostri Angliae*. In one instance the phrase is paralleled with *communis assensus regni*. Indeed this latter may appear independently: action is taken *per communem assensum regni et civitatis* (London).⁴² An examination of these various phrases and contexts shows that *commune consilium* with the *regni* added was not becoming a name of the great council or of any other body. But it should be noticed that this use is not evenly distributed, like the preceding. Beginning just at the end of the twelfth century and growing rapidly in the early thirteenth, it signified something new in the content and manner of

⁴¹ It has just been discovered that the archbishop has escaped to the Continent (1164). The Northampton council is still in session. “Rex vero haec audiens, turbatus plurimum, convocatis pontificibus et proceribus sciscitatur quid agendum. Et commune quidem consilium erat, ut, quia majores episcoporum, juxta quod supra diximus, regi se obligaverant, Romanum adirent pontificem, de perturbatione regni et sacerdotii et reatu perjurii eum accusaturi, et interim omnia ejus in pace essent, donec quid Romanus pontifex judicaret, reportarent.” *Mat. for the Hist. of Becket*, IV. 327. It is, of course, not unusual to find such assembly names as *curia*, *concilium*, *colloquium*, and later *parliamentum* in the nominative.

⁴² From “a document of nine articles, which seem to be the heads of a petition prepared by the Londoners, probably in 1215, in which they ask *inter alia* the abolition of all tallages except” . . . (then the words in the text). *English Historical Review*, XVII. 726; McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, p. 236.

thought, just as all marked changes in phraseology do. Much has still to be learned from the language of the early thirteenth century of the growing idea, not only of the usefulness and propriety of common action, but of a speaking and acting nation—an idea which had little or no connection at the start, and perhaps for a long time, with the institutions and practices which finally resulted in concentration of popularly chosen representatives of county or borough.

The last group, consisting of seventeen cases, indicates an approach to an assembly-name. The notion of counsel or advice is more or less clearly present, but there is personification creeping in, and it lies in the direction of an assembly rather than of the product of an assembly. In all of these cases our phrase is followed by *nostrum*—*commune consilium nostrum*. In some of these instances the *nostrum* alone constitutes the hint of an assembly name; in others the context contains an added indication. They have all been found between 1215 and 1236, and all, of course, in the king's letters.⁴³ At this time the king's council was regularly referred to as *consilium* or *consilium nostrum*, probably more commonly the latter. The rolls abound with these terms, especially during that time of great conciliar activity, the minority of Henry III. Eleven of the seventeen cases of *commune consilium nostrum* are from the minority, the other six from 1215, 1231, 1234 (*ter*), and 1236. Two generalizations concerning them may be ventured: first, in most of them the personification is shadowy and incomplete, the notions of advice and of council are shading into each other; second, in all but one or two of them, what personification there is lies in the direction of the king's council, the smaller continuous body, rather than the larger summoned assembly. The kind of business transacted is one of the indications of this.⁴⁴ Not one of the phrases in this division

⁴³ Probably the unprinted rolls later in Henry III.'s reign would yield more of them, although rather curiously none has been found in the volume of printed *Close Rolls* for the years 1237-1242, and only one each in the volumes for 1231-1234 and 1234-1237.

⁴⁴ In this connection it may be appropriate to add that various French cities had governing bodies which were being called "common councils" at this same time. Six such instances have been found in Henry III.'s letters either to or from these cities: 1206, Rex etc. Majori et Juratis et communi consilio Burdegal' salutem (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 73); 1219, Rex majori et communi consilio Burdegaliæ, salutem (*Fœdera*, I. 230); 1219(?) . . . commune Vasacense consilium (*Letters of Henry III.*, I. 67); 1219, Illustrissimo, Dei gratia, Henrico . . . commune concilium [*sic*] Aquis (*ibid.*, p. 45); 1224, commune concilium [*sic*] Burdegaliæ (*ibid.*, p. 231); 1243(?), . . . Henrico regi Angliæ . . . commune consilium Aquis (*ibid.*, II. 33). And one instance has been noticed in which the French central assembly which corresponded to the English great council was (1185), in a French chronicle, called "common council". Rigord, II. 47.

must from the context mean the larger assembly, as is so often the case with *concilium*, *colloquium*, or later *parliamentum*. Sometimes, it is true, it is impossible to tell in the case of a single context which is meant; but taking all these contexts together it seems fairly clear that the ancestor of the Privy Council—ordinarily called *consilium* or *consilium nostrum* in the king's letters—was already in a fair way to acquire a name, "common council", which appears to have been one of the less common of its variant appellations in the fourteenth century. All this, however, can best be left to the reader's judgment of the illustrations; or indeed he would do well to examine carefully all of these seventeen cases.⁴⁵ A letter of 1215:

Rex venerabili patri in Christo S. Cant' Archiepiscopo etc. Paternitati vestre devote duximus supplicandum quatinus castrum Roff' quod in manu nostra existere debet usque ad Pascham proximum post generale concilium. . . . Cui volumus quod committatur custodiendum donec de communi consilio nostro provideatur cui committatur custodiendum usque ad prefatum terminum. . . .⁴⁶

The first of the cases in Henry's minority, 1217: "Rex dilecto et fidei suo, Falkesio de Brewte, salutem. Sciatis quod, per ordinationem domini legati et communis consilii nostri, commisimus dilectis nobis in Christo de Ely et de Bernewell prioribus, custodiam omnium maneriorum pertinencium ad episcopatum Eliensem".⁴⁷ To the mayor and good men of Bordeaux (1219): "Noveritis quod de communi consilio nostro mensurari fecimus dolia vinaria, quae mercatores villae vestrae Burdegalensis adduxerunt cum vinis in Angliam".⁴⁸ From 1220: "Scias quod concessimus Roberto filio Walteri quod quietus sit de carucagio assiso per commune consilium nostrum."⁴⁹ If this last be interpreted as an assembly name, it is of the larger assembly and seems an exception. The king has been stating why Geoffrey de Marsh should no longer be justiciar in Ireland (1221):

Unde merito ad hoc provocati ut ipsum terre nostre Hybern' decetero preesse non velimus; de communi consilio nostro et assensu magnatum et fidelium nostrorum Anglie statuimus et volumus quod venerabilis pater H. Dublin' Archiepiscopus terre illius custodiam habeat et curam sub nobis donec aliud inde statuimus.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Seven illustrations are given here. The other ten instances are: *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, pp. 122, 154, 157; *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 384, 507, 516; *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, p. 352; *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 432; *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 552; 1234-1237, p. 288.

⁴⁶ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, p. 181.

⁴⁷ *Patent Rolls*, 1216-1225, p. 120.

⁴⁸ *Letters of Henry III.*, I. 37.

⁴⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus.*, I. 442.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 476.

Here is a clear indication of both the small and large councils, with *commune consilium* indicating the former. The next illustration is after the minority (1231), but the king was in France; earls, barons, knights, and others who were to hold a tournament at Alverton on a day named are ordered not to hold it there at that time: "Scituri pro certo quod in reditu suo ad regnum providebit rex de communi consilio suo et aliorum fidelium suorum ubi de licentia regis torneare possint."⁵¹ Here the one word *consilio* is made to do double service: first, in connection with *communi* and *suo*, it means the king's council, and second, understood with the phrase *aliorum fidelium suorum*, it means the counsel of the larger group. In 1234: "Rex dilecto et fidei suo Waltero de Clifford' salutem. Sciatis quod provisum est de communi consilio nostro quod omnia castra que fuerunt in manu Petri de Rivall'".⁵² In the letter directly preceding this on the roll, and on the same subject, the corresponding clause has the form *de consilio nostro*. It is believed that these citations show the degree and nature of the personification as far as that can be done here. Yet to one very familiar with these rolls there are possibilities for comparison and opportunities to get the scribe's language-sense which are really determinative in the conclusion. For example, it is noticeable that, although the *nostrum* seems to make this an assembly name, and usually of the smaller assembly, yet the *commune consilium nostrum* is never found following *coram* or the *teste* or in many other contexts of unmistakable personification which abound, especially in this part of the *Close Rolls*, in the case of the simple *consilium nostrum*. And in all the personifications of *consilium*, alone or with the other words, one never reads of its beginning or its being brought to an end, that this was the first day of, or the second day of, that it was summoned for a certain time, that it had been "held" or "celebrated"—the kind of indication found, so frequently in the chronicles, with *concilium*, *colloquium*, and finally with *parliamentum*. It is as if there were a root-idea of calling or gathering and then dispersing connected with these latter terms that is never found, unless by rarest exception, with *consilium* in any of its combinations.

Two anomalous and difficult cases remain to be considered. The first one is very familiar, and the uncritical way in which it has generally been read has undoubtedly contributed to the "common council" tradition. In William the Conqueror's ordinance separating the spiritual and temporal courts, he decrees that the church laws are to be better kept, and he does this, he says, *communi con-*

⁵¹ *Patent Rolls*, 1225-1232, p. 452.

⁵² *Close Rolls*, 1231-1234, p. 462.

cilio et consilio archiepiscoporum et episcoporum et abbatum et omnium principum regni. The trouble with this language is evident. If *commune concilium* means the great council, then the following words are superfluous and meaningless. In view of this Liebermann seems to hint that *commune concilium* refers to some ecclesiastical council.⁵³ The difficulty is probably solved, however, through Liebermann's other suggestion of comparing this language with the document of Edward II.'s reign, the *Gravamina Cleri*, which contains a paraphrase, in parts almost a transcript, of William's ordinance.⁵⁴ That it was written with a copy of the ordinance at hand is clear. Here it is stated that William made his decree *de communi consilio archiepiscoporum, episcoporum*, etc. This is a perfectly normal use of the term, and, according to the classification just used, would fall in the third group. The earliest manuscript of this ordinance now existing and the one containing the anomalous form is from the thirteenth century—ample time for the text to have become corrupt. The clergy, who in Edward II.'s reign were drawing up their *gravamina*, undoubtedly used an early and correct copy.⁵⁵

The other case is to be found in the rediscovered third original, known as the Hereford original, of Stephen's second charter. This document and the circumstances of its finding at Oxford about eight years ago have been recently described by Dr. R. L. Poole.⁵⁶ He points out the variations of this original from the Salisbury and Exeter originals from which our texts of that charter have always been printed. The most noticeable variation is the one which concerns us here. The other two originals end with the words: "Apud Oxeneforde, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXXVI., sed regni mei primo"; the Hereford original ends: "Apud Oxeneforde, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MCXXXVI., in communi concilio". This surely looks like an assembly name; the preceding preposition *in* precludes any of the usual interpretations. The authenticity of the document being beyond question, it stands back there in 1136 an isolated usage in that period.⁵⁷

⁵³ Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 485.

⁵⁴ Wilkins, *Concilia*, II. 314.

⁵⁵ Is there not another evidence of this in the fact that the word *observatae* after *fuert* in the first sentence—necessary to the sense—is found only in the *gravamina* paraphrase?

⁵⁶ R. L. Poole, "The Publication of Great Charters by the English Kings", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 446-448.

⁵⁷ Speaking in general of this second charter of Stephen, Dr. Poole has remarked: "It is in fact a very peculiar document. It looks as though a scribe familiar with the style of French charters had attempted to produce a diploma in the Old English form." *Ibid.*, p. 447.

The conclusion from all this is so obvious that it needs barely to be stated. There is no evidence that *commune consilium* was or was becoming an assembly name in England except the slight approach along this line which has been noted with respect to the smaller council. If there were anything of this sort with respect to the great council, before the process was appreciably started *parliamentum* had arisen and occupied the ground.⁵⁸ And it must be remembered that during all the time under consideration there had been terms used obviously as names of what is usually, and quite correctly, called the "great council"—the ancestor of the House of Lords. The usual names were *concilium*, *magnum concilium*, and *colloquium*. The last term became popular toward the end of the twelfth century, but never displaced the other two. There were others, much less common, such as *curia*,⁵⁹ *conventus*, *congregatio*, *concilium generale*, *concilium universale*, etc. As has been shown elsewhere, *parliamentum* began to be used as a name for the larger central assembly as early as 1239.⁶⁰ It grew rapidly; it was used alternatively with the names just cited, and those were the names which it finally and directly displaced. There was no era of a "common council" in between.

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⁵⁸ It might be urged, *a priori*, that just as *parliamentum* was for long rather the name of an act than a body and the personification was far from complete even in the fourteenth century, so *commune consilium* had had a somewhat similar history, only never reaching the final stage of development. But to this it must be replied that all the while *commune consilium* was a common phrase the old names for the central assembly continued, and obviously as names. But just as soon as *parliamentum* appeared in the field the old names began to diminish in frequency, and finally fell before it. Words like *tractatum*, *colloquium*, *parliamentum* might at any time begin to pass over from discussion to a discussing body, provided some such body were having a continuous and important history. But *consilium* would not be likely so to pass, at least with respect to the larger central assembly, for the place was supplied by the already existing *concilium*—much the same thing as saying that it was already there itself with but the change of a single letter. But the king's group of permanent counsellors was not called *concilium*, and it is the writer's belief that *consilium* did undergo personification with respect to this smaller body; as soon as the ancestor of the Privy Council was important or continuous enough to be called anything regularly, it was called *consilium*.

⁵⁹ In almost all the instances in which this word was applied to the great council, some judicial activity or function of that body seems to have been prominently in the writer's mind.

⁶⁰ *Modern Language Review*, IX. 92-93.

THE ENGLISH MANUFACTURERS AND THE COMMERCIAL TREATY OF 1786 WITH FRANCE

THE political history of the commercial treaty of 1786 between Great Britain and France has been discussed at considerable length by both English and French writers. But the influence of the new capitalistic manufacturers in England in the formulation of the treaty, and the significance of the treaty as an indication of the character and importance of this new industrial group, merit further study. Concerning the general history and terms of the treaty, a brief sketch by way of background will suffice.

In 1783, at the end of the war between France and England, the two countries temporarily renewed the commercial provisions of the treaty of Utrecht. But the eighteenth article of the treaty of Versailles contained an agreement for readjustment on a reciprocal basis. This was to be accomplished by a commercial treaty to be concluded not later than January 1, 1786.

The English government under Pitt was not eager to take up the task of carrying out the agreement. This was due, however, not so much to lack of interest as to the unsettled condition of English politics. The insecurity of the young minister's power, the violent tactics of the opposition, and especially the economic disruption of the empire involved in the separation of America and the legislative independence of Ireland—these circumstances combined to force the government to focus its attention on problems more vital to its own existence. As a result, the English were forced to ask for an extension of time beyond the first of January, 1786. To this, on behalf of the French, Vergennes reluctantly consented. For the French government desired immediate action; and to this end it took steps to force upon the English government the fulfillment, at the earliest possible time, of the treaty of Versailles. It issued a number of orders restricting English imports and imposing certain prohibitions, affecting, among other articles, cottons, linens, and ironware. These restrictions and prohibitions, though not rigorously enforced, served the intended purpose of forcing the English to take up the consideration of the proposed treaty.¹

¹ F. Dumas, *Étude sur le Traité de Commerce de 1786 entre la France et l'Angleterre*, pp. 30-32; J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, pp. 329, 330; *Correspondence between . . . Pitt and . . . Rutland*, pp. 111, 112.

But desire for a revision of commercial relations was not confined to the French. Although Pitt allowed the matter to be deferred because of the pressure of other problems, his adherence to the new economic school, which favored relaxation of commercial restrictions, is well known. As for the new industrial leaders, the statements of Wedgwood, the petitions from Manchester and Birmingham, and the resolutions of the General Chamber of Manufacturers afford evidence that they were favorable to a policy of reciprocal treaties, not only with France but with other powers as well.²

The course of the negotiations, long protracted and involving various diplomatic changes, led finally to the signing of the treaty on September 26, 1786. A convention supplementing the treaty was signed on January 15, 1787. It was transmitted by Pitt to the House of Commons on January 26, but owing to prolonged debates and the enactment of legislation involving the new tariffs and the administration of the treaty, its actual operation was deferred to May 10.³

The treaty professed to be based upon the principles of a reciprocal and perfect "liberty of navigation and commerce", so far as concerned the European dominions of the two countries, in respect to the various kinds of goods involved by treaty obligations. This reciprocal liberty included, also, the privileges of residence, travel, the purchase and use of consumption goods, and the practice of religious faiths, within the European dominions of the two countries, "freely and securely, without license or passport, general or special, by land or by sea".

Reciprocal commercial rights were defined and limited by the terms of the treaty, being subject to prescribed duties and national laws. The chief concessions granted to the French were in respect to wines, vinegars, brandies, and olive oil, which were to be admitted into England on very favorable terms. By the admission of French wines at the rate then paid by Portugal, the French won an important commercial and diplomatic triumph, which, so Pitt stated

² *Minutes of the Evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Lords* (on Irish Resolutions, 1785), pp. 150-152, 176, 177; *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council* (on Irish Resolutions, 1785), p. 81; *Commons Journals*, XL. 647; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, March 23, 1785.

³ For the diplomatic and political history of the treaty, see *Parliamentary History*, XXVI. 233-273, 342-596, 894-908; *Commons Journals*, XLII. 266, 289, 384, 436, *passim*; Dumas, *Étude sur le Traité de Commerce*, pp. 25-93; Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival*, pp. 328-339, 343; Rose, "The Franco-British Commercial Treaty", *English Historical Review*, 1908, XXIII. 709-724; Browning, "The Treaty of Commerce between England and France in 1786", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1885, n. s., II. 349-364.

in a private letter, they had "no reason to expect".⁴ In the case of most of these commodities, producers in the United Kingdom were little affected by the new tariffs. The chief objections were based on the effects of the tariffs on colonial producers and on Portuguese relations. Concessions were also made to France in the direction of opening up British markets to French cambrics, linens, millinery, and other finely wrought goods, and these concessions naturally aroused the opposition of manufacturers in the United Kingdom. But the principal advantages gained by France were in respect to commodities wherein she excelled because of superior soil, climate, and natural resources.

The principal commodities in regard to which the French, by agreeing to lower reciprocal duties, made concessions to the English, were articles in which England excelled not because of natural advantages but rather because of superior skill and enterprise. Cabinet-ware and articles made of iron, copper, and brass were to be admitted reciprocally at not more than ten per cent. ad valorem. Cottons, certain types of woollens, porcelains, earthenware, and pottery were to be admitted at twelve per cent. ad valorem.

On certain products, as cottons and irons, duties to counter-vail internal taxes were allowed. Bounties on export might also be countervailed.

Duties were specified on various other goods; and in the case of commodities not specified, the duties were to be the same as those charged to the most favored European nation. The most-favored-nation clause applied also to the treatment of the ships of each nation; and any further commercial privileges granted by either nation to a third European nation were to be extended also to the other contracting nation; but France reserved the right to maintain the Family Compact of 1761, and Great Britain reserved a similar right in respect to the treaty of 1703 with Portugal.

The treaty was to be subject to revision at the end of twelve years. A rupture of treaty rights was not to ensue in case of disagreement, unless there was an actual severing of diplomatic relations.⁵

The terms of the treaty that particularly affected the manufacturers were those which provided for new tariff schedules. These new schedules were significant because they were much lower

⁴ *Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*, I. 154.

⁵ The texts of the treaty and the supplementary convention are in *Parliamentary History*, XXVI. 233-255, 268-272, and in *Commons Journals*, XLII. 266-272, 289, 290. The treaty is also printed as an appendix to the first volume of the *Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*.

than formerly, and because the English desired the reciprocal establishment of virtual free trade in many of their most important manufactures, particularly in those in which the transition to production by machines had made greatest progress.

The early actions of the manufacturers concerning the treaty were taken under the guidance of the General Chamber of Manufacturers of Great Britain. This body had been organized under the leadership of the cotton, iron, and pottery interests, and had successfully opposed the government's Irish and excise policies.⁶ The chamber continued to hold occasional general meetings, but its activity in connection with the treaty was directed mainly by the secretary and special committees. Numerous committee meetings were held, the Lords of Trade were interviewed, answers to various questions were secured from Mr. Eden, who negotiated the treaty, and extensive correspondence and interviews were conducted with manufacturers in various parts of the country. The letters received were in general favorable to the treaty, though there is evidence that special weight was given to the sentiments of the cotton, iron, and pottery manufacturers, who were enthusiastic in support of the treaty, and who had been from the first the chief factors in the chamber. On the basis of its investigations, the committee in charge of the chamber's relations to the treaty met on December 9, 1786, at the chamber's house in Fenchurch Street and adopted resolutions favoring the treaty. It was resolved that "from the best information the committee can collect from the Chambers of Commerce and Manufactures" and other sources, the treaty, based upon "liberal and equitable principles, promises to be advantageous to their manufacturing and commercial interests by opening a new source of fair trade to both nations", and by "securing a continuance of peace and good offices between two great and neighboring nations, so advantageously situated for availing themselves of the blessings of peace and an extended commerce".⁷

Although the committee asserted that its action was based upon the carefully ascertained views of the constituents of the General Chamber, the resolutions of December 9, when published, gave rise to a controversy which divided the organization into hostile factions. Josiah Wedgwood and the Manchester and Birmingham manufacturers had been responsible for the organization and early activities

⁶ See the present writer's *Rise of the Great Manufacturers in England, 1760-1790* (University of Pennsylvania thesis, 1919), pp. 62-76.

⁷ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, December 12, 1786, February 12, 17, 21, 1787. The *Gazetteer* during February printed much information concerning earlier activities of the chamber in relation to the treaty.

of the chamber, and they continued to direct its policies. It was maintained by the opponents of the treaty that the resolutions of December 9 were not representative of the sentiments of the manufacturers generally, and the resolutions were ascribed to the fact that "the Manchester, Birmingham, and Staffordshire manufacturers have, of course, great sway in that body". Other manufacturers, it was declared, opposed the treaty, and had trusted the General Chamber to represent their views. But since those favoring the treaty controlled the chamber, the opposing manufacturers, having been misrepresented till the treaty had been signed, "do not know where to communicate their thoughts, or how to collect the general sense and convey it with force to the minister".⁸

But they resolved not to yield without a struggle. In order to give effect to their views in the approaching vote on the treaty in Parliament, they decided to contest the control of the General Chamber by the cotton, iron, and pottery men. On February 6, a general meeting of the chamber was held, and a debate of several hours took place on the propriety of the resolutions of December 9 favoring the treaty. A new committee was appointed to secure further information concerning various aspects of the question. On February 10 another general meeting was held. At this meeting the group favoring the treaty was severely criticized, hostile resolutions were adopted, and the House of Commons was petitioned to delay action in order to allow further consideration. The controversy continued for some time, and, although those favoring the treaty later at one time regained control, the division in the chamber served the purpose of the ministers in discrediting the organization;⁹ and those who supported the treaty, and had gained their ends in its adoption, were less eager, apparently, to press the fight in the chamber than were those who opposed the treaty.¹⁰

In relation to the question of commercial liberalism, the importance of the division in the General Chamber of Manufacturers over the treaty with France consists in the light it throws on the alignment of the manufacturers. The older groups of manufacturers were wedded to monopoly. The cotton, iron, and pottery manufacturers, who were profiting little by monopoly, and indeed were held in leash by trade restrictions, favored the breakdown of the

⁸ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, January 12, 1787.

⁹ See below, p. 28.

¹⁰ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 7, 12, 17, 19, 21, March 19, April 6, 1787; *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 429; Julia Wedgwood, *The Personal Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, p. 224; *British Merchant for 1787*, pp. 9-12.

monopolistic barriers in order that they might the more readily extend their enterprises into new fields.

The illiberal spirit of the older manufacturers as well as of the merchants is so well known as to need little comment. Their activities in the General Chamber in opposition to the treaty with France were in harmony with their traditional attitude. Their vigorous and successful fight for the adoption in 1788 of more rigorous measures against the export of raw materials in the woollen industry is typical of their continued dependence on monopoly.¹¹ The spirit prevailing among them and the merchants was vigorously condemned by Adam Smith in well-known passages advocating freedom of trade. Smith made no distinction, however, between the attitude of the old and the new industrial groups. The interests of the landed class, and of wage-workers, he asserted, are "strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of society". But merchants and manufacturers make up a class "whose interest is never exactly the same with that of the public"; members of this class, indeed, "have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public". The "sneaking arts", the "impertinent jealousy", the "mean rapacity", the "monopolizing spirit", and the "interested sophistry of merchants and manufacturers confounded the common sense of mankind". To expect freedom of trade in Britain "is as absurd as to expect that an Oceania or Utopia should ever be established in it", for "the monopoly which our manufacturers have obtained against us" is too strong; they are able to "intimidate the legislature".¹²

Adam Smith is thus seen to have been no herald of the rising industrialists. He seems to have had no conception of that profound change, even then in progress, by virtue of which the manufacturing interests were to become the successful champions of free trade and *laissez-faire*. But while the *Wealth of Nations*, even in the case of the later editions, is singularly silent concerning the change, other writings of the time afford striking recognition of the growth of liberalism among the new manufacturers. The merchants, as well as the older types of manufacturers, were contrasted with those in the cotton, iron, and pottery industries in respect to their attitude toward monopoly. Concerning the manufacturers, the *British Merchant for 1787*, an advocate of monopoly, distinguished between the "factions" among the manufacturers. One

¹¹ Concerning the wool bill, see *Commons Journals*, XLIII. 634-636; *Annals of Agriculture* (hostile to the manufacturers), VI. 509 ff., VII. 411 ff., IX. 657 ff.

¹² *Wealth of Nations*, vol. I., bk. I, ch. 11; vol. II., bk. 4, chs. 2, 3. The above passages occur in the eighth edition, published in 1796.

faction is interested essentially in maintaining control of the home markets; the members of the other faction are possessed of a "desire of an open trade", because they, "from their present ascendancy of skill, have nothing immediate to fear from competition, and everything to hope from the speculation of an increased demand". The latter faction the author identifies as consisting of the cotton, iron, and pottery manufacturers. Essentially the same distinction is made by other writers, including Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, and Arthur Young. Young at various times condemned what he characterized as the narrow, monopolizing spirit of the older manufacturers, and praised the liberal and progressive spirit which he found in the newer industries. "The food that is wholesome and nourishing at Birmingham and Manchester", he wrote in 1792, "will not be poison at Leeds and the Devizes".¹³

That the new manufacturers themselves considered commercial liberalism "wholesome and nourishing", there is evidence aside from the opinions of observers. The alignment in the General Chamber of Manufacturers in regard to the treaty of commerce with France is in itself important evidence. It will be recalled that the treaty, in relation to cottons, iron, and pottery, provided for reciprocal duties much lower than had existed. The manufacturers of these commodities, almost without exception, favored virtual free trade, and in consequence supported the treaty.

The cotton manufacturers were bitterly condemned by the opponents of the treaty for favoring a policy which it was alleged would cause harm to manufacturers less able than themselves to withstand French competition. But they were unmoved in their attitude, and went so far as to condemn in public meeting the action of the General Chamber of Manufacturers in petitioning Parliament for delay in considering the treaty. The vigorous support of the treaty by the cotton manufacturers is beyond dispute.¹⁴

The attitude of the Birmingham manufacturers in support of the

¹³ *British Merchant for 1787*, pp. 8, 12, 28; *Historical and Political Remarks upon the Tariff of the Commercial Treaty*, pp. 166-169; *View of the Treaty of Commerce with France*, pp. 75-83; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, December 14, 26, 27, 1786; *Annals of Agriculture*, VII. 159-175; IX. 360-363, 498, 499; XVI. 352; XVIII. 327, 328.

¹⁴ *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI. 469, 494; *Parl. Reg.*, XXI. 251, 252, 275, 276; XXII., pt. II., p. 107; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, October 20, 1786, January 12, February 15, 22, 1787; *Droghmore MSS.* (Historical MSS. Commission), I. 274; *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 429; *Letter from a Manchester Manufacturer to the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox on his Political Opposition to the Commercial Treaty with France*, pp. 6, 10, 14, *et passim*; Wedgwood, *Life of Josiah Wedgwood*, p. 224; *British Merchant for 1787*, pp. 27, 28, 42, 43.

treaty was hardly less enthusiastic than that of the cotton men. A meeting was held, as at Manchester, condemning the opposition of the reorganized General Chamber to the treaty. The spirit in which the treaty was accepted is embodied in the lines of a local poet, who wrote in October, 1786:

The prospect how pleasing—of commerce I mean,
When Eden returns from the banks of the Seine.
May kingdom 'gainst kingdom no more be at spite;
For both 't were much better to trade than to fight;
And whilst mutual friendship and harmony reign,
Our buttons we'll barter for Pipes of Champaigne.¹⁵

The support of the treaty by Wedgwood, the great potter, was outspoken from the start. He was a leading figure in the General Chamber of Manufacturers in its early support of the treaty, and his personal relationship to Eden and the ministry subjected him, apparently without justice, to the charge of supporting the authorities in the hope of personal reward.¹⁶

The woollen manufacturers were not unanimous in opposition to the treaty. Particularly among the more progressive men in this industry, the treaty had supporters. Their support, however, was based upon a continuance of their absolute monopoly of English raw materials. Their attitude, therefore, unlike that of the newer manufacturers, particularly those in the cotton industry, was in reality an expression of commercial liberalism of a very limited kind.¹⁷

The desire on the part of the cotton manufacturers for relaxations in the old protective system is evidenced by other facts as well as by their support of the treaty with France. They went so far as to oppose certain provisions of the navigation system, which was upheld even by Adam Smith. Their particular grievance was in respect to the monopoly held by English shippers in the importation of materials used in the cotton industry.

The increase of the demand for cotton beyond the supply available from the British colonies made the question of cotton imports a vital one to the manufacturers. In 1786 nearly 20,000,000

¹⁵ Quoted in Langford, *Century of Birmingham Life*, I. 329. See also *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 6, 1787; *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI. 840; *Historical and Political Remarks upon the Tariff of the Commercial Treaty*, pp. 155, 156.

¹⁶ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 21, March 19, 1787.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1787; Nathaniel Forster, *An Answer to Sir John Dalrymple's Pamphlet upon the Exportation of Wool*, p. 12; *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 516.

pounds were imported, and of this amount less than 6,000,000 pounds were from the British dominions. Bryan Edwards, historian of the British West Indies, estimated eight years later that the empire supplied no more than one-sixth of the demand. The chief sources, aside from the British colonies, were the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colonies, and the Levant. The imports from the continental North American colonies and the United States were insignificant during the period of the present study.¹⁸

The problem of increasing the supply of cotton to meet the growing demand had been complicated by the wars and trade restrictions growing out of the revolt of the American colonies. In 1780 the manufacturers of Manchester petitioned the House of Commons to allow free importation of cotton on the ground that their business was menaced by the existing shipping monopoly. The government, in the face of strong opposition by the merchants and the West India planters, acceded to the demand of the manufacturers to the extent of temporarily allowing imports contrary to the Navigation Act of 1660.¹⁹

Another expression of commercial liberalism on the part of the new manufacturers was their hostility to the corn laws. These laws had long protected agriculturalists by prohibiting importations under certain conditions, by imposing duties varying with the prices of farm products, particularly wheat, and by paying bounties on exportation. England had normally produced food in excess of her needs, but the surplus of other countries was in some instances even larger, and the government therefore put protective tariffs and regulations in the way of foreign competitors in order to encourage agriculture and to maintain a higher level of prices. After 1765 the pressure of home consumption forced a series of modifications in the laws.

But by 1790 it was recognized that the minor relaxations in the control of the corn market, beginning in 1765, were inadequate. Even spokesmen of the landed class were beginning to recognize the rapid growth of industrial population and the consequent need of food supplies from overseas. The loss of self-sufficiency and the resulting problems of public policy were clearly stated by a writer who made a study of Lancashire agriculture for the *Annals of Agri-*

¹⁸ Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, II. 273; *Life of Robert Owen*, I. 32; E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, p. 304.

¹⁹ 20 George III., c. 45 (continued by 21 George III., c. 26, to the end of hostilities); *Commons Journals*, XXXVII. 718, 763, 764, 772, 773, 786, 795, 853, 883, 919; XXXVIII. 814.

culture. He observed that in the industrial region opportunities for profit-making were so much greater in manufacturing as to draw capital and enterprise away from the production of food supplies. Moreover, the increased opportunities attending the growth of manufacturing had led to an increase of population. Nor was this the whole of the problem, for new manufacturing enterprises had not only tended to draw capital and enterprise away from agriculture, and to increase the population; they had also been accompanied by an "advance in the manner of living and diet". The problem resulting from these circumstances was the problem of "the safety and propriety of relying on distant countries (dangers of sea and enemy included) for the necessaries of life". The remedy proposed by this writer and other champions of the landed interests was the stimulation of production by increased prices and bounties, combined with a general policy of encouraging agriculture in preference to manufacturing.²⁰

But the manufacturers were beginning to clamor for access to foreign supplies of food. A petition in 1791 from Manchester and Salford asserted that on account of the growth of manufactures and increase of population, "this country cannot raise corn sufficient for its own support". Similar petitions, urging more liberal import laws on substantially the same grounds, were sent to the House of Commons from Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, and Bristol. Repeatedly, in varying forms, writers dwelt upon "the impropriety of the corn laws", and asserted that it is "the interest of the mechanic to buy his bread where he can get it best and cheapest". The demands of the manufacturers and the expansion resulting from their enterprises were the chief causes of the various relaxations in the control of the corn market. Lord Sheffield asserted in Parliament that the question was one of a conflict between the industrialized and populous northwest and the agrarian south and east of England, and in his view the changes in the corn laws were due to the influence of the former region. "The alacrity of the manufacturer" had triumphed over "the supineness of the landed interest". The acrimony of the discussions reminds one of the famous corn-law controversy of half a century later.²¹

²⁰ J. H. Campbell in *Annals of Agriculture*, XX. 133, 134. See also *ibid.*, XVIII. 68; *Parl. Hist.*, XVII. 475-478, XXVIII. 1381, XXIX. 98, 99 (statements by Governor Pownall, Lord Sheffield, and others).

²¹ *Commons Journals*, XLV. 348, 461; XLVI. 200, 376, 387, 444, 653; J. E. Hamilton, *Letter to the People of England*, p. 5; *Parl. Hist.*, XXVIII. 1380; Sheffield, *Observations on the Corn Bill*, p. 60; W. Mitford, *Considerations on the Opinions stated by the Committee of Council . . . upon the Corn Laws*, pp. 63, 64; An Essex Farmer, *Observations on the New Corn Bill*, pp. 3, 4.

Returning now to the treaty with France, it will be seen that the influence of the new manufacturers in securing reciprocal reductions in tariffs on manufactured goods affected by the treaty was important. It was even more important and decisive than was their influence in securing amendments to the navigation system and the corn laws.

In order to trace their influence, it is necessary first to point out the attitude assumed by Pitt toward the manufacturers. On December 16, 1785, he wrote to Eden concerning his plans for the treaty:

It cannot be too generally understood, that our sole object is to collect, from all parts of the kingdom, a just representation of the interests of all the various branches of trade and manufacture which can be affected by the French arrangement, and that we are perfectly open to form an unprejudiced opinion on the result. I probably need hardly add, however, that there are many reasons which make it desirable to give as little employment or encouragement as possible to the Chamber of Commerce²² taken collectively.

Again, in his speech of February 12 in the House of Commons in support of the treaty, he said that the manufacturers "merited every respectful attention", and that in matters involving their interests, "their representations must indeed carry the most powerful weight". But as for the General Chamber of Manufacturers, this body he referred to contemptuously, as if its existence had just been called to his attention. Its petition he mentioned as coming from "a few manufacturers collected in a certain Chamber of Commerce", a body which was absurdly wandering "into the paths of legislation and government", and attempting to take from Parliament "the trouble of legislation".²³

The minister's purpose was plain. He knew, from the bitterness of the defeat of some of his most earnestly championed policies, something of the power of the great manufacturers who had cleverly organized the industrial interests of the country against those policies. He was forced to recognize them, but he desired at the same time to discredit their organization. His opportunity came when the opponents of the treaty secured control of the organization.

His deference to the leading members of the chamber as originally organized was as obvious as his desire to discredit their organization as such. This is evidenced by his choice of the negotiator, by the securing of information as the basis of the treaty, and by the objects of the treaty.

²² The General Chamber of Manufacturers was frequently thus designated.

²³ *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 90, 91; *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI. 379-382, 390, 392.

The appointment of William Eden to negotiate the treaty was in itself, in a measure, a triumph of the new industrial interests. As a prominent member of the opposition, he had fought the Irish Resolutions and the cotton tax, and he was generally looked upon as a champion of the great manufacturers. Prominent manufacturers expressed their pleasure, and Matthew Boulton even stated that had the choice been left to him, he would himself have appointed Eden. Lord Sheffield stated that it was not Eden's "system" to knock his head "against any knot of manufacturers". His constant attention to the views of the manufacturers and the cordiality of his relations with them in the conduct of the negotiations afford ample evidence in support of Sheffield's statement.²⁴

It will be recalled that Pitt instructed Eden to ignore the General Chamber of Manufacturers as far as possible, but to secure full information from the manufacturers individually as a basis for the treaty. That Eden adhered at least to the latter part of the instructions is apparent. A short time before leaving for France he wrote familiarly to Morton Eden that he was "passing *every* morning and all the morning" in securing information from the merchants and manufacturers. "I do not yet foresee", he continued, "precisely when I shall be able to proceed to the continent. . . . It is some satisfaction, however, that our inquiries go forward pleasantly", with "much liberality and good temper". The attitude of the manufacturers as revealed in these inquiries is significant. The representatives of the cotton and iron industries held that there was "nothing to be apprehended from a competition with the French", and agreed that the duties "cannot be too low". That Pitt made use of the views of the manufacturers in framing his draft of the treaty is evident from his letters to Eden written in April, 1786. "The evidence of the manufacturers", he wrote, "will furnish some tolerable ground to go upon". And again: "The general knowledge from the examination of the manufacturers and from other sources is enough to satisfy me that the general principle [of the treaty as formulated by the ministry] is right". There is evidence, also, that the government kept in close touch with the views of the manufacturers during the progress of the negotiations. This is shown by correspondence and interviews between Eden and Wedgwood, who was regarded in a measure as spokesman for the group that supported the treaty. The government continued to hold consultations with manufacturers after Eden's departure for France; and Eden himself, while in France, not only corresponded with manufac-

²⁴ *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 92, 93, 164.

turers in England but also held interviews with their agents at the place of conference.²⁵

In view of the intimate relations between the government and the leading manufacturers during the various stages of the making of the treaty, their influence may be stated fairly in the words of a writer of the time, who referred to the treaty as having been "framed in concert with the manufacturers themselves".²⁶

The government conferred repeatedly with manufacturers of various types, both old and new; but it is important to observe that it was the wishes of the newer industrial groups that found recognition in the treaty. The importance of the newer groups is evidenced not only by their prominence in the process of securing information, but even more markedly by the objects of the treaty. Pitt's view, expressed in private letters, and, in a more cautious form, in Parliament, was that "the chief immediate advantage" desired was "that of encouraging industry and raising the demand for our manufactures"; and the "great and leading" manufactures "which we wish to send to France are cotton, some sorts of woollens, hardware, and earthenware". Again, in writing to Eden, he stated that the idea of a duty as high as fifteen per cent. "on the essential article of cottons cannot be listened to", and should the French insist on such a high rate, "it would in fact be breaking off the Treaty". But as for glass and certain other articles, he was willing to make concessions, "a little adventurously", which he hoped would assist in carrying the point on cottons. Eden, in accord with Pitt and the desires of the manufacturers, asked a duty as low as five per cent. on cottons. The French wanted a duty of twenty per cent., "and some went as far as thirty per cent." He wrote to Pitt of his sense of triumph when, "after much dispute", he secured an agreement for ten per cent., which, however, was later raised to twelve per cent.²⁷

Supporters and opponents of the treaty alike agreed that the chief benefits of the treaty would be experienced by the cotton, hardware, and pottery manufacturers.²⁸

²⁵ *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 94, 110, 114, 143, 144, 158, 249, 491-493; Wedgwood, *Josiah Wedgwood*, pp. 224, 244; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, February 21, March 19, 1787.

²⁶ *Letter of a Manchester Manufacturer*, p. 14.

²⁷ *Jour. and Corresp. of Auckland*, I. 148, 154-156, 160-161, 484-485; *Corresp. bet. Pitt and Rutland*, pp. 158-159; *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI. 385.

²⁸ *The Necessity and Policy of the Commercial Treaty with France . . . Considered*, pp. 44, 45, 60; *A Woollen Draper's Letter on the French Treaty*, pp. 5, 26, 27; *View of the Treaty of Commerce*, pp. 13 ff., 20-35, 45-68; *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, December 2, 1786.

Evidence of the prominence of the new manufacturers in connection with the treaty is to be found also in the debates in Parliament. A member referred to the influence of the manufacturers as a subject "in the mouth of every gentleman" who discussed the treaty. It was alleged by those who opposed the treaty that the new industrial centres were expecting to profit by speculation at the expense of the general industry of the country, and even at their own ultimate cost, because, it was held, their mechanical superiority was temporary, and the treaty would facilitate the acquisition by the French of English machines and methods. There were attempts, also, to discredit the ministry by the charge that it had ignored the interests of the majority of manufacturers and had subordinated permanent economic and political considerations in order to gain the support of the newer men, who, it was held by some, had speculative rather than permanent economic interests. In any case, "the opinions of two counties, however extensive and commercial", asserted Edmund Burke, "should not be taken for the sense of the people of England".

Among those who were in accord with the new manufacturers was the Marquis of Lansdowne, who delivered a notable speech in support of the treaty. During the debates on the Irish Resolutions, he had bitterly condemned the manufacturers for opposing what he considered the liberal policy of the resolutions. On the occasion of a debate on the treaty with France, his attitude was entirely different. After praising the principle of free trade in general, and its expression in the treaty in particular, he said that

he was not the man to flatter any body of manufacture, or to court them for the sake of popularity or any such idle purpose; he despised the idea; but at the same time he was ready to do justice to the manufacturers. . . . When he looked at the commercial treaty, he said he was proud of the conduct of the manufacturers. . . . [They], seated as they had been on the throne of monopoly, had generously descended from it; and seeing the true policy of the measure, consented without a murmur to give up all their prohibitions, to meet the foreign manufacturer in his own market, to travel abroad with their manufactures, and to bring home wealth in one hand and revenue in the other.²⁹

In view of the monopolies retained by many of the manufacturers, as the monopoly of raw materials in the woollen industry, and in view of the benefits which the new manufacturers expected to derive from the treaty, the praise accorded the manufacturers by

²⁹ *Parl. Hist.*, XXV. 855-864; XXVI. 471, 472, 487, 490, 491, 494, 542, 555-557; *Parl. Reg.*, vol. XVIII., pt. II., p. 34. For an interesting tribute to the growing spirit of freedom of trade in England, by a contemporary foreigner, see *Droghmore MSS.*, III. 154.

Lord Lansdowne may seem exaggerated. The benefits, however, were not confined to the English. A critical French historian asserts that

the treaty secured incontestable advantages for our agriculture, and the crisis which it caused in our industries at the beginning of its application was a crisis of a nature salutary and indeed necessary. A great many of our manufacturers, accustomed to the tranquil enjoyment of a monopoly conferred upon them by law, had followed in routine fashion such methods as required no initiative. They were profoundly aroused by the competition of the English, who forced them to abandon their inactivity and to modify radically the old conditions of production and sale.³⁰

But praise or condemnation of the English manufacturers is beside the point. The fact remains that, since the reduced tariffs were reciprocal, the advantages accruing to the English manufacturers of cotton, iron, and pottery, the chief beneficiaries, were based not upon the conditions of the treaty, which premised equality, but upon their own superior productive and competitive power. Their desire for lower reciprocal duties, amounting virtually to a desire for free trade, may or may not have been praiseworthy, but so far as the treaty concerned these manufacturers it was a marked development in the direction of free trade, and as such was welcomed by them.

Their liberalism, to be sure, was far removed from abstract theory, although they were not without a laudable hope that its effect on international good-will would be helpful. But its chief source was their mechanical superiority, and particularly "an unmatched superiority" in "the articles of cottons, hardware, pottery, gauze—great national objects indeed". This was admitted even by opponents, but they held that mechanical superiority was temporary and transitory, and not therefore a safe basis for treaty-making. The French, too, recognized the advantages of the English due to mechanical improvements, and sought to counteract these advantages by acquiring a knowledge of English inventions.³¹

The prime minister himself recognized the mechanical superiority of English industry as the principal support of the treaty. Pitt, who has been called a disciple of Adam Smith, and whose free-trade tendencies have been ascribed to physiocratic and agrarian sympathies, was keenly alive not only to the nature of the new industrial

³⁰ Dumas, *Étude sur le Traité*, pp. 191-193.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 152-157; *View of the Treaty of Commerce*, pp. 8-19, *passim*; *Complete Investigation of Mr. Eden's Treaty*, p. 80; Sheffield, *Observations on the Manufactures, Trade, and Present State of Ireland*, p. 200, 201.

forces, but also to their source in the transition to mechanical production. This is apparent, in the case of the treaty with France, from the care with which he based the treaty upon the views of the manufacturers. More specific was his recognition of the mechanical basis of the liberalism of the treaty in his great speech of February 12 in its support. So far as Great Britain was concerned, the treaty was based upon Britain's "recourse to labor and art", and "energy in its enterprise", because of which Britain was "confessedly superior in her manufactures and artificial productions". His continued recognition of the industrial interests is evident alike from his policies and his speeches. In his address of February 17, 1792, on the state of the public finances, he enlarged upon the vast increase of commerce and industry since the misfortunes of the late wars, and asked, Why this unprecedented progress in wealth and prosperity? The first reason he assigned was "the improvement which has been made in the mode of carrying on almost every branch of manufacture, and the degree to which labor has been abridged, by the invention and application of machinery". Accompanying this was the development of credit in the operations of industry, the spirit of enterprise in the expansion of markets, and the rapid accumulation of capital by the reinvestment of profits in productive undertakings.

In this comprehensive speech on the resources and revenues of the country, agriculture was virtually ignored; it was mentioned in a merely incidental manner. His attitude aroused against him the bitterest criticism of Arthur Young, who charged that the minister, in his zeal for the industrial interests, "overlooks everything connected with land", and that, because of his favoritism, "the agricultural interests of this kingdom perhaps never found themselves in so contemptible a position".

Pitt's views and policies mean nothing less, in fact, than a recognition by him that, by reason of the transition to mechanical production, a new economic era was coming into existence.³²

The new manufacturers were the product not of monopoly but of ingenuity and enterprise; and they found it impossible to fit themselves into the grooves of the old system. They were impatient of public restrictions, and even indifferent to public favors. The essential tendency of the reorganization of industry accompanying the development of the new methods of manufacturing was away from the old monopolistic, stratified system, and in the direction of

³² *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI. 384, 385, 395; XXIX. 832-834; *Annals of Agriculture*, XVII. 373.

a fluid, or elastic, or highly dynamic condition. This tendency involved a new conception of the relation of government to industry, namely, the necessity resting upon government to *conform* to economic conditions, rather than to attempt to create or to mold them. This conception, radically different in origin, nevertheless approximated to the physiocratic and Smithian doctrine of *laissez-faire*. It was indeed the industrialist who forced the translation of Adam Smith's theories, particularly in reference to commerce, into practical policy. Smith's darling agrarians, whose interests he believed to be identical with public interests, and upon whose influence he relied for the changes he advocated, became the "last-ditch" opponents of free trade; and the despised industrialists became the relentless champions of liberalism, champions more radical than even Smith himself, who tried to justify both the navigation system and countervailing duties. The work of introducing free trade and *laissez-faire* was mainly the work neither of the agrarians nor of the theorists, but of the industrialists. And their influence, as has been seen, was felt distinctly even in Adam Smith's lifetime.

The attitude of the theoretical free-traders, in contrast with the illiberal spirit imputed to the manufacturers by Adam Smith and others, has commonly been assigned as the basis of the early free-trade movement. Adam Smith said, Let there be free trade. And at length there was free trade. Therefore, Adam Smith is the father of free trade. Such, in hyperbole, is the logic that has gained wide acceptance. The influence of an idea and of a personality is attractive, in part, perhaps, because it is intangible and elusive. But the force of an event is manifest and inescapable. The chief sources of the liberalism of the new industrial groups were not ideas but events.

Of these, the primary event was the transition to mechanical production in England while other nations adhered to primitive methods. Out of this transition there developed four secondary events of utmost importance in the history of commercial liberalism. The first of these was productive and competitive superiority such as enabled Englishmen to laugh at their rivals, and removed the need for the old protective and monopolistic system. The second event was the increase of productive power beyond the existing demand, which led to a positive desire for the removal of the old restrictions and the substitution therefor of a system of reciprocity and of ultimate complete free trade by which new markets might be opened up for the output of the new mechanical methods. This tendency was particularly manifest in the treaty with France. The

third event was the tendency of production to outrun the supply of raw materials available at home or by the use of English ships alone. Increased supplies were obtainable by relaxations in the navigation acts and by concessions to those who controlled the supplies, and this fact early led the manufacturers to favor a more liberal policy, as in the case of their attempts to secure cotton contrary to the navigation laws. The fourth event was a rapid expansion of industry, involving a disproportionate growth of population engaged in manufacturing as compared with agriculture, which led in turn to a demand for the breaking down of the barriers raised to protect English agrarians from oversea food producers.

There is a marked parallelism between the events described above and the events of half a century later when the old commercial system was completely overthrown. The principles underlying the Manchester School, the forces actuating the Anti-Corn Law League, and even the group alignments of the later conflict, were essentially the principles and forces and alignments which had already emerged before the entrance of England into the French and Napoleonic wars. The tendency toward commercial liberalism inherent in the events of the earlier period was repressed and distorted by the quarter-century of wars and by the accompanying deluge of conservatism, and in consequence the triumph of the new order was postponed until the reassertion of power by the new industrial group in the nineteenth century. But the forces which led to the final overthrow of the old commercial system were active and influential even before Europe was devastated by the cataclysm of war and reaction.

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THE DIPLOMATIC PRELIMINARIES OF THE CRIMEAN WAR

THE outbreak of the War of 1914 precipitated a controversy of pens which is not yet closed, namely, a discussion, based on the rainbow "books" of the belligerent governments, of the responsibility for the failure of the negotiations consequent to the Austrian ultimatum. Clear as was the main course of events, German and Allied publicists each found it possible to convict the other side from its own documents. And the historian may doubt if time will produce a harmony of views. For more than half a century ago there was another diplomatic controversy which, if more prolonged than that of 1914, like it culminated in war—the Crimean War. The materials for the study of those negotiations are ample enough: voluminous official correspondence,¹ the private papers of many of the chief personages, and a considered defense of its conduct by the Russian government. Yet the most diverse views are still held as to the responsibility for a war which is frequently considered to have been unnecessary.

The Russian *Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War*² finds the villain in the Emperor Napoleon III., with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador in Constantinople, as accessory to the plot. M. Serge Goriainov in his *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles* is less explicit, but he definitely asserts the right of Russia to occupy the Danubian Principalities, the refusal to evacuate which was the immediate cause of the war; while the passage of the Dardanelles by the French and British fleets, which was the rejoinder to the Russian occupation, is denounced as illegal. The historian of the Second Empire, M. Pierre de la Gorce, regards "the distant days of 1853" as "the last when French diplomacy spoke a language

¹ The most extensive collection is the series of papers presented to Parliament and grouped under the general title of *Eastern Papers, 1853-1855* (*Parliamentary Papers*, vol. LXXI.); the more important documents are given in the *Annual Register*. For the French and Russian correspondence, reference must be made to the *Annuaire Historique* for 1853 and 1854, and to De Testa, *Recueil de Traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les Puissances Étrangères* (Paris, 1864-1898), vol. IV. Jasmund, *Aktenstücke zur Orientalischen Frage* (3 vols., Berlin, 1855-1859) has most of the documents, including some Austrian material not found in the other collections.

² Written in 1862, but not published till 1878; English translation, 1882.

worthy of itself".³ So also M. Edmond Bapst's *Les Origines de la Guerre de Crimée* (1912), objective as it is, is none the less a defense of Napoleon III.

It is among English writers, however, that the greatest dissension prevails. Mr. J. A. R. Marriott has recently spoken of the Tsar Nicholas I. as "unquestionably the prime author of the war".⁴ Kinglake, whose *Invasion of the Crimea* (1863) cannot be ignored, in spite of its mistakes and its violence of expression, ascribed the outbreak to the political necessities of the Emperor of the French and the frank partizanship of Lord Palmerston for Turkey. A generation ago Sir Spencer Walpole declared that "the ship was steerèd into the whirlpool" by the hand of Lord Stratford,⁵ and Lord Eversley has given a similar verdict in *The Turkish Empire* (1917). The great ambassador is vigorously defended from the charge of provoking the war by Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, who throws the blame on the tsar.

A popular opinion at the time, fastening on a phrase of Lord Clarendon, was that Great Britain "drifted" into the war owing to the dissensions of the Aberdeen ministry, which could not formulate a policy definite and downright enough to make Russia modify her demands. Any lack of harmony was denied by Mr. Gladstone and the Duke of Argyll, both members of the cabinet; nor is it admitted by Lord Stanmore, the biographer of Lord Aberdeen and Sidney Herbert, who endeavors to show that the policy of the Aberdeen ministry was concurred in by all its members. Mr. Herbert Paul, on the other hand, believes that the differences of opinion were serious, and argues that, but for the determination of Palmerston to have war, Napoleon and Stratford would not have succeeded with their scheme for the humiliation of Russia.⁶

The original issue out of which the war arose was a three-cornered dispute between France, Russia, and Turkey over certain Holy Places at Jerusalem and Bethlehem associated with the life of Christ. Its details are of no concern here, for after dragging on for more than two years, it was finally settled, by Lord Stratford in April, 1853, to the satisfaction of all concerned. But a month earlier Russia had taken advantage of the difficulties of the Sublime Porte to present demands which were considered to involve a virtual protectorate by Russia over the Greek Christians of the Ottoman

³ P. de la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire* (Paris, 1895), I. 216.

⁴ J. A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question* (Oxford, 1917), p. 242.

⁵ Spencer Walpole, *History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815*, VI. 15.

⁶ Herbert Paul, *History of Modern England*, I. 311, 314.

Empire. The concessions offered by Turkey were considered inadequate; the Russian ambassador left Constantinople, and Russian troops occupied the Danubian Principalities (July, 1853).

This action alarmed Austria, and in a lesser degree Prussia. They accordingly joined with France and Great Britain in drafting a document, known as the Vienna Note, which purported to recognize the legitimate claims of Russia without prejudice to the sovereignty of the sultan. Since this formula differed but little from that originally presented to the Porte by Russia, it was accepted by the tsar. But the Turks refused to adopt it without certain amendments, which in fact changed the character of the document, and these were in turn declined by the tsar. The Four Powers would probably have stood by their original decision, adding, however, a guarantee for Turkey, or left her to her fate, had not a confidential despatch of the Russian government been published which showed that the Russian interpretation of the Vienna Note was precisely in the sense that the Turkish modifications were designed to prevent, and contrary to the views and intentions of the Four Powers. The latter, in the nature of things, declined to force the note on the Porte.

Before further action could be taken, Turkey, confident that France and Great Britain would not leave her to the mercy of Russia—for their fleets had been near the Dardanelles since early summer—declared war on Russia (October 4, 1853). The diplomacy of the powers was now exerted to find a formula which would restore peace between Russia and Turkey before any overt hostilities, and on December 5 a second Vienna protocol established an identity of views among the Four Powers, on the basis of which the Porte was asked to state its terms.

Once again diplomacy was handicapped by the march of events. On November 30 a Turkish squadron in the harbor of Sinope, a port on the Black Sea, had been destroyed by the Russians, and the answer of the Porte was substantially a repetition of its original offer to Russia. Nevertheless the Turkish note was adopted by the Vienna Conference and communicated to St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, on the same day the tsar learned that the French and British fleets had entered the Black Sea, with instructions to prevent any Russian men-of-war from leaving port. He therefore made counter-proposals. These were indeed rejected by the Vienna Conference, but Napoleon III. wrote a personal letter to Nicholas proposing that the Russian troops should evacuate the Principalities, the French and British fleets should withdraw from the Black Sea, and Russia should negotiate directly with Turkey. Before an

answer could be received, the Western Powers, at the suggestion of Austria and on the understanding that she would support them, demanded the evacuation of the Principalities by April 30, 1854. But it turned out that the Austrian support was diplomatic only. The tsar therefore made no reply to the ultimatum, and on March 27 France and Great Britain declared war.

The fundamental point at issue, which is sometimes overlooked by those who would ascribe the Crimean War to Lord Stratford, Napoleon III., or some other person, was the future of the Ottoman Empire. For half a century the military power of Turkey had been steadily declining, as her wars with Russia and Egypt attested only too well; her subject races, Serbs, Greeks, Rumanians, were demanding and securing autonomy or independence. The reason was that in spite of innumerable efforts to reform the public administration, the last of which, the *hatt-i-shérif* of 1839, had promised to all Ottoman subjects, without distinction of race or creed, security of life, honor, and property, the equitable distribution of taxes, the public trial of prisoners, and the right of all to devise property, yet justice was not done to Christians, and their lives, honor, and property were not safe. But by article VII. of the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) between Russia and Turkey, "the Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches". For this "vague claim to exercise the guardianship of civilisation on behalf of the Christian races and the Orthodox church",⁷ Russia now proposed to substitute a definite right of intervention; and it was generally recognized that she had a case for redress. But the acceptance of her demands would, it was believed in France and Great Britain, have confided to her the practical control of the Turkish government, would have converted the inhabitants of the Balkan provinces of the sultan into virtual subjects of the tsar; all of which was opposed to the interests of the Western Powers, and, in spirit at least, contrary to the Convention of 1841, which pledged the Five Powers to recognize the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Right or wrong, this view was sincerely held; nor was the conduct of the tsar calculated to inspire confidence in his intentions.

He despatched to Constantinople a special ambassador, Prince Menshikov, who was not a diplomat but a rough soldier, at a moment when both the French and British ambassadors were absent from their posts, with the obvious intent of dragooning the Sublime Porte into an acceptance of his demands. Neither the quarrel about the

⁷ John Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, I. 354.

Holy Places nor a dispute between the Porte and Austria concerning Turkish operations in Montenegro, the adjustment of which was the announced object of the embassy,⁸ required the display of pomp and ceremony which marked the arrival of Menshikov at Constantinople and the mobilization of extra troops along the river Pruth. The real purpose of the mission was soon revealed, despite Menshikov's efforts to keep it secret. He desired the sultan to enter into a secret alliance with the tsar, who would put at Turkey's disposal a fleet and 400,000 men for use against a western power. In return, Russia demanded "an addition to the Treaty of Kainardji, whereby the Greek Church should be placed entirely under Russian protection without reference to Turkey".⁹

The proposal for an alliance may have been a manoeuvre for position; at any rate it was dropped in the face of Turkish opposition. But the demand anent the Greek Church was pressed with vigor. Early in May, Menshikov presented the draft of a convention to be concluded between Russia and the Porte and required an acceptance within five days. By this the sultan was to agree:

No change shall be made as regards the rights, privileges, and immunities which have been enjoyed by, or are possessed *ab antiquo* by, the Orthodox Churches, pious institutions, and clergy in the dominions of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, which is pleased to secure the same to them in perpetuity, on the strict basis of the *status quo* now existing.

The rights and advantages conceded by the Ottoman Government, or which shall hereafter be conceded, to the other Christian rites by treaties, conventions, or special arrangements, shall be considered as belonging also to the Orthodox Church.¹⁰

When this was refused, Menshikov announced that he would be content with a *sened*; and, failing that, drafted a note which should be addressed to him by the Porte, the sultan to promise that

the Orthodox Church of the East, its clergy, churches, possessions and religious establishments, shall henceforth enjoy, without any prejudice and under the aegis of His Majesty the Sultan, the privileges and immunities which have been assured to them *ab antiquo*, or which have been granted to them on different occasions by imperial favor; and on a high principle of equity they shall participate in the advantages accorded to the other Christian sects, as well as to the foreign legations accredited to the Sublime Porte by convention or special arrangement.¹¹

⁸ Memorandum of the tsar, February 21, 1853, *Annual Register*, 1853, "History", p. 255; Nesselrode to Brunnow, April 7, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 138, pt. I., p. 115; Castelbajac to Drouyn de Lhuys, March 21, 1853, *Jasmund*, I. 57.

⁹ Rose to Clarendon, March 25, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 134, pt. I., p. 107; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning* (1888), II. 248.

¹⁰ Walpole, *op. cit.*, VI. 19; Edmond Bapst, *Les Origines de la Guerre de Crimée*, app., p. 490; *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 239.

¹¹ Bapst, p. 492.

What were the precise objects of the Russian government? In a circular of June 11, 1853,¹² Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, denied that Russia aimed at any territorial aggrandizement, the ruin and destruction of Turkey, or even at any religious protectorate beyond that already exercised on the basis of facts or treaties. "The treaty of Kainardji . . . implicates for us sufficiently a right of surveillance and remonstrance. This right is again established, and more clearly still specified in the treaty of Adrianople. . . . We have, therefore, in fact, and have had for nearly eighty years, the very rights conceded to us which are now contested." But in the settlement of the question of the Holy Places, which had not been raised by Russia, "the equilibrium . . . had been destroyed" "at the expense of the Greco-Russian form of worship", and in addition, considering "all the acts of weakness, tergiversation and duplicity which have characterized the conduct of the Ottoman authorities" in carrying out their engagements, it was evident that the new firmans (those of May 5 embodying the settlement made by Stratford), "after the flagrant violation of the one which had preceded them, could not possess any greater value than the latter", without a guarantee that they "would be executed and religiously observed in their principles and their consequences". In general, Russia contended that she was claiming with reference to the Greek Church only rights similar to those exercised by France for Roman Catholics under the Capitulations of 1740. Finally, said Count Nesselrode, "the careful examination of our *projet de note* will prove that it contains nothing that is contrary to the rights of sovereignty of the Sultan, nothing that implies any exaggerated pretensions on our part or which presupposes a defiance as injurious to us as it is little justified by our previous actions".

Writing fifty years later, M. Edmond Bapst is of the opinion that "the acceptance of the note of Prince Menshikov by Turkey would have placed Russia in a rather ridiculous position"; after mobilizing three army corps and putting her Black Sea fleet on a war basis, she would have secured, "in terms which were vague and open to argument, a right to intervene in the quarrels of the Greek clergy with the Ottoman authorities, when in fact she had been intervening freely and at every opportunity in these quarrels for a long time".¹³ And it may not unreasonably be argued that this was the original view of European diplomacy, or at least that the dispute between Russia and the Porte was not really understood.

¹² *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 260.

¹³ Bapst, pp. 377-378.

For the Vienna Note, framed by the German and Western Powers after the Russian occupation of the Principalities, was little more than a redraft of the Menshikov note.

The Porte was to declare:

If at all times the Emperors of Russia have shown their active solicitude for the maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the Orthodox Greek Church in the Ottoman empire, the Sultans have never refused to confirm them anew by solemn acts which attested their ancient and constant benevolence towards their Christian subjects. . . . the Government of His Majesty the Sultan will remain faithful to the letter and the spirit of the stipulations of the treaties of Kainardji and of Adrianople relative to the protection of the Christian worship, and that His Majesty regards it as a point of honour with him to cause to be preserved for ever from all attacks either at present or in future, the enjoyment of the spiritual privileges which have been accorded by the august ancestors of His Majesty to the Orthodox Church in the East, and which are maintained and confirmed by him; and moreover, to allow the Greek worship to participate in a spirit of high justice in the advantages conceded to other Christians by convention or special agreement.¹⁴

Not only did this note satisfy the demands of Russia, who at once accepted it; it practically conceded, by its last clauses, the Russian claim that the Orthodox Church should enjoy rights similar to those of the Latin Church under the Capitulations, although Lord Clarendon, the British foreign secretary, had been at some pains to point out that the analogy was false.¹⁵

There was, however, no real harmony between Russia and the other powers. The note had been hurriedly drafted,¹⁶ and the Porte proposed three amendments. By the first, "the maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the Orthodox Greek Church in the Ottoman Empire" was declared to depend, not upon the "active solicitude" of the emperors of Russia, but upon the sultans, who "have never ceased to provide for . . . and to confirm them".

¹⁴ *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 278.

¹⁵ Clarendon to Seymour, May 31, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 195, pt. I., p. 200.

¹⁶ Clarendon, in accepting the Vienna Note, had instructed Westmorland "to inform Lord Stratford that her Majesty's Government desire that this project should be adopted by the Porte, if no other arrangement has been made already". Clarendon to Westmorland, July 28, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 5, pt. II., p. 2; Lane-Poole, *Life of Stratford Canning*, II. 290-291. As a matter of fact, other arrangements had been made: the note of July 25, drafted by the ambassadors at Constantinople and acceptable to the Porte. Had Westmorland insisted that the Vienna Conference reconsider its note in the light of Stratford's project, the Vienna Note must have been a very different document; and the dispute about its interpretation, upon which so much was to turn, might never have arisen. Since the tsar accepted the Vienna Note as an ultimatum, he would probably have accepted one that had been more carefully drafted.

Secondly, the sultan would "remain faithful to the *stipulations* of the Treaty of Kainardji, confirmed by that of Adrianople, relative to the protection by the *Sublime Porte* of the Christian religion", and, lastly, the Greek Church was to share only in the advantages granted to the other Christian communities, "*being Ottoman subjects*".¹⁷

These changes were most unwelcome to the powers, since they could not persuade the tsar to accept them. So an effort was made to assure the Porte that the note gave the tsar no new rights, that the treaty of Kainardji did not involve the immunities and privileges of the Greek Church; and that the note could not be construed to mean the extension of privileges to several millions of subjects that had at various times been granted to foreigners.¹⁸ The powers even proposed to guarantee that the note would be so interpreted. But their arguments were made ridiculous by the interpretation actually given by the Russian government.

According to a despatch of Nesselrode,¹⁹ mysteriously published in Berlin, the Vienna Note possessed three advantages. (1) It recognized "that there has ever existed on the part of Russia active solicitude for her co-religionists in Turkey, as also for the maintenance of their religious immunities, and that the Ottoman government is disposed to take account of that solicitude, and also to leave those immunities untouched". (2) Its "terms, which made the maintenance of the immunities to be derived from the very spirit of the treaty [of Kainardji] . . . were in conformity with the doctrine which we have maintained and still maintain. For . . . the promise to protect a religion and its churches implies of necessity the maintenance of the immunities enjoyed by them". (3) Russia could claim for the Greek Church privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Roman Church under treaties between the Porte and Catholic governments. In later years the Russian government expressed its satisfaction with the "certain vagueness around these delicate questions", which put it in their power "to interpret them in accord with [their] views, which were perfectly proper".²⁰

In other words, the question was thrown back to its original terms, should the protection of the Greek Christians be accorded by the Porte or regulated by Russia? The latter still contended that the treaty of Kainardji had availed nothing and was useless without

¹⁷ *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 280.

¹⁸ Clarendon to Stratford, September 10, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 88, pt. II., p. 91.

¹⁹ *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 284; Bapst, p. 497.

²⁰ *Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War*, I. 208.

a guarantee. The former insisted that the treaty never intended to recognize any right of intervention. The Porte would promise anything²¹ except to sign a treaty or note which would allow Russia to make representations on behalf of the Greek Christians; Russia would be content with nothing less. Thus in the proposals made after an interview between Nicholas and Francis Joseph at Olmütz in September, 1853, the tsar, though insisting that he asked for nothing which could prejudice the independence or rights of the sultan or which would imply a desire to interfere with the internal affairs of the Porte, and though stating that he desired only the maintenance of the *status quo* in all matters pertaining to the Greek Church, nevertheless stood by the Vienna Note, without renouncing the interpretation given by Nesselrode.²² These overtures were therefore rejected by the Four Powers. Instead they ultimately adopted, in a protocol signed at Vienna on January 13, 1854,²³ as their last word to the tsar, the answer of the Porte to their request for a statement of the terms on which it would make peace.

Apart from the demand for the evacuation of the Principalities and the admission of Turkey to the European Concert, the essential feature was the promise to confirm and uphold the spiritual privileges of the religious communities consisting of its own subjects; "and if one of those communities should possess, as regards spiritual privileges, something more than the others, [the Porte] will grant to the latter, if they desire to enjoy them in the same manner, the favor to be put in this respect on a footing of equality"; with the object of ensuring this, a firman would be communicated to the Four Powers and to Russia. This was practically what Turkey had offered from the beginning of the controversy. In her counter-proposals,²⁴ Russia demanded a special reference to the privileges of the Greek Church—as distinct from the general enumeration applicable to all the Christian communities; to the mention of privileges added the words "*droits et immunités*"—which the Porte and Lord Clarendon had insisted were distinct from the privileges; required that the firman offered by the Porte be annexed to the treaty of peace—which would have given Russia the long-desired legal ground for interference.

Lord Stanmore, who believes that "the objects at which [the Emperor Nicholas] really aimed at that time were neither extrava-

²¹ See Reshid Pasha's final offer, June, 1853. A. W. Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, I. 634.

²² Lord Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert, a Memoir* (London, 1906), I. 185.

²³ *Annual Register*, 1854, app., pp. 498-499.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 520; Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 190-191.

gant nor unjustifiable", argues that the differences between the Turkish offer and the Russian counter-proposals were "slight" and "eminently such as might have been removed by negotiation and discussion".²⁵ Actually, the changes desired by Russia, slight though they were, involved the whole question at issue; and it is difficult to accept his view that "at every fresh stage of the proceedings Russia had conceded something, and it was probable, nay, almost certain that she would concede still more". There was, in short, an "irreconcilable deadlock".

It may be observed that Russia was always willing to give the same assurances as regards Turkey that Austria offered in 1914 when her ultimatum seemed to strike at the very independence of Serbia; and they carried an equal conviction. For early in the year 1853 the tsar, in conversations²⁶ with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador in St. Petersburg, had attempted to draw the British government into a discussion of the eventual fate of the Ottoman Empire. The sultan is very sick and may die on our hands, said Nicholas. "If England and Russia arrive at an understanding, there would be no further concern." The European territories of the Porte could be formed into independent states, and British interests could be safeguarded by the occupation of Egypt and Crete. For herself, Russia would insist that no great power should be installed at Constantinople; she would support the *status quo* as long as possible, but she would not allow a pistol to be fired for the reconstruction of the Turkish power. The British government politely declined these overtures, declaring that "nothing is more calculated to precipitate [a Turkish catastrophe] than the constant prediction of its being close at hand".²⁷ But the tsar clung to his idea. On August 6 he expounded it to General de Castelbajac, the French ambassador in St. Petersburg, and probably discussed the partition of Turkey.²⁸ Likewise he tried to bribe Austria with territorial concessions. In May, 1853, he requested that power to occupy Bosnia and Serbia, with the hope that this would induce the Porte to accept his demands,²⁹ and according to M. Bapst, the offer was renewed in January, 1854, as a bid for Austrian neutrality.³⁰ The tsar frequently professed his intention to respect the integrity

²⁵ Stanmore, *op. cit.*, I. 201, 191.

²⁶ Printed in full in *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 248 ff.

²⁷ Clarendon to Seymour, March 23, 1853. *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 258.

²⁸ Castelbajac to Drouyn de Lhuys, August 9, 1853. Bapst, p. 433, note 3.

²⁹ H. Friedjung, *Der Krimkrieg und die Oesterreichische Politik* (Berlin, 1907), p. 6.

³⁰ Bapst, p. 486.

of the Ottoman Empire, but he was clearly formulating plans for its partition and disposition.

Subsequent events have proved that the tsar's diagnosis of Turkey's condition was correct, that Stratford and Palmerston, who believed the regeneration of Turkey possible, were wrong. Moreover, the territorial settlement of what had been the Ottoman Empire, reached after a succession of wars, was in 1914 substantially that envisaged by the tsar in 1853; in some quarters it is doubtless considered a proof of English hypocrisy that Great Britain, which in 1853 explicitly disclaimed any wish to join in a partition of Turkey, has acquired a larger share of it than any other power. Yet it does not follow that the tsar's offer should have been closed with by any government to which it was made. "Had it not been for the Crimean War, and the policy subsequently adopted by Lord Beaconsfield's government, the independence of the Balkan States would never have been achieved, and the Russians would now be in Constantinople."³¹ This judgment of Lord Cromer carries great weight, and it is not to be discarded because Great Britain and France in 1915 recognized the Russian claims to Constantinople; for the situation had been profoundly modified by the independence of the Balkan States and by the far greater dangers that threatened from the German control of Turkey. The establishment of Russia on the Bosphorus sixty years ago would no doubt have put an earlier end to Turkish tyranny, but would the substitution of Russian autocracy and nationalism have appreciably benefited the Balkan peoples?

Of course the Four Powers were not thinking of the Balkan peoples, but of the larger political aspects of the whole Near Eastern question, which, they contended, was a problem for Europe, not the preserve of Russia. And Russia they did not trust, as will appear to any one who reads the published correspondence. The tsar might write to Queen Victoria that "in public affairs and in the relations between one country and another, there is no pledge more sure than the word of a sovereign",³² but the powers opposed to him were unwilling to put his pledge to the test. And that for a sufficient reason. At the very moment when Nicholas was telling Sir Hamilton Seymour that "the best means of ensuring the permanence of the Turkish Government is to avoid worrying it by excessive demands made in a manner humiliating to its independence

³¹ Earl of Cromer, *Political and Literary Essays* (London, 1913), p. 275.

³² December 14, 1853. *Letters of Queen Victoria* (New York, 1907), II. 565.

and dignity",³³ his ambassador at Constantinople was presenting demands which the Porte found "humiliating" and the powers "excessive". Nor was the tsar always honest with his own ministers, for he concealed from Nesselrode the real purpose of the Menshikov mission and thus laid his chancellor open to the charge of double-dealing.³⁴ Then came the unfortunate incident involving the interpretation of the Vienna Note, and, lastly, although the tsar was unquestionably within his rights, the affair of Sinope, which followed upon an announcement that Russia would not undertake any offensive operations against Turkey, in spite of the latter's declaration of war. Palmerston's criticism was indeed not lacking in fact:

the Russian Government has always had two strings to its bow—moderate language and disinterested professions at Petersburg and at London; active aggression by its agents on the scene of operations. If the aggressions succeed locally, the Petersburg Government adopts them as a *fait accompli* which it did not intend, but cannot, in honour, recede from. If the local agents fail, they are disavowed and recalled, and the language previously held is appealed to as a proof that the agents have overstepped their instructions.³⁵

If no positive instance of this kind occurred in 1853–1854, there was some ground for suspicion of the real motives of the tsar.

Those motives were, it may be safely said, to secure a virtual protectorate over the Greek Christian subjects of the sultan, a design announced as early as December, 1852,³⁶ and to buy the support or consent of some great power to it. Nicholas first sounded the British government, partly because he disliked Napoleon III., partly because he thought Lord Aberdeen, whom he had known for some years, in sympathy with his ideas.³⁷ Meeting with no encouragement, he turned promptly to his despised "friend", the Emperor of

³³ *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 259.

³⁴ Clarendon to Seymour, May 31, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 195, pt. I., p. 200. The Russian *Diplomatic Study*, I. 163, admits that the failure to publish the demands of Menshikov was "very grave". The private letters of Thouvenel, political director of the French foreign office, and Castelbajac show that Nesselrode, being of German origin and Lutheran faith, was not entirely trusted by the tsar, and that the religious zealots of the Russian foreign office had much to do with shaping Russian policy. L. Thouvenel, *Nicolas I^{er} et Napoléon III.* (1891).

³⁵ Letter to Clarendon, May 22, 1853. E. Ashley, *Life of Palmerston* (London, 1876), II. 273.

³⁶ Rose to Malmesbury, December 5, 1852. *Eastern Papers*, no. 55, pt. I., p. 51.

³⁷ Clearly, if cynically, brought out in the *Diplomatic Study*.

the French, whose policy was based on a close understanding with Great Britain, and sought to make him the accomplice of Russian designs. He was so far successful that the Vienna Note was based on a draft prepared by the French foreign office.

But while the content of the Vienna Note was entirely acceptable to Russia, its origin was not; that is to say, it had been prepared in concert by the Four Powers, whose combined pressure the tsar did not feel strong enough to resist. Nicholas had assured Sir Hamilton Seymour that when he spoke of Russia he spoke of Austria as well; that what suited the one suited the other; that their interests, as regards Turkey, were perfectly identical.³⁸ It was time to prove it. So he visited Francis Joseph during the Austrian manoeuvres at Olmütz (September, 1853), invited the young emperor and the King of Prussia to Warsaw, and himself went to Potsdam. The results were quite satisfactory, at least for the moment. Not only was Francis Joseph "entirely persuaded of the sincerity" of the Russian ruler; his government decided upon a reduction of the Austrian army, and Count Buol, his foreign minister, accepted Nesselrode's proposals as a basis of settlement.³⁹

Another success, small in itself but full of possibilities, and all the more gratifying because unexpected, was achieved. Among the personages present at Olmütz was General de Goyon, as the head of a special French military mission. He was singled out by the tsar for special attention, and invited to the Russian manoeuvres at Warsaw. Later Nicholas told the general that he would be pleased to receive the Emperor Napoleon in Russia as a brother.⁴⁰ With the Germanic powers in his pocket and a complaisant French general to carry his honeyed words to Paris, the tsar might well seem to be making progress.

As it turned out, General Goyon was peremptorily recalled by his government, to the great disgust of the tsar. Also, the Turkish declaration of war had the effect of restoring the Concert of the Four Powers. But Nicholas only pursued with greater zeal his set policy of winning over some member of the Concert to his programme. In January, 1854, he despatched Count Orlov, one of the most eminent Russian statesmen, to Vienna to secure the neutrality of Austria for the duration of the war with Turkey; the Russian minister in Berlin was instructed to make a similar request of

³⁸ Seymour to Russell, February 22, 1853. Jasmund, I. 38.

³⁹ Westmorland to Clarendon, September 28, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 121, pt. II., p. 128; Friedjung, *Der Krimkrieg*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ Bapst, pp. 447-448.

Frederick William IV. If these missions were successful, Russia could abandon the defensive attitude in the field and ignore the hostility of the Western Powers. To attain this, Count Orlov was authorized, apart from promises of territorial gains in the Balkans, to guarantee the integrity of Austria, Prussia, and the German Confederation, that is, from attack by Napoleon III. on the Rhine or in Italy.⁴¹ Both the Austrian emperor and Buol declined to negotiate on this basis, insisting, instead, that the Russian troops must not pass the Danube. How deep was the resentment of the Russian government appeared later on the publication of the *Diplomatic Study of the Crimean War*.

This lengthy analysis of Russian policy warrants the conclusion that the tsar intended from the beginning to secure a protectorate, recognized by the Porte, over the Greek Christian subjects of the Porte, and never receded from that programme. But understanding the certain opposition to this from the other powers, he sought to detach one or more of them from the Concert. He failed to accomplish this; but his pride, a belief in the justice of his cause, and high confidence in his military strength led him to refuse all concessions. The principal cause of the Crimean War was, then, the continued effort of Russia, after the question of the Holy Places had been regulated, to carry through a policy which would have profoundly disturbed the *status quo* in the Near East. Whether the diplomacy of the powers opposed to this policy was conducted in the manner best calculated to restrain the tsar is another question.

In so far as the Crimean War was the logical development of the dispute concerning the Holy Places, the Emperor Napoleon III. must bear a fair measure of responsibility. "The ambassador of France" . . . , declared the British foreign secretary, "was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Latin and Greek Churches were not very active, but that without some political action on the part of France, those quarrels would never have troubled the relations of friendly Powers".⁴² Nor was it until the pressure of La Valette had forced the Porte into a definite decision in favor of France that the tsar mobilized troops on the Turkish frontier, and, somewhat later, despatched the Menshikov mission to Constantinople.

⁴¹ Friedjung, *Der Krimkrieg*, p. 17. About the same time a final effort was made through the Saxon minister in Paris, who was a son-in-law of Nesselrode, to establish an entente between France and Russia. On the strength of this Napoleon addressed his autograph letter to Nicholas on January 29, 1854. Bapst, pp. 479-480.

⁴² Russell to Cowley, January 28, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 77, pt. I., p. 67.

After this, however, the diplomatic conduct of France became pacific and conciliatory. The impetuous La Valette was recalled, and his successor strove for an accommodation between Menshikov and the Porte; while General de Castelbajac was instructed to declare that France did not wish to deprive the Greek Church of any of its existing privileges.⁴³ During April and May, 1853, when the contradiction between the assurances of Nesselrode and the actual demands of Menshikov rendered suspect the entire policy of the tsar, Drouyn de Lhuys, the French foreign minister, kept asserting that while France would support the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire in conformity with the Convention of 1841, yet the matter in dispute was one to be settled by the powers acting together.⁴⁴ In keeping with this attitude, he drafted the document which became the Vienna Note, and he counselled, though he was overruled, the acceptance of the proposals put forward by the tsar at Olmütz.⁴⁵ Throughout the long negotiations, the French foreign office sought to preserve the Concert of the Four Powers as the best means of exerting pressure upon Russia; and if its ambassador at Constantinople unduly stimulated the war spirit of the Turks, nevertheless he labored with his colleagues to find a settlement satisfactory to both the Porte and the tsar.

Less moderation was observed by the Emperor Napoleon, who, according to the late Émile Ollivier,⁴⁶ was determined to bring on a war, not from personal pique with the tsar, who had addressed him as "friend" instead of "brother", but because the conflict of interests between Austria and Russia in Turkish affairs would, if properly exploited, disrupt the Holy Alliance that had been reconsecrated by the events of 1848-1849, and remove a serious obstacle to the unification of Italy. When, therefore, the Grand Vizier, alarmed by the demands of Menshikov, requested the Western Powers to make a naval demonstration, Napoleon, against the advice of his ministers, ordered his Toulon fleet to Salamis. He was apparently guided by the opinion of Persigny that "the despatch of your fleet . . . will force the hand of the British government".⁴⁷

⁴³ Drouyn de Lhuys to Castelbajac, January 15, 1853. *Annuaire Historique*, 1853, app., p. 25. Castelbajac was so strongly in favor of peace that he was sometimes accused of being pro-Russian. Thouvenel, *Nicolas I^{er} et Napoléon III.*, *passim*.

⁴⁴ Drouyn de Lhuys to Bourqueney (Vienna), April 12, May 26, 1853; to Walewski (London), May 31, 1853. *Annuaire Historique*, 1853, app., pp. 31, 58-60.

⁴⁵ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 186; Bapst, pp. 453-454.

⁴⁶ É. Ollivier, *L'Empire Libéral* (Paris, 1898), III. 188.

⁴⁷ Bapst, p. 354.

As the British government did not fall in with this policy, the emperor soon regretted his move,⁴⁸ which left him in a false position; he could not withdraw without stultifying himself, yet from Salamis he could not in the least control events. But the withdrawal of Menshikov from Constantinople afforded an excuse for further action. He proposed that the French and British fleets should proceed to Besika Bay,⁴⁹ and this time the London cabinet, with doubtful wisdom, yielded.

To the occupation of the Principalities, Napoleon, according to Ollivier,⁵⁰ would have replied by a declaration of war, if he had been directing the policy of the powers. For the moment he had to content himself with the Vienna Note. But he declared that the French fleet could no longer remain at Besika Bay, and on August 19 he pressed the British government to order the fleets into the Dardanelles.⁵¹ Late in September, on the strength of a despatch from the French ambassador at Constantinople reporting grave disturbances in the city—which Stratford presently contradicted—the British government accepted the French policy,⁵² and authorized Stratford to call up the fleet. Finally, the decision to send the fleets from Constantinople into the Black Sea was eventually taken at the demand of the French emperor.

Not one of these measures was illegal. Besika Bay lies outside the Dardanelles, and the Convention of 1841 could not be invoked against the presence of the allied fleets.⁵³ Those fleets did not pass the Dardanelles until two weeks after Turkey had declared war on Russia;⁵⁴ if they could pass the Straits with perfect right, they could

⁴⁸ Clarendon to Queen Victoria, March 29, 1853. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, II. 538.

⁴⁹ Paul, *Hist. of Mod. England*, I. 313.

⁵⁰ Ollivier, *op. cit.*, III. 179.

⁵¹ Drouyn de Lhuys to Walewski, July 13, August 19, 1853. Jasmund, I. 123, 153.

⁵² Drouyn de Lhuys to Walewski, September 21, 1853. *Ibid.*, I. 167. "Lord John quite approves of the fleet going up to Constantinople because it is a war measure, whereas it was only agreed to by Aberdeen for the preservation of peace." Sir H. Maxwell, *Life and Letters of George Villiers, Fourth Earl of Clarendon* (London, 1913), II. 30.

⁵³ The Russian government repeatedly declared that the decision to occupy the Principalities was taken as the result of the despatch of the fleets to Besika Bay. This was not correct, for the two measures were announced in St. Petersburg and London on the same day, and were, in fact, quite independent of each other.

⁵⁴ The statement of Goriainov, *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles* (Paris, 1910), p. 94, that the fleets passed the Dardanelles in June, 1853, is a clear mistake.

also go into the Black Sea. A policy, however, may be perfectly legal and yet not expedient, and the action of the French and British governments is open to precisely that criticism. They resorted to half-measures. Lord Aberdeen pointed out that the fleets at Besika Bay could not save Constantinople in the event of a sudden Russian stroke from the Black Sea.⁵⁵ Later, when the Dardanelles had been passed, the Turks were less conciliatory, which was agreeable enough to the war parties in the various capitals, but most embarrassing to those diplomatists who still hoped for peace. Above all, the proud Russian autocrat was deeply incensed by the steady advance of the allied fleets, and while he sparred for time and kept offering to negotiate, he was less disposed than ever to concede any of the vital points at issue; yet at no time was the question of peace or war put squarely to him. But Ollivier⁵⁶ compliments Napoleon for concealing his "*désir intérieur*", and, denying that his policy was hesitant or fluctuating, says, that "if the Emperor came out for war cautiously it was for the very reason that he wanted war".

This interpretation is not necessarily confuted by the next move of Napoleon, which was seemingly a last effort to preserve peace between Russia and the Western Powers. When the French and British fleets entered the Black Sea, with instructions to prevent Russian vessels from leaving port, the Russian government asked whether it would be allowed to revictual its troops by sea and whether the allied squadrons would prevent the Turkish navy from attacking Russian ships on the Russian coast. In the event of a negative reply, the Russian ambassadors in London and Paris were to ask for their passports.⁵⁷ At this juncture the Emperor Napoleon wrote a personal letter to the Tsar Nicholas. He proposed that hostilities should cease, the Russian armies withdraw from the Principalities and the allied squadrons from the Black Sea, and that Russia negotiate directly with Turkey a convention which would be submitted to the Vienna Conference.⁵⁸

According to his French apologist,⁵⁹ the emperor desired to withhold the answer to the Russian questions pending a reply from the tsar to this communication. The conditions suggested were fair enough to warrant a reasonable hope of peace, and even Kinglake

⁵⁵ Sir Arthur Gordon (Lord Stanmore), *Earl of Aberdeen* (London, 1894), p. 222.

⁵⁶ Ollivier, *op. cit.*, III. 177, 184, note.

⁵⁷ Nesselrode to Brunnow and to Kisselev, January 16, 1854. *Eastern Papers*, pt. III., no. 1, p. 1; *Annuaire Historique*, 1854, app., p. 7.

⁵⁸ *Annual Register*, 1854, pp. 242-244.

⁵⁹ Bapst, p. 483.

believes the proposal to have been sincere, explaining it by the desire and necessity of Napoleon to keep in the forefront of great events. He had brought on a crisis which made war seem inevitable; he would now conjure away the dread vision, and consolidate his political position both at home and abroad.

One cannot, however, avoid a suspicion that the French emperor was playing a deep game. He yielded at once to the British insistence that an answer be given immediately in the Black Sea matter; furthermore, the language of his letter to the tsar was not exactly calculated to appease the irritation of that proud prince. Napoleon said that the affair of Sinope had been a "check" to the "military honor" of the Western Powers, thus introducing the dangerous element of prestige which had hitherto been kept out of the negotiations; he declared that there must be "a definitive understanding or a decided rupture". He informed the tsar that if the French proposal were declined, "then France, as well as England, will be compelled to leave to the fate of arms and the fortune of war that which might now be decided by reason and justice". It could not have been a matter of surprise that this language, together with the notification that the Russian fleets would not be allowed to revictual the Russian troops,⁶⁰ proved too much for the temper and dignity of Nicholas. As La Gorce remarks, the result was only "*trop prévu*".⁶¹ The tsar replied in a tone so haughty as to destroy all chance of negotiation, for he gave warning that "Russia would prove herself in 1854 what she was in 1812".⁶² The French government thereupon began military preparations, and on February 27, 1854, joined with Great Britain in the ultimatum that made war inevitable.

The positive interests of France in the Near East were at this time rather limited—the protectorate of the Roman Catholic Church and a vague aspiration in Egypt; the Russian demands upon Turkey would affect her only as they might disturb the general balance of power, although, as a great power, France was entitled to participate in the solution of the problem. But these issues were complicated by the personal relations of the two emperors; each intended to be the dominant force in international politics, each cherished a grievance, real or fancied, against the other. If the ambition of the tsar was the principal cause of the Crimean War,

⁶⁰ Clarendon to Brunnow, January 31, 1854, Jasmund, I. 235; Drouyn de Lhuys to Kisselev, February 1, 1854, *Annuaire Historique*, 1854, app., p. 5.

⁶¹ La Gorce, *op. cit.*, I. 211.

⁶² *Annual Register*, 1854, p. 246.

the policy of Napoleon, conciliatory enough in the diplomatic channel, but provocative in the direction most likely to rouse the Russian autocrat—"military honor"—made a peaceful solution difficult, perhaps even impossible.

Great Britain took no interest in the original dispute concerning the Holy Places. The spectacle of "rival churches contending for mastery in the very place where Christ died for mankind", said Lord John Russell, was "melancholy indeed",⁶³ and the Porte was urged to sanction whatever arrangements might be reached between France and Russia.⁶⁴ Nor does the British government appear to have been specially alarmed by the overtures made by the tsar to Sir Hamilton Seymour. The foreign office, while combating vigorously the view that Turkey was *in extremis* and therefore rejecting the Russian proposal for an understanding,⁶⁵ did not deem it necessary to warn the tsar that Great Britain would resist any design to establish a Russian ascendancy in the Balkans or Turkey. Reliance was placed upon the Convention of 1841 which morally, if not technically, confided the guardianship of the Ottoman Empire to the Concert of Europe. Even the reappointment of Lord Stratford to the embassy at Constantinople, though he was known to be a bitter enemy of the tsar, and therefore suspect to those who did not like the Turk,⁶⁶ was dictated by praiseworthy motives. He was sent out because of his unrivalled knowledge of Turkish affairs, and with definite instructions⁶⁷ to "put an end to the existing differences", to support the independence and integrity of Turkey which were endangered by that "dictatorial attitude which [France and Russia] have assumed", and above all, to "prevent a Turkish war". He was no longer to "disguise from the Sultan and his Ministers that perseverance in their present course [of maladministration and inefficient government], must end in alienating the sympathies of the British nation". It was only in the permission to summon the British fleet from Malta (though it was not to "approach the Dardanelles without positive instructions from Her Majesty's Government") that the Aberdeen ministry manifested the slightest suspicion of possible untoward developments. The news of Menshikov's violent conduct—he had forced the resignation of the Turkish foreign min-

⁶³ Russell to Cowley, January 28, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 77, pt. I., p. 68.

⁶⁴ Russell to Rose, January 28, 1853. *Ibid.*, no. 76, pt. I., p. 67.

⁶⁵ Russell to Seymour, February 9, 1853, *Annual Register*, 1853, p. 250; Clarendon to Seymour, March 23, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 113, pt. I., p. 94.

⁶⁶ Walpole, *Life of Lord John Russell* (1889), II. 179, note.

⁶⁷ Clarendon to Stratford, February 25, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 94, pt. I., p. 80; Lane-Poole, *Stratford Canning*, II. 234.

ister by refusing to call upon him—and his harsh demands apparently did not disturb the serenity of the British cabinet, which declined to emulate Napoleon's example in sending his fleet to eastern waters, and even expressed its confidence in the pacific intentions of the tsar.⁶⁸ It was not until Menshikov had abruptly left Constantinople and broken diplomatic relations with Turkey that any positive action was taken. On May 31, 1853, the British fleet was ordered to Besika Bay, and Lord Stratford was authorized to summon it to Constantinople upon the manifestation of hostile intent by Russia.⁶⁹

By this forward step the British government had committed itself far more than was realized at the time. It was hoped that a show of force would cause the tsar to stay his hand; actually his government went so far as to say—incorrectly, to be sure—that the occupation of the Principalities was occasioned by the movements of the allied fleets. The reason assigned for the demonstration was the fear that Russia, angered by the failure of Menshikov, might attempt a *coup* against the Turkish capital.⁷⁰ More likely was it a measure dictated as a compromise between the two factions in the cabinet, and as "the least measure that will satisfy public opinion".⁷¹ Any lack of harmony in the cabinet has been denied by several of its members. Gladstone, writing in 1887, declared, "I have witnessed much more of sharp or warm argument in almost every other of the seven cabinets to which I have had the honour to belong".⁷² According to the Duke of Argyll, "there was not the slightest shadow of difference among us as to the course which it was our duty to pursue. That duty was to adhere to the principles laid down in the Treaty of 1840 [*sic*]"⁷³

The last sentence quoted from the duke is undoubtedly correct. It was the intention of the British government to oppose any action by Russia that would prejudice the independence and integrity of Turkey, to insist that the question between Russia and the Porte was one for consideration by and agreement between the five Great Powers. But there was a marked difference of opinion as to what

⁶⁸ Clarendon to Cowley, March 23, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 111, pt. I., p. 93. Clarendon in House of Lords, April 15, 1854.

⁶⁹ Clarendon to Stratford, May 31, 1853. *Ibid.*, no. 194, pt. I., p. 199.

⁷⁰ *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1863, p. 166. This review was revised by Lord Clarendon himself, and may be regarded as the *apologia* for the policy of the Aberdeen ministry.

⁷¹ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 194, quoting Clarendon to Aberdeen.

⁷² *English Historical Review*, April, 1887, p. 288.

⁷³ Argyll, *Autobiography and Memoirs* (London, 1906), I. 447.

constituted an infringement of Turkish rights and what policy would best prevent such an infringement. For Lord Aberdeen, who was friendly to the tsar, disliked the Turks because he believed them incapable of reform, and desired peace almost at any price, the essential thing was to keep the Russians out of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. His policy, accordingly, was to avoid any expression of doubt as to the pacific intentions of Russia; to maintain a rigid control over the actions of Turkey, certain, if left to itself, to precipitate war; and to have the Four Powers "adopt resolute and identical language at St. Petersburg, in which the intimation of a desire to see the just complaints of Russia redressed should be combined with a clear indication of united resistance to the acquisition by Russia of new and objectionable powers within the Turkish Empire".⁷⁴ This policy of "moral influence"⁷⁵ was supported by the majority of the cabinet.

Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, took the position that the occupation of the Principalities was a *casus belli*, and urged the despatch of the British fleet to Constantinople and even into the Black Sea.⁷⁶ Lord John Russell, while not, like Palmerston, convinced of "the progressively liberal system of Turkey",⁷⁷ was of the opinion that, "The Emperor of Russia is clearly bent on accomplishing the destruction of Turkey, and *he must be resisted*".⁷⁸ As the summer of 1853 advanced, he became more and more a partizan of "direct action". He had understood that Lord Aberdeen would, at a convenient time, retire in his favor, and he began to press for the change. In other words, the pressure of the "war party", if it may be so called, steadily increased.

Between these two extremes, Lord Clarendon, the foreign secretary, tried to steer a middle course. He would preserve the Concert of the Four Powers, and thus exert effective diplomatic pressure on both the tsar and the sultan, in accord with his own and his chief's conviction. At the same time he attached such importance to the co-operation of France,⁷⁹ for the policy of Austria and Prussia was uncertain, if not pro-Russian, that he was willing to take military, or rather naval, measures proposed by the Emperor of the French. Unfortunately, as has been shown and as Lord Aberdeen himself

⁷⁴ Gordon, *Aberdeen*, pp. 237, 248.

⁷⁵ Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 14.

⁷⁶ Ashley, *Palmerston*, II. 274, 279.

⁷⁷ Palmerston to Sidney Herbert, September 21, 1853. *Ibid.*, II. 281.

⁷⁸ Walpole, *Lord John Russell*, II. 181.

⁷⁹ This is more apparent in the *Edinburgh Review* article than in the biography by Sir Herbert Maxwell.

predicted,⁸⁰ these measures only irritated the tsar without inducing him to pause, and they played into the hands of the Turks. Moreover, such effect as they might have had on the tsar was destroyed by the prime minister himself. According to Kinglake, Clarendon warned Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador, of "the dangers which the occupation of the Principalities would bring upon the relations between Russia and England", but Aberdeen requested the ambassador to consider the words as unspoken.⁸¹ This doubtless explains why "the Czar was fatally misled" by his ambassador.

Brunnow reported that all the English liberals and economists were convinced that the notion of Turkish reform was absurd; that Aberdeen had told him in accents of contempt and anger, "I hate the Turks"; and that English views generally as to Russian aggression and Turkish interests had been sensibly modified.⁸²

The occupation of the Principalities, it seems to the writer, was the turning-point in the long controversy. The tsar announced bluntly that he intended to hold them as a "material guarantee"⁸³ for the acceptance of his demands, and the challenge was not taken up. M. Goriainov, the archivist of the Russian foreign office, asserts, on the ground that the Convention of 1841 did not impose upon its signatories any formal obligation to defend the sovereign rights of the sultan but merely stated their intention to respect them, that "in occupying the Principalities Russia did not violate any formal obligation"; but he admits that "she thereby gave notice that she was no longer one of the Powers that had agreed to respect the integrity of the Sultan's rights".⁸⁴ According to the common interpretation of international law, an act of war against Turkey had been committed. Napoleon and Palmerston saw this clearly enough, and Clarendon later took the same position. But at the moment, at the insistence of Aberdeen, the British government advised the Porte not to consider Russia's action as a *casus belli*.⁸⁵ Doubtless there were strong reasons for this advice. It was not yet understood that the tsar would make no concessions; the Turks would certainly make none if they saw the Western Powers coming

⁸⁰ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 193.

⁸¹ Kinglake, *Invasion of the Crimea*, I. 136.

⁸² Morley, *Gladstone*, I. 361. "The Emperor had been misled by the reports he had received from Baron Brunnow in London and from Count Kisselev in Paris, who both expressed the opinion that an alliance between England and France would not be brought about." Lord Augustus Loftus, *Diplomatic Reminiscences*, first series, I. 184.

⁸³ Circular of Nesselrode, July 2, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, pt. I., no. 329, p. 342.

⁸⁴ Goriainov, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

⁸⁵ Gordon, *Aberdeen*, p. 225.

to their support; diplomacy was working hard on a project to settle the dispute; Austria would now be more interested. It is, of course, impossible to say whether a naval demonstration in the Black Sea would have given pause to the tsar, for that policy failed in January, 1854. But in November, 1853, Clarendon had arrived at the conviction that the "anomalous and painful position" in which the British government then found itself "might have been avoided by firm language and a more decided course five months ago", and Lord Morley agrees.⁸⁶ Whatever one may think, the fact remains that no positive counter-move was made to Russia's action. Force had not been met by force, and the lesson was not lost on the tsar, who could afford to and did refuse all concessions so long as his troops occupied the Principalities.

The divisions in the British cabinet assumed greater importance as the crisis continued. On October 4 the Porte, in defiance of all counsel, declared war on Russia. At that moment the powers were still striving for a diplomatic settlement, the basis this time being a note drafted by Stratford, which would ensure its acceptance by the Porte. Aberdeen proposed that the note should be accompanied by a declaration that if it were not adopted by the Porte, the Four Powers would not "permit themselves, in consequence of unfounded objections, or by a declaration of war which they have already condemned, to be drawn into a policy inconsistent with the peace of Europe, as well as with the true interests of Turkey itself".⁸⁷ Stratford was to inform the Porte that

it is indispensable that all further progress of hostilities should be suspended by the Porte during the course of the negotiation in which Her Majesty's Government are at present engaged for the restoration of a good understanding between the Porte and Russia.⁸⁸

The point of this warning was that the Turkish commander in Europe, Omar Pasha, had summoned the Russian general to evacuate the Principalities by October 18, but without success; actual hostilities might break out at any moment. In this event, Aberdeen intended to leave the Turks to their fate.

Yet this was precisely what certain members of his cabinet had no intention of permitting. Lord John Russell seems to have feared that Russia would prolong the negotiation for her own advantage or cause her troops to advance on Constantinople. So he proposed to add the words "a reasonable time" to the clause requiring the

⁸⁶ Morley, *Gladstone*, I. 360.

⁸⁷ Gordon, *Aberdeen*, p. 232.

⁸⁸ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 213.

Porte to suspend hostilities, and for the restoration of friendly relations, to impose the condition that "no hostile movement is made on the part of Russia". Aberdeen accepted these amendments to prevent the resignation of Russell, without whose support the ministry would fall, and to forestall the formation of a war government under Palmerston or Russell.⁸⁹

The result was entirely unexpected, even to Russell himself. At Constantinople, a fortnight was considered a "reasonable" time for negotiation. Omar Pasha then began the passage of the Danube, and the resistance offered by the Russian troops was construed as a "hostile movement"! General operations were then begun in Armenia against the Russians.

Russia's answer was not long delayed. Her admiral in the Black Sea, finding a Turkish squadron at anchor in the harbor of Sinope, sailed in and destroyed it. There was nothing exceptionable in this. The tsar had indeed promised that he would not assume the offensive against the Turks.⁹⁰ But he and the sultan were at war; the Turkish fleet was engaged in transporting supplies to the troops operating in the Caucasus. But in France and Great Britain the news of Sinope aroused the wildest indignation; it was regarded as "a humiliation and a defiance".⁹¹ It was therefore impossible for the British government, although Aberdeen was reluctant and Gladstone protesting, to resist the demand of Palmerston, identical with that of Napoleon, that the allied fleets, which had been summoned to Constantinople after the Turkish declaration of war, should enter the Black Sea and compel all Russian men-of-war to keep in port.⁹² But this was, as noted above, the prelude to the rupture of diplomatic relations between Russia and the Western Powers; moreover, it made the tsar unwilling to accept the terms of peace presented to him by the Vienna Conference. One must conclude that the schism in the British cabinet was in part responsible for the failure to preserve peace.

One other phase of British policy has been severely criticized. After the rupture with Russia, but before the tsar replied to the letter of Napoleon, the French and British governments decided to demand the evacuation of the Principalities. They presented their

⁸⁹ Gordon, *Aberdeen*, pp. 233-234.

⁹⁰ Circular of Nesselrode, October 31, 1853. *Annuaire Historique*, 1853, app., p. 87.

⁹¹ Walpole, *History of England*, VI. 25; *Diplomatic Study*, I. 334.

⁹² Gordon, *Aberdeen*, p. 241; Morley, *Gladstone*, I. 364; Ashley, *Palmerston*, II. 289-290; Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 31; Drouyn de Lhuys to Walewski, December 15, 1853, *Eastern Papers*, no. 333, pt. III., p. 307.

ultimatum on the understanding that Austria would support it, whereas she actually gave only diplomatic approval, not a promise of military assistance, which alone would have compelled Russia to yield. The unwillingness to wait for the tsar's answer was due to a fear that the Russian armies along the Danube might reach Constantinople before aid could be forwarded to the Turks, although past experience did not warrant any such assumption.⁹³ But public opinion in England, which was clamoring for war, was not to be denied, any more than the war party in the cabinet, which now included Clarendon and the First Lord of the Admiralty. The more the pacifists, like Cobden and the Quakers,⁹⁴ protested against the war, the more furious did the popular demand become, until it was confidently believed in London that Aberdeen and the Prince Consort would be committed to the Tower for treason.⁹⁵

Upon the matter of Austria's apparent trickery, Aberdeen's biographer has written:

There can be no doubt that when this proposal [to demand the evacuation of the Principalities] was made, the Austrian Cabinet intended to take part in the war which must be the inevitable result of its adoption; and it is equally certain that when the "summons" was despatched from England, Lord Aberdeen and Lord Clarendon were under that impression. Either Lord Westmorland [the ambassador in Vienna] failed to detect, or he failed to report, any change in the intentions of the Austrian Government. . . . What was the cause of this retreat has never been fully known.⁹⁶

Professor Friedjung, who has written the fullest account of Austria's policy, is silent about the whole matter. The semi-official review of Kinglake, revised by Lord Clarendon himself, says: "The Western Powers obtained from Austria all the aid she was capable of giving, namely, her moral support". The probable explanation is that Prussia, unwilling to break with Russia, refused to march with the Danube monarchy, and the latter, knowing that Russia was keeping in Poland "the finest corps of her whole army", declined the chances of a contest which would certainly encourage the Italian states to rise against her.⁹⁷

At the same time the action of the Western Powers was "precipitate, injudicious, and disastrous".⁹⁸ Had they joined with the

⁹³ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 220-221.

⁹⁴ The Quakers sent a mission to the tsar to urge peace. Nicholas received them affably and introduced them to his "wife". His conviction that England would not fight was probably strengthened by this incident.

⁹⁵ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 218.

⁹⁶ Gordon, *Aberdeen*, pp. 246-247.

⁹⁷ *Edinburgh Rev.*, April, 1863, p. 172.

⁹⁸ Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 199.

German states in demanding that Russia accept the terms of peace formulated in January, the result might well have been favorable. The Russian government was wavering, and it later confessed to a regret that it had not accepted those terms in the first instance.⁹⁹ But the truth is, the French and British governments, in February, 1854, did not desire peace, and however great the responsibility of Russia for raising the issue out of which the war arose, however stubborn her refusal to make any real concessions as long as there was a chance of destroying the Concert of the Powers, it is clear that she was not given a last opportunity to accept the terms of peace acceptable alike to Turkey and to the powers. When, therefore, the ultimatum of the Western Powers merely demanded the evacuation of the Principalities, without any reference to the proposed terms of peace, the Russian government pursued the natural course and said that the tsar "did not think it becoming to make any reply".¹⁰⁰

From one point of view, of course, the Turks were the real cause of the war. It was their disingenuous conduct in the affair of the Holy Places which incited the tsar to resume a forward policy, their corrupt and intolerable government which gave some warrant to the proposed Russian protectorate over the Greek Christians, their refusal of the Vienna Note and their unexpected declaration of war which led on to the more general conflict. In short, their purpose was, once the quarrel of the Holy Places was adjusted and they had taken the measure of the Menshikov demands, to bring on a war with Russia that would drag one or more powers to their assistance. By seeming concessions, by clever appeals to Mohammedan fanaticism and Turkish patriotism, by a constant parade of an attitude of injured innocence, above all, by the despatch of that squadron into the Black Sea which was annihilated at Sinope, they succeeded only too well in persuading Europe that their cause was just, their preservation necessary for the balance of power. Their success in this policy is generally attributed to the support received from the British ambassador in Constantinople, who is represented as adapting the instructions of his government to meet his own views and as preventing the Turks from accepting the Russian demands.

The exact rôle of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is, indeed, after more than sixty years, not easy to determine. He sincerely believed, at this time, in the possibility of Turkish regeneration, provided the influence of Russia were eliminated. He certainly re-

⁹⁹ *Diplomatic Study*, I. 434.

¹⁰⁰ Michele to Clarendon, March 19, 1854. *Eastern Papers*, no. 137, pt. VII., p. 82.

garded the Russian policy in 1853 as fatal to Turkey's continued existence as an independent state, a view he was at small pains to conceal from the Ottoman statesmen, over whom his influence was unbounded. According to some reports, he openly rejoiced when the war finally came.¹⁰¹ Yet the evidence of his private papers, published by his biographer, shows that to the end Stratford labored for peace.

He had resigned from the Constantinople embassy in 1852. When, however, the London cabinet learned of the tsar's overtures to Seymour, it asked Stratford to return to his post. Before he arrived, the Grand Vizier, Rifaat Pasha, had decided to retire rather than accede to Russia's demands for an offensive and defensive alliance or to her programme for a protectorate.¹⁰² This is important, because it is commonly asserted that the Turkish decision to resist Russia was formed under the influence of Stratford. He did support this decision, but he saw no reason why, "if another less binding form" were given to the proposed *sened*, an accommodation should not be reached;¹⁰³ and he recommended to the sultan the issue of a comprehensive firman, including all the Russian demands, which should be communicated to the Five Powers. Finally, he refused to summon the British fleet, on the ground that the problem was "one of a moral character".¹⁰⁴

During the last days of the Menshikov mission, Stratford declined to advise the Porte,¹⁰⁵ but after the Russian's departure, he set to work on a note which should provide a satisfactory settlement. In its final form, it guaranteed to the Greek Church "the perpetual enjoyment of all spiritual privileges ever granted to it, and would accord in addition such other privileges and immunities which His Majesty the Sultan should be pleased to grant, for ever, to any other religion of his Christian subjects".¹⁰⁶ Stratford hoped, so he wrote Clarendon, to satisfy the Russians, get them out of the Principalities, and avoid war, to which he was opposed.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ "Thank God, that's war", he is reported to have said when the news of Sinope came to hand. Gordon, *Aberdeen*, p. 254, note. Clarendon wrote: "He is bent on war, and on playing the first part in settling the great Eastern question, as Lady S. de R. admitted to me . . . he now considered it." Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 29.

¹⁰² Lane-Poole, *Stratford Canning*, II. 248.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, II. 264.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 266.

¹⁰⁵ Stratford to Clarendon, May 22, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 234, pt. I., p. 235.

¹⁰⁶ Protocol of Balta Liman, July 25, 1853. De Testa, *Recueil de Traités de la Porte Ottomane*, vol. IV., pt. II., p. 308.

¹⁰⁷ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 283.

These plans were upset by the Vienna Note, which Stratford was ordered to recommend to the Porte, although it differed in several vital respects from his own project. The ambassador did recommend the note; but according to Sir Spencer Walpole, "the universal judgment of historians is that the Sultan's Ministers, in demanding the alteration of the note, carried out the private views and disregarded the official language of Lord Stratford".¹⁰⁸ Kinglake, Herbert Paul, Lord Eversley, and the French historians do take this view. It seems to have been held even by Clarendon,¹⁰⁹ who never wholly trusted the discretion of Stratford and often referred to him as "the Sultan". Yet, unless Mr. Lane-Poole has deliberately suppressed damaging letters in the ambassador's private correspondence, the charge will not stand.

When the Grand Vizier said that the note was unacceptable without amendments, Stratford suggested that "the Porte should signify its acceptance of the Note under its own construction of the objectionable passages, and for securities rely on the assent and sanction of the Powers". He concealed from Reshid Pasha his private approval of the Turkish modifications, he "scrupulously abstained from expressing any private opinion on the merit of Count Buol's Note, while it was under consideration", and to Clarendon he quoted Reshid as saying that "no personal influence could have induced the Porte to give way". To Westmorland he declared "wholly unfounded" any "insinuations" that he had "rather hindered than promoted the acceptance of Count Buol's Note". A member of the embassy staff wrote Lady Stratford that "whatever Lord S's private opinion may be, you may rest assured that this has in no way added to the Turks' exaltations by influencing them one way or the other".¹¹⁰

It is to be remembered that the Vienna Note differed little from the Menshikov ultimatum, radically from Stratford's own scheme of July 25. No great perspicacity was required for the Porte to determine what Stratford's real opinions were. The real blame for the rejection of the Vienna Note, so far as it was due to outside pressure, must probably be laid to the French ambassador. La Cour advised the acceptance of the note, but he helped draw up the Turkish amendments, "made inquiries about landing troops on the coasts of Turkey, and even asked whether the Porte considered the Dardanelles as already open to the passage of the Allied squad-

¹⁰⁸ *Cambridge Modern History*, XI. 314.

¹⁰⁹ *Edinburgh Rev.*, April, 1863, p. 171.

¹¹⁰ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 291-296.

rons".¹¹¹ It is significant that shortly afterward the passage of the Straits was twice urged by the French government.

By the beginning of September Stratford was convinced that the Turks were "bent on war", which Clarendon suspected him of desiring and provoking.¹¹² In point of fact, he was seeking to prevent it. He calmed a war demonstration in the Turkish capital by quietly bringing up a couple of British frigates. He advised against the Turkish declaration of war, and then held out against the French ambassador, who desired to summon the fleets forthwith,¹¹³ indeed not until the Russians had refused to evacuate the Principalities and positive orders had been received from London did Stratford bring the British fleet to Constantinople, and then only a part of it.¹¹⁴

One explanation of this reluctance is that the ambassador was drafting a new note for the Porte to present to Russia. Based on the Turkish amendments to the Vienna Note, it was to be accompanied by a "declaration of the Four Powers, bearing something of the character of a guarantee, with an annexed Note in which all reasonable confirmation and warranty of the rights of the Greek Church were to be formally granted by the Sultan".¹¹⁵ "A forlorn hope", Stratford called it;¹¹⁶ but he secured from Reshid a promise that hostilities would not be opened before November 1. Actually Omar Pasha crossed the Danube on October 27, and the war was really begun. Henceforth the ambassador seems to have worked on the principle that "war is the decree of the Fates, and our wisest part will be to do what we can to bring it to a thoroughly good conclusion".¹¹⁷

But he was not "just as wild as the Turks themselves",¹¹⁸ as Clarendon complained. He prevented, on November 5, the despatch of the Turkish fleet into the Black Sea; and when later the Turks, despite him, sent out some of their smaller vessels, he tried, but failed, owing to dissensions between the French and British admirals, to have them followed up by allied ships, which would have kept the peace and prevented the battle of Sinope.¹¹⁹ After this affair he drafted a note, signed by his colleagues, proposing terms

¹¹¹ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 292.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, II. 299; Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 29.

¹¹³ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 309.

¹¹⁴ Bapst, pp. 455-456.

¹¹⁵ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 279.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 311.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Maxwell, *Clarendon*, II. 29.

¹¹⁹ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 328-329; Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert*, I. 198.

on which the Porte might make peace. Substantially the same as the second Vienna Note (December 5), which arrived the following day, it was perhaps Stratford's greatest triumph. For it embodied the promise to confirm all the ancient privileges of the Greek Church,¹²⁰ a promise most reluctantly given, for the Turks believed that France and Great Britain would under no circumstances desert them. Stratford had carried his point by refusing otherwise to send the fleets into the Black Sea,¹²¹ although he considered that action an absolute necessity,¹²² and by threatening to leave Turkey to her fate in the event of massacres in the city, which were feared owing to the restlessness of the *softas*.¹²³

After this Stratford played little part in the course of events, which was directed by the chanceries of Europe. He had used every power to keep the Turks in line, to extort concessions, to prevent actual hostilities, except that he refused privately to advise the full acceptance of the Russian demands. At all times he sought to work in harmony with the other diplomatists in Constantinople; he was more restrained than his French colleague. No doubt he was anti-Russian and pro-Turk, and the hopes that he entertained for his *protégés* were never fulfilled. But he strove honestly for peace, as he understood the problem, and his conduct was formally approved by his government.

Perhaps the strangest aspect of the long negotiations was the attitude of Austria. The Hapsburg monarchy was directly interested in the Russian programme, for if the tsar should secure a protectorate over the Greek Christians of Turkey, a large proportion of whom were Slavs, the reaction upon the Slav subjects of Francis Joseph, smarting as they were under the treatment accorded them during and after the Revolution of 1848, would be certain and perhaps serious.¹²⁴ For this reason several Austrian diplomatists, notably Hübner at Paris and Prokesch-Osten at Frankfort, desired that Austria co-operate with the Western Powers to block the ambitions of Russia. But the feudal aristocracy and many of the leading generals remembered the services of the Russian army in sup-

¹²⁰ Note of December 13, 1853. *Annual Register*, 1854, p. 496.

¹²¹ Stratford to Reshid, December 12, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 371, pt. II., p. 341.

¹²² Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, II. 330.

¹²³ Stratford to Reshid, December 21, 1853. *Eastern Papers*, no. 373, pt. II., p. 344.

¹²⁴ In the autumn of 1853, the tsar gave assurances that neither he nor his son would countenance any movements against the Austrian government by its Slav subjects. Friedjung, *Der Krimkrieg*, p. 14. This book is the chief authority for the following paragraphs.

pressing the Magyars, and they disliked Great Britain as the home of liberalism, as the refuge of Kossuth and other exiles. Baron Brück, the ambassador at Constantinople, anticipating by half a century the *Drang nach Osten* of our time, regarded Great Britain as the chief commercial rival of the German Powers in the Near East, was therefore jealous of Stratford, and advocated a common policy for Austria and Prussia which would at once give pause to Russia and challenge the ascendancy of Stratford at the Porte. The emperor himself was young and inexperienced, he dreaded the thought of a rupture with the tsar to whom he owed such a debt and whom he regarded as the bulwark of conservatism. A further difficulty arose from the general reluctance to join in any enterprise with Napoleon III., who was regarded as the champion of Italian nationality and the opponent of the Austrian system in the peninsula.

Between such conflicting currents, Count Buol, who was not a man of dominating character, pursued a weak and vacillating policy. Not until the occupation of the Principalities did he take any active part in the negotiations. His policy then was to force upon Turkey the acceptance of the Russian programme; he continued to recommend the Vienna Note after the Western Powers had abandoned it; he found the assurances of the tsar at Olmütz satisfactory; he refused to support Stratford's "forlorn hope". Likewise the Emperor Francis Joseph, who declared to the Russian ambassador in Vienna that Austria would never ally herself with the Western Powers,¹²⁵ and to Nesselrode at Olmütz that he would remain true to his old alliance on condition that the Russians did not cross the Danube.¹²⁶ When, in addition, the Austrian army was reduced, the tsar had reason to suppose that he could count on Austrian neutrality¹²⁷—and acted accordingly.

Early in 1854, however, the policy of Austria grew distinctly hostile to Russia. Count Orlov was unable to secure a promise of permanent neutrality from Francis Joseph; he admitted that the tsar aimed at the creation of vassal states in the Balkans under the protection of Russia. The offer to share this protectorate was rejected; instead the emperor demanded that Russia conduct her campaign exclusively in Asia.¹²⁸ The ministry had already determined to resist any further advance by Russia in the Balkans, by diplomacy

¹²⁵ Friedjung, p. 7.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹²⁷ Austria actually issued a declaration of neutrality when the Turks declared war. This was unfavorably viewed by the Western Powers.

¹²⁸ Friedjung, pp. 17-18.

if possible, by force if necessary; and the troops on the Hungarian frontier were reinforced. But it was not until March 22, on the very day that the Russians crossed the Danube and nearly a month after the ultimatum of the Western Powers, that the decision was finally made to place the Austrian army on a war footing; furthermore, any action was to be dependent on the support of Prussia, and the treaty of alliance with that power was concluded only on April 20.¹²⁹

Thus the policy of Austria, energetically as it finally manifested itself, was of no assistance to France and Great Britain in the final play. One cannot say that she deliberately allowed the Western Powers to pull her chestnuts out of the fire, though she has been roundly accused of it; but she certainly did not give them that whole-hearted support which would have confronted the tsar with the solid front of Europe and in all probability have constrained him to moderate his demands upon Turkey.

Of Prussia little need be said. She had no direct interest in the question, and therefore no policy.¹³⁰ In a vague way she supported Austria, but King Frederick William IV., the brother-in-law of the tsar, was almost pro-Russian, and the anti-Russian party was powerless because of its liberal leanings. For practical purposes, Prussia pursued a policy of neutrality, though not of the straightforward variety advocated by Bismarck.

Certain conclusions may be briefly stated. The tsar knew from the beginning what he wanted, and observing that Europe would not unite to oppose him, yielded none of his demands, the acceptance of which by Turkey would at least have upset the *status quo* in the Near East. Napoleon probably desired war, but made a parade of pacific intentions. Great Britain at the outset unquestionably desired peace, but did not make clear that the designs of Russia would be resisted, by force if necessary, thereby encouraging the tsar to stand his ground. Austria's attitude, until too late, was equally uncertain. The Turks¹³¹ played their game admirably. In the face of such confusion war could have been avoided only by a miracle.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 43-44.

¹³⁰ Loftus, *Diplomatic Reminiscences*, first series, vol. I., chs. XIV.-XVI.

¹³¹ The tsar spoke to Castelbajac of "*ces misérables Turcs*", and Clarendon qualified them as "beastly".

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

NOTES ON THE BEGINNINGS OF AERONAUTICS IN AMERICA

IN view of the important part played in the Great War by aircraft of various sorts, it is interesting to know that, more than a century and a quarter ago, three of the founders of the American Republic, signers of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and Francis Hopkinson, were intensely interested in this subject, and definitely predicted the part that navigation of the air was to play in subsequent history.

The history of modern aeronautics begins on June 5, 1783, when the Montgolfier brothers, Joseph Michel and Jacques Étienne, gave a public demonstration of their discoveries by sending up at Annonay, France, a large hot-air balloon. That this demonstration, which attracted so much attention in France, aroused almost an equal amount of interest in America is proved by the fact that during the next winter a correspondent in America of the *Journal de Paris* contributed to that paper a fictitious account of a balloon ascension which purported to have taken place in Philadelphia in the latter part of 1783.

According to this story, which was published May 13, 1784, "Ritnose" and "Opquisne", members of the "Philosophical Academy",¹ sent up, on December 28 of the preceding year, forty-seven small balloons, attached to a cage, in which they placed, first animals, and later "Gimes Ouilcoxe" (James Wilcox), a local carpenter. When the latter saw that he was approaching the "Scoulquille" River, he became alarmed and punctured some of his balloons and so brought himself down.

This story is a pure myth. There is no mention of the event in the records of the American Philosophical Society, in William Barton's *Life of David Rittenhouse*, in the correspondence of Francis Hopkinson,² or in Jacob Hiltzheimer's *Diary*—which does record the first real ascension. Nevertheless, it was generally accepted as true; it was quoted in Hatton Turnor's elaborate history of aeronautics, *Astra Castra*, and is repeated in the eleventh edition of the

¹ This evidently refers to David Rittenhouse and Francis Hopkinson, prominent members of the American Philosophical Society.

² The author of this article has written a life of Francis Hopkinson, which is deposited among the doctoral theses in the Harvard College Library.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, although the hoax was thoroughly exposed in the thirty-fifth volume of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.³

Although this particular story is undoubtedly apocryphal, Francis Hopkinson and a number of his friends, including Jefferson and Franklin, followed the early experiments in aeronautics with close attention. The first indication of this is found in the following extract from a letter written by Jefferson, at Annapolis, to Hopkinson, at Philadelphia, on February 18, 1784:

What think you of these ballons [*sic*]? They really begin to assume a serious face. The Cheval'r Luzerne⁴ communicated to me a letter received from his brother, who mentions one which he had seen himself. The persons who ascended in it regulated its height at about 3000 feet and passed with the wind about 6 miles in 20 minutes when they chose to let themselves down, tho' they could have traveled triple the distance. This discovery seems to threaten the prostration of fortified works unless they can be closed above, the destruction of fleets, and what not. The French may now run over their laces, wines etc. to England duty free. The whole system of British statutes made on the supposition of goods being brought into some port must be revised; inland countries may now become maritime states unless you chuse rather to call them aerial, as their commerce is in future to be carried on through that element—but jesting apart, I think this discovery may lead to things useful—for instance there is no longer a difficulty how Congress may move backwards and forwards and your bungling scheme of moving houses and moving towns is quite superseded;⁵ we shall soar sublime above the clouds.⁶

Hopkinson's reply to this letter opens with a sentence which clearly disproves the story published in the *Journal de Paris*.

We have not taken the affair of the *Balloons* in hand. A high flying politician is, I think, not unlike a Balloon—he is full of inflammability, he is driven along by every current of wind and those who will suffer themselves to be carried up by them run a great Risk that the Bubble may burst and let them fall from the Height to which the *principle of Levity* has raised them.⁷

³ Joseph Jackson, "The First Balloon Hoax", *Pa. Mag. Hist.*, XXXV. 51-58. [An examination of the original text in the *Journal de Paris* of May 13, 1784 (p. 585), of which Mr. Jackson seems to have had only a contemporary translation, has led the editor of this *Review* to think that, while the narrative is indeed fictitious, Mr. Jackson's conclusions as to the origin of the hoax are open to modification. Ed.]

⁴ French minister. The ascent described by his brother was that of Pilâtre de Rozier, November 21, 1783.

⁵ Jefferson was a member of Congress, which was at that time in session at Annapolis. He refers here to an essay of Hopkinson's entitled "A Summary of Some Late Proceedings", which ridicules the inability of Congress to decide on a permanent place of meeting.

⁶ This letter is among the papers of Edward Hopkinson, Esq., of Philadelphia.

⁷ Hopkinson to Jefferson, March 12, 1784. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

Again, on March 31, he says,

A gentleman in Town is making an air Balloon of 6 feet Diameter; it is now almost completed—what the Success will be Time must show. . . .

Congress imagined that when they removed to Annapolis to *pout* we should all be in deep Distress—and for every *Pout* return a *Sigh*—but the Event is far otherwise. The name of Congress is almost forgotten and for every Person that will mention that respectable Body, a hundred will talk of an air balloon. I have a singular Regard for Congress, and will therefore ask an unfashionable Question, when may we hope to see Congress this way? and what are they doing? But I grow saucy and have not Time, now, even for that.⁸

On May 12 Hopkinson sent his friend a still more important chapter in the history of aeronautics, since his letter gives the actual date of the first balloon ascension in Philadelphia:

We have been amusing ourselves with raising Air Balloons made of Paper. The first that mounted our Atmosphere was made by Dr. Foulk and sent up from the Garden of the Minister of Holland the Day before yesterday. Yesterday, however, the same Balloon was raised from Mr. Morris's Garden, and last Evening another was exhibited at the Minister of France's, to the great amusement of the Spectators. They were twice or perhaps three times the Height of the Houses; and then gently descended without Damage. They were open at Bottom and of course the Gas soon wasted. I am contriving a better Method of filling them.⁹

Nine days later, May 21, Jefferson, now in Philadelphia, writes thence to Monroe, "I have had the pleasure of seeing 3 balons here. The largest was of 8 f. diameter and ascended about 300 feet."¹⁰

A letter written by Hopkinson to Franklin on May 24, 1784, continues the history of balloon experiments in Philadelphia and reveals the very interesting fact that the active mind of Hopkinson had already foreseen the invention of the dirigible:

We have been diverting ourselves with raising Paper Balloons by means of burnt Straw, to the great astonishment of the Populace. This Discovery, like Electricity, Magnetism, and many other important Phenomena, serve for amusement at first—its uses and applications will hereafter unfold themselves. There may be many mechanical means of giving the Balloon a progressive motion other than what the current of wind would give it—perhaps this is as simple as any—let the Balloon be constructed of an oblong Form something like the body of a Fish, or a Bird, or a Wherry, and let there be a large and light wheel on the Stern, vertically mounted. This wheel should consist of several Vanes or Fans of Canvas, whose plains should be considerably inclined with respect to the Plain of its motion, exactly like the wheel of a Smoake-Jack. If the

⁸ Hopkinson to Jefferson, March 31, 1784. Jefferson Papers.

⁹ Same to same, May 12, 1784. *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Writings*, ed. Ford, III. 496.

navigator turns this wheel swiftly round, by means of a winch, there is no Doubt but it would (in a Calm at least) give the Machine a Progressive motion, upon the same Principle that a Boat is *scull'd thro'* the water.¹¹

After Jefferson's appointment as minister to France in 1784, he sent Hopkinson two bits of news about the progress of aeronautics in Europe, and one to Monroe. Writing from Paris to the former on January 13, 1785, he says:

Mr. Blanchard of this country and Dr. Jeffries of Massachusetts arrived here the day before yesterday from Dover, having crossed the Channel on the 7th in a Balloon. They were two hours from land to land. It was filled with inflammable air. We are told here of a method of extracting this from soft coal cheaply and speedily, but it is not yet reduced to experience.¹²

To Monroe, in a postscript to a letter dated Paris, June 17, 1785, in which allusion had been made to Pilâtre de Rozier's unfortunate attempt to cross the Channel in the opposite direction (June 15), Jefferson wrote:

Since writing the above we receive the following account. Mons. Pilatre de Rosiere, who has been waiting some months at Boulogne for a fair wind to cross the channel, at length took his ascent with a companion. The wind changed after a while and brought him back on the French coast. Being at a height of about 6000 f. some accident happened to his baloon of inflammable air. It burst, they fell from that height and were crushed to atoms. There was a Montgolfier combined with the baloon of inflammable air. It is suspected the heat of the Montgolfier rarified too much the inflammable air of the other and occasioned it to burst. The Montgolfier came down in good order.¹³

And finally on September 25 of the same year he wrote to Hopkinson:

Arts and arms are alike asleep for the moment. Ballooning indeed goes on. There are two artists in the neighborhood of Paris who seem to be advancing towards the desideratum in this business. They are able to rise and fall at will, without expending their gas, and to deflect forty-five degrees from the course of the wind.¹⁴

¹¹ Letter in the American Philosophical Society, Franklin Papers, XXXI. 185. The *Boston Magazine* for July, 1784, p. 400, has the following item: "July 17. The American Aerostatic balloon will rise from New Workhouse yard with a person in it, between the hours of five and seven o'clock this evening".

¹² Letter in the collection of Edward Hopkinson, Esq. Dr. John Jeffries, A. B. Harvard 1763, M. D. Aberdeen 1769, was a Son of Liberty in the latter year but in 1776 went to Nova Scotia with Howe's troops as a surgeon, and thence to England. He returned to Boston in 1789 and practised medicine there until his death in 1819. Inflammable air is hydrogen.

¹³ *Writings*, ed. Ford, IV. 60.

¹⁴ *Works*, ed. Washington, I. 441.

Here then we have further evidence of the fact that the founders of the American nation were not merely provincial political leaders. Many of them, and particularly the three mentioned in this article, were men of great versatility and wide information, who found time, among the thronging cares of their active lives, to keep themselves well informed of the progress of art, letters, and science, not only here in America, but throughout Europe as well.

GEORGE E. HASTINGS.

THE COLLECTION OF STATE WAR SERVICE RECORDS

SINCE the United States entered the war a constantly growing number of states have officially recognized the importance of collecting and preserving the records of state and local participation in the World War. Scarcely a state in the Union but has felt the impulse of the general movement in which this recognition has found expression. Information now at hand indicates that central governments or governmental agencies in at least thirty-five states have made special and more or less adequate provision for the conduct, generally by men with the requisite training or aptitudes, of systematic and state-wide campaigns for the acquisition of all available records of the war services performed by their several commonwealths.¹

In many instances the state council of defense, or corresponding body, acting upon its own initiative or in response to suggestions made early in the war by the National Board for Historical Service or, as frequently happened, at the instance and with the close co-operation of the leading state historical agency, inaugurated a local movement on the scale indicated through the appointment for the purpose of a "war history committee", a "state historian", a "war records commission", or similar agency.² In a smaller number of

¹ It should be noted at the outset that while a few of the states not included in this category are known to have done nothing noteworthy in this field, there are others which may have taken measures of which the writer is not aware.

² State councils of defense in California, Connecticut, Illinois, and Oklahoma assigned the work to a War History Committee; in North Carolina and Wyoming, to an Historical Committee; in Maryland, to an Historical Division; in New Mexico, to a Board of Historical Service; in Idaho, to the Woman's Committee; in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Oregon, and Rhode Island, to a state historian; in Michigan, to a State Director to Compile a Record of Michigan Soldiers and Sailors in the Great War; in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, to a War History Commission; and in Minnesota, to a War Records Commission. These agencies have been severally affiliated with the California Historical Survey Commission, the Connecticut State Library, the Illinois State Historical Library,

states, established historical institutions undertook similar tasks through an extension of their normal activities,³ while in other states various agencies, including an executive commission, a state university, and a state library, took charge.⁴ Many of these agencies were created or developed more or less provisionally under stress of war-time conditions, and as none of them, even of those first in the field, can yet have fully accomplished its enormous task, it is gratifying to note that at least eighteen of the state legislatures in session this year have made more or less permanent and substantial provision for the continuation and completion of the work in their several jurisdictions.⁵

the North Carolina Historical Commission, the Museum of New Mexico, the Alabama Department of Archives and History, the Oregon State Library, the Rhode Island State Library, the Michigan Historical Commission, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and the Minnesota Historical Society. State council of defense agencies in Kentucky, Maryland, and Michigan are known to be active as originally constituted, while the work of others presumably continues under the same auspices or as indicated below.

³ Among these may be noted the Arkansas History Commission, the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado, the Indiana Historical Commission, the State Historical Society and the Historical Department of Iowa, the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, the State Historical Society of Missouri, the Nebraska State Historical Society, and the Virginia Historical Society. It need scarcely be remarked that every active state historical agency, whether acting alone or in conjunction with a specially constituted war records body, in the ordinary course of events received current material during the war which in many instances forms the real nucleus of the state war records collection.

⁴ Ohio has an Historical Commission appointed by the governor and affiliated with the State Archaeological and Historical Society and the State University, while the University of Texas and the New York State Library have taken the initiative in their respective fields, the former having established a separate department known as the Texas War Records Collection.

⁵ Agencies known to be operating under some form of direct legislative authorization (appropriations for war records work, where known, being noted in parentheses) include the California Historical Survey Commission, the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado (\$5,000), the Department of War Records of the Connecticut State Library (\$10,000), the Illinois State Historical Library (\$20,000), the Indiana Historical Commission (\$20,000), the Iowa War Roster Commission (\$20,000), the adjutant general of Massachusetts, the Michigan Historical Commission, the Minnesota War Records Commission (\$10,000), the War History Bureau of the New Jersey State Library (\$10,000), the adjutant general of Nebraska (\$25,000), the North Dakota War History Commission (\$2,500), the Nevada Historical Society, the state historian and the adjutant general of New York, the adjutant general of Ohio (\$50,000), the state historian of Oregon (\$2,500), the North Carolina Historical Commission, and the Wisconsin War History Commission (\$37,500). In Michigan, funds made available by the War Preparedness Board, the legislature, and the Historical Commission,

To fulfill its mission completely, the war history commission or the state historian, as the case may be, must look for the assistance of public-spirited citizens in every community throughout the state. State-wide volunteer organizations have therefore been effected in Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, and Wisconsin, and have reached various stages of completion in Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, and other states. The usual procedure is for the state body to appoint committees or representatives in all of the counties and towns to collect the records of their several communities. Where the committee plan is adopted, it is generally found necessary or advisable to form special county organizations of a thoroughly representative and distinctive character, but in many instances, notably in Indiana, Michigan, and New York, existing organizations and institutions, such as county councils of defense, historical societies, and libraries, have assumed the responsibility for their several districts. In Mississippi, the necessary local auxiliaries have been provided through the formation, primarily for this purpose, of an organization known as the Great War Veterans Association. In Michigan, Mississippi, North Carolina and, to some extent, in New York and Oregon, expenses of the local organizations are defrayed by the central body, but more commonly these are met with funds obtained from various local sources, county committees in Indiana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, for example, having received local financial assistance in amounts ranging from \$50 to \$1,000.⁶ Material collected by the local committees is generally assembled at state headquarters and filed in a single central depository, though in some states, including Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, the plan is to build up both state and

total \$45,000. In Ohio, the legislature has authorized the addition of two new members to the staff of the State Archaeological and Historical Society in order further to facilitate the work carried on under the direction of the Historical Commission. In this connection it may also be noted that the work in Texas has been financed by the state university at the rate of \$12,500 a year, though \$5,000 of this has been devoted to the acquisition of general war history material. As will appear later in this article, in all instances here noted, with the exception of Texas, appropriations in excess of \$10,000 are intended to include some part or all of the cost of publishing histories or rosters.

⁶ In Indiana, county boards of commissioners, under the specific authorization of the State Board of Accounts, may expend sums ranging from \$100 to \$1,000 in aid of the work of the war history committees of their several counties. In Minnesota, under the provisions of a new law, county boards and other local governing bodies may appropriate for similar purposes funds ranging in amount from \$250 in the case of villages and \$1,000 in the case of counties to \$5,000 in the case of cities of the first class.

county collections, the latter being housed for the time being at least in leading county libraries, courthouses, or other local depositories.

Generally speaking, the object of the war records organization is to collect and preserve all available material, of whatever variety of origin, content, or form, which in any way relates to the war services performed, individually and collectively, at home and abroad, by the citizens of the state, and to the altered course of life in the home community during the war period.

The desired material may be variously classified and described, but for the present purpose it may suffice to note two broad classes, distinguishable as compilations, or "made-to-order" records, and current material, or "ready-made" records. Compilations are generally regarded as the more important for the history of individuals, though supplementary matter, such as photographs, diaries, and letters, is always sought. Nearly every active state has prepared and distributed blank forms, or questionnaires, for the purpose of obtaining from various available sources of information the service records of soldiers, sailors, and marines. The general form is sometimes supplemented, as in Iowa, Maryland, and North Carolina, with one or more forms applicable particularly to those who were wounded or who lost their lives in the service. In Connecticut, a separate form is provided for the records of Red Cross nurses, chaplains, correspondents, and others who served in association with the armed forces of the nation. One of several forms used in Texas is intended to record the war services of agricultural producers. In a few states the practice of making compilations is extended to include activities other than those of individuals. For example, Connecticut uses a form for compiling service records of organizations; Texas provides blanks for the records of mercantile establishments and of industrial plants; and California is compiling information on various subjects through reports prepared by local representatives in accordance with certain general specifications.

For the history of organized or group activities, however, more or less special emphasis is usually placed upon the importance of collecting "ready-made" records, or the sort of material which was produced in connection with the actual conduct of the activities in question and has only to be gathered and preserved. In a number of states, including Minnesota, North Carolina, Ohio, and Texas, more than usual care has been taken to make clear to the lay worker and to the general public the historical value of such products of the times as files of local newspapers; printed matter, such as pamphlets, programmes, and posters; manuscript material, such as min-

utes of proceedings, correspondence files, and official reports; pictorial records, such as photographs, motion-picture films, sketches, and maps; and mementoes or museum material, such as badges, flags, trophies, and relics. In Ohio, New Jersey, Missouri, and some other states, the compilation of records of individual military service appears to have been undertaken independently by the adjutant general's office, thus leaving the war records body free to devote more attention to the gathering of other war history material.

A few of the more general methods of collecting this material may be noted. Measures taken by the state bodies to arouse and maintain the interest of local representatives include the publication of bulletins outlining the nature and purpose of the work;⁷ the sending out of series of vigorously worded and fully explanatory circular letters, as in Oregon; tours of the counties by field agents, as in Michigan; and the offering of prizes for the best collections, as in Mississippi. For the acquisition of important records of state-wide interest, a thoroughgoing canvass of the state headquarters of all war organizations and of sources of information outside of the state is usually made by the central body. Sometimes a part of the whole task of the war records organization is assigned to an auxiliary agency, as in Texas, where the Daughters of the Confederacy have taken over the work of compiling the military and naval records. In all cases the active co-operation of established organizations and institutions and of the newly formed veterans' associations is earnestly sought. Extensive use is always made of the press and of other mediums of publicity. In Kentucky, for ex-

⁷ Among bulletins and leaflets issued for this purpose and for the instruction of the general public, may be noted: *California in the War*, by the War History Committee of the California Council of Defense; *War History Committee (Bulletins, no. 34A)*, by the Illinois State Council of Defense; *Collection and Preservation of the Materials of War History (Bulletin of Information Series, no. 8)*, by the State Historical Society of Iowa; *A Statewide Movement to make a Record of Kentucky's Part in the World War*, by the Kentucky Council of Defense; *A Statewide Movement for the Collection and Preservation of Minnesota's War Records (Bulletins, no. 1)*, by the Minnesota War Records Commission; *The Great War Veterans Association of Mississippi (Bulletins, no. 2)*, by the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History; *The North Carolina Council of Defense: Historical Committee*, by the body of that name; *What are You Doing to Help Ohio Preserve her War Records?*, by the Historical Commission of Ohio; *Outline of Purpose and Scope and Subject-Matter for Pennsylvania War History Commission*, by the body of that name; *Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material (Bulletins, no. 1)*, by the University of Texas; and *Collect Material for Wisconsin's War History Now, Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material, and Some Further Suggestions concerning the Collection of County War History Material (Bulletins, nos. 1, 2, and 3)*, by the Wisconsin War History Commission.

ample, newspapers in all parts of the state were recently asked to join in an "historical drive" to stimulate collection through the publication of local war history material already secured or sought out specially for the purpose. Exhibits of war posters, photographs, soldiers' letters, miscellaneous ephemera, and relics, such as those on display in the state libraries and museums of Wisconsin, North Carolina, Minnesota, and Nebraska, help to accomplish a similar end. In all this, it may be remarked, the state war records bodies usually recognize as they are able the various special interests in the several states of agencies doing similar work in wider fields, such as the Army War College, the National Catholic War Council, the American Jewish Committee, the Navy League of the United States, and the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Guerre of Paris.

From all accounts it appears that the work is now well under way in most of the active states. In the compilation of lists and records of men in the service, and particularly of those killed, wounded, or cited for bravery, notable progress appears to have been made in California, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Virginia, and other states especially active in this direction.⁸ Growing collections of soldiers' photographs, as in New Mexico; of soldiers' letters, as in Minnesota; of war posters, as in Wisconsin; and of records of local activities and conditions, as in Ohio, may be found everywhere. Maryland reports considerable progress made in gathering material relating to camps, military units, and non-military war agencies. Recent advices from Indiana and Texas indicate that marked success has attended the efforts of the war records bodies in those states to secure the custody of the state headquarters files of the leading war organizations, the Texas War Records Collection, for example, having some time ago received twelve large boxes of material, including original correspondence, from the Liberty Loan organization alone.

While the immediate object of the war records organizations is the collection of material, more or less definite plans have been made for the publication during the next few years of rosters and histories. In a number of states, including Iowa, Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, and Ohio, provision has been made for the compilation and publication of rosters under the direction of the

⁸ In this connection may be noted an act of Congress, approved July 11, 1919 (H. R. 5227), making funds "available for the employment of clerical help required to furnish to the Adjutants General of the several States statements of service of all persons from those States who entered the military service during the war with Germany".

several adjutants general, the sum of \$50,000 having been appropriated for this purpose in Ohio. Iowa and Minnesota have published tentative plans for comprehensive state war histories,⁹ and similar works are projected in Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, and North Carolina. The legislatures of Wisconsin and Michigan have appropriated \$17,500 and \$10,000, respectively, for the publication of a history of the Thirty-second Division, which was made up largely of Wisconsin and Michigan national guardsmen. In a number of states, including Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, some of the local war records committees are planning to publish county war histories. As aids to such committees as well as to those which confine their efforts to the collection of material, the state agencies of Indiana and Iowa have published tentative outlines intended to suggest in their logical relationships "the various phases of local activities which were a part of the war history of the community during the World War".¹⁰

FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK.¹¹

⁹ *Shall the Story of Iowa's Part in the War be Preserved?* (Iowa and War, January, 1919), by the State Historical Society of Iowa; *Minnesota's Part in the War: Shall it be Adequately Recorded?* (Bulletins, no. 2), by the Minnesota War Records Commission.

¹⁰ *County War History Prospectus* (Bulletins, no. 10, War History Bulletins, no. 2), by the Indiana Historical Commission; *Tentative Outline for a County War History* (Iowa and War, February, 1919), by the State Historical Society of Iowa. In some states, particularly in the Middle West, many projects for the publication of county war histories, so-called and otherwise, have been initiated independently of the war records organizations by private, but for the most part resident, publishers. Generally speaking, the official state agencies take a friendly attitude toward the publication of *bona fide* histories prepared chiefly under local auspices and as community ventures, but disapprove of projects, usually those of outside publishing firms, which are primarily commercial in character and intended for purposes of exploitation.

¹¹ [See also note on pp. 149-150. Ed.]

DOCUMENTS

Letter of David Colden, Loyalist, 1783

DAVID COLDEN, the writer of this letter, was the son of Cadwallader Colden, lieutenant-governor of New York, and his wife, Alice Christy, and was born November 23, 1733. He married, February 27, 1767, Ann, the daughter of his neighbor, John Willet, of Flushing, Long Island, and inherited his father's estate at Springhill, near Flushing, where this letter was written.

Although educated for the profession of physician, David Colden never practised medicine, except privately for the benefit of his friends and neighbors. Much of this worthy Loyalist's time was spent in various scientific pursuits, and among his correspondents on philosophical and other subjects was Dr. Franklin. In appreciation of his services as a Loyalist he was, on July 15, 1780, appointed assistant master of the rolls and superintendent of the police on Long Island. In 1784, David Colden went to England to seek compensation for the loss of his real property, confiscated by the New York legislature, and George Duncan Ludlow, the trustee of his children, was awarded by the British government the sum of £2,720 sterling from the claim of £10,282:15:0.¹

David Colden died in London, July 10, 1784, his death having been hastened by his misfortunes in America, and was buried in the graveyard of St. Anne's Church, Soho. He left a widow and several children, who were sheltered by his brother, Cadwallader Colden, likewise a Loyalist, at Coldenham, N. Y.

Cadwallader, born April 4, 1769, the elder son of David Colden, accompanied his father into exile in England, where he was partially educated under the charge of his maternal uncle, Colonel Farrington, of the Royal Artillery. Under the care of his guardian, George Duncan Ludlow, he was taken at the age of sixteen to Canada, and was articled to the well-known Loyalist lawyer, William Wylly. After a brief sojourn in Canada, Cadwallader Colden removed to New York, and would seem to have entered the office of Richard Harrison, a lawyer and attorney, in January, 1791. His subsequent career as an eminent lawyer, as colonel of a regiment of volunteers in the War of 1812, as a member of the assembly of

¹ Public Record Office, London, A. O. 12: 109.

New York, as mayor of the city, and as a congressman and state senator, are too familiar for detailed recapitulation here. His name is associated with the New York Historical Society by the presentation of the Colden papers to that society by Mrs. Frances Colden, the widow of his eldest son, Cadwallader.²

The accompanying letter,³ now published it is believed for the first time, was written by David Colden to his niece, Mrs. Henrietta Maria Colden, a Scottish lady, whose maiden name was Bethune. She had married Richard Nicholls Colden, the writer's nephew, who was surveyor and searcher of the port of New York, and who died in 1777. Her two sons, Alexander and Cadwallader, were being educated in 1784 at a school near Lancaster in England, and the British government allowed her £ 50 per annum for their education. When giving evidence in support of her claim for the loss of her deceased husband's property in America, Mrs. Henrietta Maria Colden impressed the commissioners of American claims in London by her good sense and competence.

E. ALFRED JONES.

SPRING HILL 15th September 1783

Dear Madam:

I am sorry to have been in any degree accessory to the painful anxiety under which you waited six months, expecting a letter from me. I hope one I wrote in April, would reach your hands in a few weeks after the date of your last to me, of the 30th of the same month. You would, however, even then, receive little satisfaction from my letter, respecting your affairs in this country; but it might convince you that I do not forget you. Be assured I would write oftener, if I could ever communicate any thing, either new or satisfactory to you about your affairs. I did not know but Mr. Auchmuty⁴ might manage better for you than I could. He has however obtained nothing from Antill,⁵ who keeps

² For the Colden family, see the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, IV. 161-183; and Public Record Office, London, A. O. 12: 14; A. O. 12: 9; A. O. 12: 25; A. O. 12: 101; A. O. 12: 109; A. O. 13: 12; A. O. 13: 64; A. O. 13: 97; A. O. 13: 137.

³ Public Record Office, London, A. O. 13: 97.

⁴ Robert Nichols Auchmuty, Loyalist, son of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York City.

⁵ Maj. John Antill, a lawyer, son of Hon. Edward Antill, of Perth Amboy, N. J., where he held several public appointments before the Revolutionary War. With his brother-in-law, Lieut.-Col. John Morris, of Shrewsbury, N. J., he was instrumental in raising in 1776 the second battalion of the well-known Loyalist regiment, the New Jersey Volunteers. On August 15, 1780, he was cashiered for making false returns and drawing provisions for more men than the effective strength of his battalion, but was shortly afterward reinstated. Major Antill married (1) April 21, 1770, Margaret, daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth (Nicholls) Colden of New York; and (2) his deceased wife's sister, Jane Colden,

possession of the Brooklyn Estate. Nothing can be got from him but by selling the few necessities his wife and children have left. His half pay feeds them from day to day, and no more. Auchmuty tells me he is convinced this is their situation, and declines commencing a suit, that must be ineffectual. I do not know why he does not write to you.

Antill has been several months of this summer in Nova Scotia, looking out for a settlement there. He returned lately; and is now going, with his son Jack, to England, upon what scheme I know not: nor in what manner he intends to provide for his wife and children, whom he leaves here.

Your letter to John Laurence⁶ was put into the hands of a gentleman, who engaged to deliver it to him in a few days. I am informed Mr. Laurence supports a favorable character—is pushing himself forward, and bids fair to rise in his profession. He has been two or three times in New York, since the cessation of hostilities, but I have not seen him. He will probably be a useful man to you. He designs to settle in New York.

The legislature of this State have not passed any act, immediately affecting the title of any part of the estate belonging to you or your children. No act of theirs yet passed, mentions your husband's estate, his fathers or his grandfather Colden's, either directly or by implication. That part of my fathers estate only, which belongs to me, is involved as being part of mine. But as you desire me to give you the most particular information of any act passed that may affect you, I will transcribe abstracts of some clauses of the act of attainder, passed in 1779,⁷ which renders every man's estate who was within the British lines at any time of the war, liable to be yet involved in the destruction it works.—It is enacted that, the Grand Jurors at any Supreme Court of Judicature, Oyer and Terminer or General Joal Delivery, to be held in and for any county of this state, on oath of any one or more creditable witness, that

who were sisters of Richard Nicholls Colden, the husband of the lady to whom this letter was written. Allusion is made in this letter to Major Antill's visit to Nova Scotia, whither he had gone, with Lieut.-Col. Elisha Lawrence, of the New Jersey Volunteers, as the accredited agents of the seconded officers of the Loyalist regiments to secure settlements for them in that province. Parr, the governor of Nova Scotia, in a letter of August 15, 1783, to General Sir Guy Carleton, complains of Major Antill's "unreasonable demands and illiberal ideas on the part of the second officers"; to which the general replied on September 5, regretting that the seconded officers had "made choice of so improper a person as Major Antill to act as their agent". Historical MSS. Commission, *Report on the American MSS. in the Royal Institution*, IV. 60, 280, 334; Public Record Office, London, A. O. 12: 14; A. O. 12: 100; A. O. 13: 93; A. O. 13: 108; A. O. 13: 113. For the loss of his property in New Jersey he made a claim, and was awarded by the British government the sum of £2,900, as well as £340 for the loss of his annual professional income. In addition to these allowances, Major Antill was granted a pension and half-pay as major. A. O. 12: 109.

⁶ John Lawrence was perhaps the Loyalist physician of that name, who was the son of John Lawrence of New Jersey, an ardent Loyalist, and brother of Lieut.-Col. Elisha Lawrence, mentioned in footnote 5. Dr. John Lawrence was educated at the College of New Jersey and practised medicine at New York during the Revolutionary War. Sabine's *American Loyalists*.

⁷ *Laws of the State of New York* (Albany, 1886), vol. I. (1777-1784), pp. 173-184.

any person, whether in full life or *deceased*, has been guilty of the offence aforesaid (adhering to the enemy) shall prefer bills of inditments against such persons.—Sheriffs are to give notice of the inditments by publishing advertisements,—and it is then enacted that, on neglect to appear and traverse the inditement, agreeable to the sheriff's notice, the several persons charged in such inditement whether in full life or *deceased* to be adjudged guilty and forfeit all and singular their estate real and personal.—In case a person *deceased* is indited his representative is to appear and traverse.—Some hundred Freeholders, Merchants and Inhabitants of Long Island, New York and Staaten Island have been indited, under this Act, since the cessation of hostilities. So little effect have the preliminary articles yet had!—I do not know that they have proceeded against any person not in full life, altho' they might under this very extraordinary act, declared by the preamble to be made in order to work a confiscation of estates for the use of the State.—Tyrannical Law! made to take a man's life for the express purpose of getting his estate. Be not surprised at the warmth of my expressions; it affects me to the quick. But you wish to have me say what predicament I think your children's estate stands in. I believe it safe from confiscation. The law is too severe to be continued. Hitherto it has lain unnoticed. It must now be animadverted upon, and stigmatised with such censure by the world, that for the credit of a national character, it must be blotted out. I believe there is a tax laid upon all uncultivated lands; if it is so your son's estate cannot be exempted from the effects of such a law; but what method is taken to get money for the tax, I am not informed.

McLean, the tenant your husband left on the farm near Newburgh, I hear is yet in possession of it: and Haasbrook, of the lands he rented.—The back rents, when they can be collected, must amount to something considerable.

I have to inform you of an addition to Sandy's estate that has not been adverted to till a few month's since. My sister Caty,⁸ who died in 1762, by her will gave 2000 acres of land to Cad'r⁹ son of her brother Alex'r, to Alex'r¹⁰ son of her brother Cad'r and to Alice¹¹ daughter of her sister Alice (Willet) to be divided equally between them. In case of the death of the first named, under age or without issue, she gives his share to his brother Richard.¹² Cad'r died under age, so that both by will and descent this share now belongs to your Sandy. Then 2000 acres of land was granted to William Mitchell in trust for my sister, to whom he released them, by deeds bearing date 15th October 1761; they are distinguished by Lott M in Butlars Purchase, and Lotts No. 2,

⁸ Catherine, daughter of Cadwallader and Alice (Christy) Colden, who was born February 13, 1731, and died in June, 1762, unmarried.

⁹ Cadwallader, son of Alexander Colden, and his wife, Elizabeth Nicholls. Alexander was born August 13, 1716, and was surveyor-general of the province of New York jointly with his father, postmaster of New York, and a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, from 1761 until his death.

¹⁰ Alexander, son of Cadwallader Colden, the younger, and grandson of Lieut.-Gov. Cadwallader Colden. He married Gertrude (Wynkoop), widow of his brother David, and was a farmer at Coldenham, N. Y.

¹¹ Alice Willet was the daughter of Col. William Willet and his second wife, Alice, daughter of Lieut.-Gov. Cadwallader and Alice (Christy) Colden.

¹² Richard Nicholls Colden. See introductory note.

No. 8 and No. 28 in Glens Purchase, and are otherwise particularly described. They lie near the Mohawk River in Tryon County, in a pretty well settled part of the country, and are valuable. Caty's will is dated 16th May 1762; it was recorded and deposited in the Prerogative Office. I have an official copy of it, which I have now put up with the release from Mitchell, that I fortunately found among my papers, and have deposited them in a chest with my own papers of that kind, and those belonging to my Fathers Estate, which I have lodged in Mr. John Watts's house in New York.¹³ A place where it is supposed there will be more security than here in the country. The mahogany box, with all the papers I received from you, my book of accounts with you, and whatever letters or papers have come to my hands relative to your affairs, put up in it, is included in the same chest with my papers, under Mr. Watts's care.

I have mentioned the back rents of the lands at Newburgh, and you will readily say, why is not something done to collect them now. To answer this question, I must endeavor to give you some idea of the state of this country, which will at the same time be answering some other queries in your letter.

We have pass'd a twelve month, in the most perplexing state of uncertainty that ever a people did. Long waiting for the portionary articles, expecting they would certainly provide some security for the unfortunate loyalists, they have only increased our distress and cause of anxiety, and to this hour we do not know that they will have the smallest effect in our favour. No measures have yet been taken by Congress, except the release of prisoners, or by any of the states, that we know of, in consequence of the treaty. Even the recommendation of Congress, to which the English Ministry have devoted the lives and fortunes of thousands, whose virtuous attachment to Government shall render their characters immortal, while that of the ministers shall be execrated, I say, even this recommendation has not yet come forth. The spirit of persecution and violence against the unhappy loyalists does not appear to abate in any degree, since the cessation of hostilities. They are not suffered to go into the country even to take a last farewell of their relations. Committees are form'd throughout the country, who publish the most violent resolves against the loyalists, and give instructions to the legislative bodies, directly repugnant to the treaty. We are told that these committees have allarm'd the people in power, who wish to suppress them, but know not how. The people have been taught a dangerous truth, that *all power is derived from them*. Nothing can now render the country tolerably happy but the strength and firmness of the Governors: the Legislative Bodies; those in whom the Constitution have placed the Power of Governing. The most dreadful anarchy must ensue, should the new Government prove unequal to the Task. An event most devoutly to be deprecated by every good Man! The Legislature of the State of New York have not been convened since the preliminary Treaty came [over?]. It is said, that by the Constitution, Peace having taken place, they cannot meet till representatives are elected for Long Island and that part of the state that has been within the British Lines. The election cannot be made while the British Army is here. General

¹³ John Watts, senior and junior, prominent in the commercial and social history of the city of New York, both of whom were Loyalists. Sabine, *American Loyalists*.

Charlton¹⁴ has informed Congress by letter of the 17th of last month, that he has received the Kings orders for the final evacuati[on] of New York, but that the infractions of the Treaty, and violences committed in the country upon the loyalists, has driven such multitudes of them to apply to him to be removed to some place of security, that he cannot say when he shall be able to leave the place being determind not to leave any loyalist behind, who choses to go away. Above 30,000 men women and children, have already been transported to Nova Scotia etc. and a very large number are still waiting for ships to carry them. Many substantial farmers of Long Island, and inhabitants of New York are gone and going, freightend away by inditements, and menaces, the fear of taxes, and an abhorrence of a republican government.

What I have now written will be sufficient to convince you that this country is by no means yet in such a situation, that private affairs can be lookd into and settled.

You must allow my dear Niece that if I do not write frequently, you get very long epistles from me. The present has got to an enormous length, and yet I have said very little of the friends you inquire after. This will fill every corner of my paper. I have nothing to add to what I have already said of Antill and his family. Hamilton¹⁵ says he will abide on his farm in my neighborhood with his children. It is generally thought that he will be made very unhappy, as soon as the British army leaves us, and that he had much better go to some other place. My sister Delancey¹⁶ has had many severe tryals to encounter. Her son James¹⁷ included in the same act of attainder with me, has no expectation of recovering his estate: he is gone to England. She has parted with him, never expecting to see him again. Her daughter Barclay¹⁸ is gone with her husband and four children to Nova Scotia, where they must be reduced to a kind of life neither of them have ever before been

¹⁴ Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army in North America, in succession to Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, on February 23, 1782.

¹⁵ Col. Archibald Hamilton, who after twenty-seven years' service as an officer in the British army in Flanders, North America, and the West Indies, retired and bought a farm at Flushing, Long Island, where he became colonel of the Queens County militia. He married Alice, daughter of Alexander and Elizabeth (Nicholls) Colden, on July 16, 1766; she died during the Revolutionary War, and he died an exile at Edinburgh, Scotland, on June 1, 1795. His only son, Alexander Mark Kerr Hamilton, rose to be a major-general in the British army, of whom a biography is in preparation by the writer of these notes.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Colden married Peter DeLancey of New York (1705-1770). T. Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, I. 649-663. In her original letter to Maj.-Gen. James Robertson, dated August 5, 1782, she refers to the fact that early in the war her house at Westchester was taken possession of by the Continentals and converted into a military hospital. Later, when the Continentals were routed, her house became the headquarters of General Heister, in command of German troops, who appears to have commandeered all Mrs. DeLancey's forage, grain, and cattle, without payment. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Rept. on the Amer. MSS. in the Royal Inst.*, III. 54-55.

¹⁷ Col. James DeLancey, son of Peter and Elizabeth (Colden) DeLancey, was colonel of the Westchester Refugees, province of New York—a Loyalist corps.

¹⁸ Susannah DeLancey, who married the eminent Loyalist, Major Thomas H. Barclay.

acquainted with. The half pay allowed them will make their situation tolerable, which I apprehend would otherwise have been much otherwise. Her son Stephen¹⁹ lately sailed with his wife and four children for Quebec, to look out for the means of living when he gets there. Her son Oliver²⁰ has been turnd off of the old family estate at West Chester since the cessation of hostilities, by commissioners acting under authority of the state, who gave him and several others a severe whipping, lest they should forget the Orders they had got to remove. Oliver had given his Mother a great deal of uneasiness not long before by a most foolish and disagreeable marriage. My sister herself was threatend with the loss of her estate at West Chester, Union Hall,²¹ and to secure it has been obliged to remove there with her Daughter Nancy.²² It is a most horrid place to be in at present. They have been very quiet since they got there, now about three weeks, under the protection of some of the American Army who are stationd there to curb the lawless Bandittie who had got possession of the Country. Her son John²³ is in New York, but I imagine he will not remain behind the British Army. Warner you recollect is in the 17th Dragoons.²⁴ My brother Cad'r²⁵ is in New York, his wife and family returnd to his estate at Coldingham²⁶ after the peace, where they were well received and have met with no disturbance. He cannot go home himself to [till] the banishing act is repeald, and is advised to go out of the way, somewhere, when the evacuation takes place, till the act is repeald. His son Thomas²⁷ and his wife intended going to Nova Scotia, with the Regt. who saild a few days since, but Thom has been ill, and is not sufficiently recovered to undertake the voyage, and the difficulties they must encounter, not having the least corner prepard, or a spot of cleard ground, where they are going. Capt. Willett²⁸ has got leave to go to England.

¹⁹ Stephen DeLancey, a lawyer, and recorder of Albany and clerk of Tryon county, N. Y.

²⁰ Oliver DeLancey, a lieutenant in the royal navy, but resigned because he would not fight against his native land, America, in the Revolutionary War. The "foolish and disagreeable marriage" was presumably to Rachel Hunt, of West Farms, Westchester county.

²¹ Union Hill, West Farms, Westchester county.

²² Nancy DeLancey is not named in her mother's will.

²³ John DeLancey, an officer in the British army.

²⁴ Warren DeLancey, a cornet in the 17th Dragoons.

²⁵ Cadwallader Colden, son of Lieut.-Gov. Cadwallader Colden and his wife, Alice Christy. He was born in New York, May 26, 1722, and married in 1745-6 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ellison, of New Windsor, N. Y. He died at Coldenham, Orange county, N. Y., on February 18, 1797.

²⁶ Coldenham. See foot-notes 10, 25.

²⁷ Thomas, son of the above Cadwallader and Elizabeth (Ellison) Colden, was born in 1754 and married February 16, 1781, Anne, daughter of William and Alice (Colden) Willet. During the Revolution he served as an officer in the New Jersey Volunteers and the Pennsylvania Loyalists, being a major on half-pay until his death, March 30, 1826, at New York.

²⁸ Capt. Gilbert Colden Willet of the 2nd battalion of DeLancey's Brigade, son of Col. William Willet and his second wife, Alice, daughter of Lieut.-Gov. Cadwallader and Alice (Christy) Colden. He married Susan, daughter of Robert Murray, of New York, and was a vestryman of St. Mark's Church in that city in 1799.

Now for myself, here am I, condemn'd to suffer death, if ever I am found in the State of New York; and yet my determination is to put them to the test. They have condemn'd me, while living at my usual place of residence, without calling on me to appear and take a tryal. I am not guilty of the treason alledged against me. My going or staying will not I conceive affect the recovery of my estate. If they are determined to have it, they surely will let me off with my life at any time. My family will be inerted [?] in certain distress if I leave them, which they may escape if I stay with them. This, and a consciousness of innocence, determines my present resolution to keep possession of that part of my estate where I lived before and during the war.

I am glad to close this gloomy letter with a subject of another kind, the marriage of one of your connections. Rich'd Harrison²⁹ was married last week to Miss Ludlow, eldest daughter of the Judge; she went to England in June. I am happy to hear of the progress your sons make in their learning. My wife and children join in very affectionate remembrance of you and them. Please to present my respectfull compliments to your father, and do not forget to give me credit for the length of my letters, tho' you cannot for their frequency. Let me stand credited likewise for being

Dear Niece

Your affec't Uncle and most humble Serv't

DAVID COLDEN.

To Mrs. Henrietta Colden

Isle of Man.

²⁹ Richard Harrison, a lawyer and member of the New York bar, who married Frances, daughter of George Duncan Ludlow, the Loyalist, afterwards chief justice of New Brunswick. Cadwallader Colden, the eldest son of David Colden, the writer of this letter, commenced the study of law in the office of Richard Harrison upon his return from England in 1785.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Baronial Opposition to Edward II., its Character and Policy: a Study in Administrative History. By JAMES CONWAY DAVIES, Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1918. Pp. x, 644. \$4.00.)

BISHOP STUBBS's opinion of the reign of Edward II. was that it was an age when the public life of England stood at a very low level, and most readers feel that it is one of the most dreary of historical periods. Nothing has been done since Stubbs wrote to modify that particular opinion, but much has been recently done to show that the reign is more important in the constitutional history of England than we formerly supposed. This is especially true of the work of Professor Tout; and now Mr. Davies has published a minute study of most of the reign, showing similar conclusions. These studies are peculiarly welcome because they concern the differentiation, of which we know almost nothing, of administrative institutions from feudal forms of government. The process, as a differentiation, is made to stand out clearly by Mr. Davies.

His book in general is one to be grateful for, though it is not easy reading. It attends strictly to business and eschews all graces, and even sometimes carefulness, of expression. His main thesis is that the barons, recognizing the importance of the administrative system, tried to get control of it in order to control the government. His method is to take up one administrative institution after another, to state one after another his conclusions regarding it and its operation, and to illustrate each point with numerous detailed instances. Mr. Davies has subjected the records of the reign, the "Rolls" of all kinds, to a minuteness of search which is impressive but seems sometimes too fully reproduced for the reader. The result is, however, that much new light is thrown on the operation of government and also upon facts not particularly noted or in the intention of the author. He shows for example how Edward got business done which he did not wish to do himself, and gives us the impression that the king did more of the work of his office than we had thought. The royal prerogative, the position of the earl, the serjeanty tenure as the feudal endowment of administration (not quite so logically developed as it should be), the work of the executive and the use of the seals, the chamber as a financial institution, the work of the household and the transformation of its great offices into empty titles, chancery and exchequer, and many other topics receive full illustration.

Although the process going on in the reign is constantly referred to as one of differentiation, the necessary unconsciousness of this fact on the

part of those carrying it on seems to be overlooked, and with it the hold which the old ideas would have over their minds. This is particularly true with regard to the "curious combination of council and parliament" (p. 291) and to the relation of exchequer and chancery to the council. To the men of the time the process was not one of confusion (p. 290). The confusion is ours because we cannot get clearly into our minds all that is involved in the differentiation. The author's facts show Parliament and council growing more apart, but the differentiation still incomplete, as we should expect. If Mr. Davies intends to imply (pp. 291-293) that the name Parliament was then restricted to meetings in which the new representative elements were present, the fact would be surprising, but he is probably only making a distinction of his own. It is also not to be thought strange that exchequer and chancery still occasionally act as council; it would be strange if at that date they had not now and then done so.

It must not be inferred that the book deals with institutional details only. It states clearly the constitutional significance of the age and strongly supports past conclusions as to its contribution to this side of things. Indeed Mr. Davies shows more fully than has been done before how the opposition carries forward the tradition begun by Magna Carta. In his interpretation of the fundamental principles of the Great Charter and of the details of their development during the thirteenth century, his discussion is closely parallel to that of the reviewer's *Origin of the English Constitution*, though he does not refer to that book. He sums up in these words (p. 542):

The best that can be said of the baronial opposition in general is that it sought to subject the king, no less than his people, to the rule of law. The great principle contained in Magna Carta that the king was under the law, was very open to misinterpretation, and the policy of the barons partly laid them open to this charge. Viewed from the best light the aims of the opposition were to secure the omnipotence of law and to lessen the powers the king might exercise to the detriment, or in negation, of law.

G. B. ADAMS.

Isabel of Castile and the Making of the Spanish Nation, 1451-1504.

By IERNE L. PLUNKET. [Heroes of the Nations.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. xi, 432. \$1.90.)

THIS is an exceedingly well-written book, and it comes as near to serious historical presentation as a work of a semi-popular character can do. The author's method of handling her subject inspires confidence, even though she refrains from the use of page citations and foot-notes. And, indeed, there are many lengthy and well-selected quotations from sources that are well-known to him who would even be critical in this field of history. Andres Bernaldez, Pulgar, Sabatini, Zurita, and Marineo Siculo form the basis of the work, and in thrilling parts even Prescott and Washington Irving are not excluded from quotation.

The work well belongs in the *Heroes of the Nations* series, for Isabel is the heroine of the story and Ferdinand plays the opposite part as king, husband, and even as villain. At times, however, the author draws the curtain aside and we see Isabel in a less sanctified garb, as for example:

It must not be inferred . . . that the Castilian princess had been endowed with a love of truth under any circumstances. Her life had been spent for the most part in an atmosphere of treachery, where he who was the least reliable or conscientious scored highest in the game of politics; and, when necessity forced her to play a hand as in the case of her marriage, she had proved herself capable of "bluffing" with the best. The threading of such intricate mazes was an ordinary statesman's career, and Isabel had been born with an aptitude for statecraft. What was worth a great deal more to Spain was her aptitude for kingship.

And from this book we realize more than ever that she was a wife and mother, with all the feelings, the disappointments and sufferings of one of that age; she was first and always queen and guiding spirit of Spain, and to these all other considerations were secondary.

The first three chapters of the book deal with the background of Isabella's reign. The institutions of early Spain, the kingship, the nobles, the municipalities, and the Church are seen in conflict, and through the chaos of this period the need of an organizer is evident. These conditions were especially aggravated by the misgovernment, anarchy, and civil war of the reign of Henry IV. (1454-1474), whose period was given over to dynastic quarrels and who was continually under the influence of political favorites, ambitious nobles, and belligerent churchmen. The most far-reaching event of this epoch was the betrothal and the final union of Ferdinand and Isabel. Some attention is also paid to the antecedents of Ferdinand, to Aragon's policy in Navarre, and to relations with France and Portugal.

The political events of Isabel's reign divide themselves, according to our author's argument, into three main divisions. We first note the culmination of Castile's policy in her triumph over Portugal and the ending of all hostility through the subsequent betrothal of the younger Isabel to Dom Affonso, heir to the Portuguese throne. At the same time, La Beltraneja, Isabel's only rival, was buried in a convent at Coimbra. Secondly, the combination of Isabel's strong passion for the political union of Spain under Castile and her love for the Catholic religion led to the Moorish wars. Considerable attention is given to these and the capture of Malaga and Granada. They are picturesquely described and add to the interest of the story.

After the Moorish wars come the Inquisition and the final expulsion of the Jews and the Mudéjares. The economic results of the expulsion are noticed, though hardly sufficiently. Ferdinand and Isabel needed money, after all their wars, and the Jews were not given time to get away with their wealth. The spot-light is rather focussed on the queen's religious devotion, and her gentle submission, during her later years

especially, to the gentle influence of the holy prelates, Mendoza, Talavera, and Cisneros, so that when "word was brought to the queen that trade was diminishing, yet she, esteeming little the loss of her revenues, and as great value the purity of her dominions, declared that, putting aside her own interests, she would seek to cleanse the land from the sin of heresy because she believed that she fulfilled God's service and her own". No particular comment is made on the fact that thus Isabel, who made Spain, at this moment started her downfall, depriving her of economic stability and her people of respect for industry, turning her over to the clergy who have continued to exploit her since. The advent of Columbus and the discovery of America are given their proper perspective in the larger study of Spain at the time of Isabel.

The third topic considered in this interesting sketch is the foreign policy of the Catholic monarchs, as shown, first, in their efforts to make Spain a world-power through the marriage alliance, and which succeeded in temporarily uniting Spain with Portugal, England, and Germany. The fact that this finally brought a Hapsburg ruler and a world-emperor to the Spanish throne is of course outside the scope of this book. The other direction of their foreign policy, or rather Ferdinand's, was in the Mediterranean, where he succeeded in outwitting France and bringing a large portion of Italy under his control, at the same time strengthening Spain's hold on the papacy. There are also chapters on Spanish literature and on the institutions and reforms inaugurated by Ferdinand and Isabella.

Possibly the most delightful feature of the book is its realistic portrayal of character. Especially is this to be appreciated in the chapters on the Church and Inquisition, where dry and forbidding prelates are shown quite intimately as human beings. It is indeed a service to the medieval period of Spanish history that someone has written a book which pulsates with human interest. There is nothing new in the volume; indeed there is much omitted; but it gives us again in live, interesting form, the story so entertainingly told by Prescott and Irving; and it is well re-told.

Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters. Translated and Edited by PRESERVED SMITH and CHARLES M. JACOBS. Volume II., 1521-1530. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. 1918. Pp. 568. \$3.50.)

Six years ago (1913) Dr. Preserved Smith of Amherst College published the first volume of *Luther's Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters*, covering the period 1507-1521. He thereby performed a really invaluable service to every English-speaking student of general and church history, offering him for the first time in his vernacular the fundamental part of the history of the most momentous crisis in the annals of Europe as told by the participants and eye-witnesses themselves

in all the unreserve of private correspondence. Now the second volume has left the press. The labor of selection, translation, and editing is no longer in the hands of one man. More than half of this second volume is the work of the Rev. Professor Charles M. Jacobs of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy. This however by no means lessens the standard value of the work, as Charles Jacobs is well known as an entirely trustworthy translator of Luther and one of our best students of the history of the German Reformation; it rather guarantees a more rapid progress of the whole undertaking. The second volume extends over the years 1521-1530 and contains 399 pieces of Luther's correspondence and contemporary letters, nos. 478-875 of the whole work, together with two letters in the appendix. The principles of editing have justly remained the same; not only Luther's own letters are given but also the important ones addressed to him or treating of him. So we find letters of Emperor Charles V., King Henry VIII., Landgrave Philip of Hesse, George Duke of Saxony, the electors Frederick and John, Pope Adrian VI., Albert, cardinal archbishop of Mayence, Cardinal Wolsey, many letters of Erasmus, of Melanchthon, etc. In selecting for this period the editors, of course, had to choose a much smaller proportion of the available letters than in the first volume, because the correspondence and influence of Luther between 1521 and 1530 had enormously widened and the remaining material is vastly larger. But the selection is made very wisely and circumspectly. It very seldom happens that a letter rightly expected is not reprinted. The translation is faithful and trustworthy. To give all necessary light for the comprehension of the text, foot-notes are added, containing explanations of allusions, corrections of mistakes, and short biographical notices of persons mentioned. Three appendixes offer unpublished texts (1, various readings of a letter of Henry VIII. to Luther; 2, a letter of Erasmus to Louis Ber; 3, a letter of Peter Albinianus Tretius to Luther), an excellent bibliography of epistles of dates contemporary with Luther, and errata and addenda. In the short introduction we take exception to the statement: "It seems that by a more liberal policy Erasmus might have been completely won." Here the authors fail to recognize the fundamental difference between Luther and Erasmus; Erasmus, in the last analysis, was morally and religiously a man of the Middle Ages while Luther ushered in the new era.

The work as a whole is an excellent "Enders" in English, though somewhat condensed, still in many ways supplemented and improved, a real credit to American scholarship.

M. REU.

Liverpool Town Books, Proceedings of Assemblies, Common Councils, Portmoot Courts, etc., 1550-1862. Volume I., 1550-1571. Edited by J. A. TWEMLOW. (Liverpool: University Press; London: Constable and Company. 1918. Pp. ccxvi, 719.)

STUDENTS of Tudor history, who knew that Mr. Twemlow was at work preparing the earlier Town Books of the city of Liverpool for publication, must congratulate him on the appearance of his first ponderous volume. From the point of view of an accurate and complete text—which few can hope to equal—of elaborate annotations, of careful indexes covering names, subjects, places, and the long introduction, Mr. Twemlow's work completely supersedes all previous attempts to edit this particular manuscript whether in whole or in part.

For the city of Liverpool itself and in some degree for town life in Tudor England, the volume not only ought to be most useful but will help to correct errors in local and wider history. To the genealogist and philologist its value will be greater, and the editor has helped the latter with a glossary which in many places supplements and corrects the *New Oxford Dictionary*.

The manuscript consists of a record covering the years 1550-1571 and was compiled by Recorder Pendleton. It follows a somewhat monotonous round of elections of mayors and other civic officials, of civic portmoots, of admissions to freedom, of law cases, of parliamentary elections. Most valuable, however, for the student of bigger things is the light thrown on shipping, especially in connection with trade and military expeditions to Ireland, on prices, on trade regulations, on public morals. The appendices, too, will prove serviceable in illustrating rentals and assessments and taxes.

On the whole, however, the volume is somewhat of a disappointment. Perhaps this is because we had hoped for too much. Intrinsically its value is rather severely local and these vital years of quick movements which left indelible marks on English history are made little clearer. Maybe we have exhausted the valuable records for them. Be that as it may, Recorder Pendleton could give regular records of the days and seasons, the weather and harvests, but could leave almost unnoticed—save for a fleeing priest, a new communion table, a record of the Great Pillage—the events which touched every hamlet and parish in England. Perhaps wisdom guided his pen, and discretion was the better part of his recusant or conformist valor, but the fact remains that the big currents of Tudor history receive little or no tributary waters from his record. It may be facetious, but I notice the famous “&c” in Elizabeth's title in the earliest mention of her reign in the manuscript.

In editorial work so minutely detailed and as a rule so accurate and far-reaching, it may be somewhat unkind to find faults. Mr. Twemlow has, I think, done his work in a manner which commands admiration. He has erred, however, in over-elaboration. The description of the

manuscript, inside and outside, while very interesting, is more suited for a local antiquarian magazine. The pages of his introduction which state the worth of local history and the necessity for the publication of local records are commonplace. Doubtless they may serve to spur on the city fathers of Liverpool to further munificence in helping such work, but they are too obvious in their point and ought not to have appeared. Again many of the notes are unnecessary. For example it is over-editing to tell us that Pendleton does not deserve the praise for handwriting and orderly record-keeping which was bestowed on a Nottingham town clerk at the close of the fifteenth century (p. cxii, note 1); or that a modern Spanish ship and a recently torpedoed Bilboa ship bear the name *Nuestra Señora de Begoña*, just because a ship called the *Sancta Maria debigonía* appears in the text (p. 302). Other and many such examples might be given, but these serve to show that the art of historical editing is not easily learned.

The introduction might also have been a better and finer piece of work. It is full of commonplaces—references to the war, to the Entente Cordiale, and such like. The space might well have been given to some generalizations on the light thrown upon the history of the town and country during the period. Mr. Twemlow rightly disclaims any intention of writing a history of Liverpool as yet; but such a summary would not nullify that disclaimer and would have been invaluable to students. The subject-index, excellent as it is, cannot take the place of such a section in the introduction. As Mr. Twemlow hopes to edit other Liverpool manuscripts, we hope that this criticism will be received in the spirit of suggestive kindness in which it is given.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850. By A. E. DOBBS, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1919. Pp. xiv, 258. \$3.50.)

"THE chapters in this volume were intended to form part of a history of English education in modern times, with special reference to movements of democratic origin or tendency" (preface). There are seven chapters, with the following titles: The Social Environment on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution; Schools and Literature; the Era of Revolutions; the First Half of the Nineteenth Century; the Mechanics' Institutes and Higher Education; Libraries and Literature; "Education by Collision"; and the Social Outlook.

The general thesis of the author is as follows: Progress in English education has depended more largely on the structure of society and the changes brought about by economic and social movements, often but little related to education, than to the influence of its advocates, leaders, or theorists. Types of schools are agencies called into existence by social

and economic changes. Their purpose is to supply a higher degree of mental equipment to meet the needs of a more complete existence resulting from such changes. In like manner social changes cause the demand for new forms of instruction and for new subject-matter in the curriculum. Religious and political divisions, varieties of social outlook and experience, in the same or different geographical areas, are the clue to important phases of educational controversy.

Two illustrations of the work of the author may be given, in order to show his point of view and method. He discusses the relation of the religious revivals of the eighteenth century to intellectual advance, and finds that one of the first fruits of such revivals was the growth of the notion that every child should learn to read the Bible—a definite advance toward the idea of national education. During the Methodist revival a great wave of enthusiasm produced the Sunday-school movement of the eighties. This was the most widely organized medium up to this time for the instruction of young and old. In many cases secular as well as religious instruction was given in these schools. Again, he finds that this was one of the important influences which stimulated interest in state elementary schools.

The industrial revolution is discussed in detail, particularly in its aspect as a challenge to the old traditional classification of society into well-defined groups, duly subordinated to one another. The result of this view was the attempt to confine popular education within narrow bounds, on the ground that universal instruction of the people would incapacitate them for necessary labor and diffuse an atmosphere of social unrest. But the industrial revolution engendered the idea that the working-man had as much right to educational training and opportunity as other classes. Thus there was an intellectual side to the industrial revolution which produced a social unrest and resulted in efforts of the working classes to establish educational agencies for their own instruction and needs.

This book is an attempt to explain educational movements and progress from a different standpoint than that taken by the authors of the conventional histories of education. In the latter case, emphasis is placed on the theories of educational reformers, with a meagre statement of the facts of educational history. There is little or no recognition of environment or of those social and economic factors which for the most part make reformers and reforms possible. In the present volume the author has made a real contribution to the subject of the development of education in England. His book however has much material which does not have a close relation to educational movements. There is no bibliography, unfortunately, though this is partially compensated for by fairly complete citations in the foot-notes.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

The Treaties of 1785, 1799, and 1828 between the United States and Prussia as interpreted in Opinions of Attorneys General, Decisions of Courts, and Diplomatic Correspondence. Edited by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. viii, 207. \$2.00.)

The Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800, a Collection of Official Documents preceded by the Views of Representative Publicists. Edited by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. [*Id.*] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xxxi, 698. \$5.00.)

WITH these two volumes the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace continues its very practical peace work by presenting to the public in general and students of international relations in particular a summary of the relevant authoritative information on two subjects of diplomatic history which has not hitherto been available in concise form in larger libraries and is not at all to be had in the smaller institutional library.

Treaty relations between the United States and Germany had been so smooth and unruffled, because of the lack of pressure of any large issue, that the existence of the archaic treaties of 1785, 1799, and 1828 had been forgotten or unnoticed by nearly everyone except the international lawyer until the period of American neutrality arrived in 1914, when the public suddenly awoke to the fact of their existence and the remarkable provisions written into their articles. Judged by the principle of *rebus sic stantibus* these treaties long ago would have become extinct; the most remarkable thing about them is that up to the very end both governments have acknowledged their binding validity; and that article XII. of the treaty of 1828 provides for the express contingency of war between the high contracting parties, notwithstanding the general principle of abrogation of treaties automatically upon the outbreak of war between the parties. Much of the space devoted to decisions of American courts deals with the acknowledgment by the two governments of the continuation of the treaty after the federation of the German Empire on the pedestal of Prussia.

In compiling these treaties in such handy form Dr. Scott has done for us another great service. The volume will be extremely useful for reference in the thousands of cases that will arise in the immediate future over the claims of American citizens against the imperial German government for damages arising out of illegal naval warfare. In this regard it is almost essential for the lawyer dealing with international claims, as well as for the teacher of contemporary history.

Certain minor details of the editing are puzzling. In general the work is very carefully done, and the reader is grateful for the presentation, in English and French in parallel columns, of the original drafts of the several treaties, the copies on file in the archives of the Department

of State being cited as authority for the accuracy of the text here given in printed form. Article XII. of the treaty of 1828, renewing articles XIII.-XXIV. of the treaty of 1799, refers to the last paragraph of article XIX. of the latter treaty, which paragraph is not to be renewed. Turning to the article in question the reader finds that the English text has but one paragraph, while the French has two, the division into paragraphs in this instance being a matter of utmost importance. A note by the editor on this apparent discrepancy in the original documents would be helpful. Typographical errors occur in but very few cases, as in the sixth and thirty-first lines on page 125. For the purposes of the average reader a more uniform arrangement of the summaries of the court cases, and of the labelling of their jurisdiction, might be asked by the over-critical reviewer.

When edited, the volume on *The Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800* bade fair to enjoy a timeliness of interest equal to that since claimed by the work mentioned above. The rapid procession of events and march of opinion between the day of Mr. Wilson's "armed neutrality" address to Congress, February 26, 1917, and the momentous sixth day of April relegated the subject of armed neutrality back to its old position of academic interest and the curiosity of historical scholars and international lawyers. Thoughts of armed neutrality in February, 1917, proved only a flash in the international pan—flintlock opposition to modern artillery. There has been no armed neutrality since 1800. Will there ever be another? The brief rise into public attention of the subject produced this convenient compilation, for which the student of the revolutionary wars and America may be profoundly thankful. Before Dr. Scott brought together in such handy form this collection of authorities and documents, they were scarcely available, all of them, even in the largest libraries; it is to be doubted whether all the authorities quoted are shelved together in more than half a dozen libraries on the continent. Now, thanks to the Carnegie Endowment and the editor, they are available in practically every county in the United States.

The first third of the work is devoted to a presentation in alphabetical order of the comments of the leading publicists on the armed neutralities, precisely and fully quoted, with frequent notes by the editor. Not only the long recognized authorities are included, but also such recent writers as the Norwegian Boye, writing in 1912. An explanatory biography of the author prefaces each extract. The remainder of the book is allotted to the publication of state papers, not easily available, dealing with the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800. Neutral protests over captures, particularly the protests of Denmark and Sweden, with the replies of the British government, fill much of the space, and develop the opposing constructions of international law which finally led to the formation of the "leagues" of neutrals to enforce what they decided to be their rights. The treaties and formal acts of accession by neutrals to the principles of armed neutrality are published.

In addition to the documents dealing with the armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800 appears the treaty of March 27, 1794, between Sweden and Denmark, the effort of French diplomacy to start a back-fire in the face of the engulfing maritime policy set up by England in the coalition treaties of 1793 and the arbitrary Orders in Council of the years 1793 and 1794. The reader regrets, once this subject is touched, that an extract from only one of these several treaties of 1793 is published (the Anglo-Spanish convention of February 21). A good comprehension of the British naval-diplomatic system of 1793-1794 cannot be had without a perusal of the treaties with the other nations of the coalition. While the work was being done, it would have been most useful to include also a summary of these Orders in Council, with the protests of the neutrals and replies to the same, particularly because the diplomacy of the United States was so closely connected with the system. There is no mention of the invitation to the United States by the two Scandinavian powers to join their abortive armed neutrality of 1794,¹ nor of their failure to duplicate the agreements of 1780, for one reason because of the refusal of the United States to accept its first tempting invitation to join an entangling alliance. Any one who has read the English, French, and Scandinavian despatches of the years 1793-1800 will realize that the possibility of a counter-coalition in the shape of armed neutrality against Great Britain was the pole-star of French diplomacy as regarded England. The reader does not discover any of the documents indicating this, nor any notes explaining it, in this volume. It is certainly the introduction to the final consummation of the armed neutrality of 1800. Perhaps the specific title of the book, however, does not demand the inclusion of these state papers of 1793-1800.

S. F. BEMIS.

Authority in the Modern State. By HAROLD J. LASKI, sometime Exhibitioner of New College, Oxford; of the Department of History in Harvard University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1919. Pp. 398. \$3.00.)

THIS work consists of five lengthy chapters, each subdivided into several topics or minor chapters. Chapter I., which gives its title to the book, is a sort of sequel to the author's earlier work *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty*, and is to be followed by "a definitely constructive analysis of politics in the perspective set by the first chapter of this present volume". Chapters II., III., IV., are related studies giving expositions of the political theories, especially with reference to sovereignty, of Bonald, Lamennais, and Royer-Collard, French writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first writer, reacting against the

¹ See the article, "The United States and the Abortive Armed Neutrality of 1794", in this *Review*, XXIV. 26-47. Ed.

teachings of the Revolution, taught, as against individualism, a theory of social solidarity, theocratic in type, under the direction of a divinely appointed sovereign ruler. Lamennais, on the other hand, starting from somewhat the same basis, during the course of his long life slowly evolved from an ardent supporter of royalty, the Church, and papal supremacy into an advocate of spiritual and democratic freedom in religion and in politics, ending in his expulsion from the Church and the condemnation of his later works. The third writer stood midway between the *ancien régime* and the newer radicalism, and sought to work out a compromise point of view by providing checks against despotism, through emphasis on liberty of the press and of the conscience and a stable government of a parliamentary type.

Chapter V. is an interesting study of the growth of associations (syndicalism) in the administrative system of France; a tendency arising, he argues, as a reaction against the older teaching that civil servants are mere cogs in the machinery of government without voice or protest, and a consequent movement to democratize administration through the admission of the right of civil servants to organize and to strike, if necessary, for recognition of rights and for a voice in the administrative system.

These last four chapters are excellent studies of their subjects, thorough, fairly clear in thought, and well worth careful attention from those interested in the development of French political theories and tendencies.

Chapter I., Authority in the Modern State, is more definitely the author's own study of sovereignty, based chiefly on English sources, with occasional references to such American authorities as the *New Republic*, the *Harvard Law Review*, and Professor Roscoe Pound, and to the legal opinions of Justice Holmes, "the profoundest student of the American Constitution".

The state, to the author, "is always a territorial society in which there is a distinction between government and subjects". The state is different from *society*, and, following Rousseau, government is merely an executive organ by which the state-will can be carried into effect. The usually accepted theory of sovereignty is denied by the author, who in fact is almost prepared to reject the entire idea of sovereignty, especially in federations like the United States, or when in the future we shall have a "federalist society" (one based on pluralism); for, "a democratic society must reject the sovereign state as by definition inconsistent with democracy".

This conclusion, in the critic's opinion, is obtained through a defective definition of the state and a constant confusion of government with state and ethics with politics. Nor, in his discussion, do the distinctions between sovereignty, the legal sovereign, and governmental powers seem to be kept clear, nor the distinction between the people and the electorate, which is really a part of government. The chapter as a whole,

as an argument for a broader and more intelligent democracy, is excellent, but one may question whether (to quote the advertisement) the author's positive views are "constructive, and, for this country, almost entirely new".

In passing, one may regret that the Yale Press allowed so many typographical errors to slip through.

J. Q. DEALEY.

The Life of Lamartine. By H. REMSEN WHITEHOUSE. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918. Pp. xiii, 464; ix, 527. \$10.00.)

IN the history of Europe in the nineteenth century there were at least three men of great and commanding importance, who succeeded in so conducting their lives, and in so fashioning their personalities, as to render the task of any would-be biographers extraordinarily parlous and harassing. Either they floated so frequently in cloudland, or burrowed so constantly underground, or assumed such Protean shapes at different times under the pressure of circumstances or in response to the inner promptings of their natures, that they repeatedly, and often at very critical moments, elude or baffle the investigator and writer who is disposed to do them honor by devoting years of a precious lifetime to the chronicling of their manifold doings and sayings for the perpetuation of their fame and the edification or enlightenment of posterity. The task of the biographer is hard enough in all conscience without the admixture of these elements of mystification or contradiction. If you float in the clouds, refraction tends to leave a distorted image upon the retina of the interested spectator. If you burrow underground, the earth being more or less opaque, our vision is obstructed. If you assume Protean shapes, we soon become distracted and lose our confidence in ever seizing you at the authentic and veritable moment of self-revelation, and we retire from the contest defeated and indignant and you go without your biographer.

The three men I have in mind who would unquestionably have fared better at the hands of scholars had they presented fewer complexities and obscurities of life and character, are Mazzini, Napoleon III., and Lamartine. It palpably requires such an exorbitant amount of bird-lime to catch these particular creatures that the student is very likely to abandon the chase before it has begun. No one in any land has yet arisen to draw an adequate portrait of Mazzini or of Napoleon III.

However, the third member of our trying trilogy has found what he so richly deserved, a patient, thorough, and talented biographer who has succeeded admirably in filling one of the *lacunae* of contemporary historical literature that sadly needed filling. The result is a book which does justice to its subject, and which is as authoritative and final as any work of historical scholarship and personal interpretation is ever likely

to be. For this book is built four-square. Spaciously planned, the execution is commensurate with the design. The foundations are deep and solid, and the art which the author displays in the use of his material is of a very high quality. There is here no trace of haste or superficial investigation. Lamartine was not only a most voluminous writer, but was also an habitual orator. Poems, histories, travels, reminiscences, speeches came with facile profusion from his amazingly active and versatile mind. None of this material can be ignored or slighted, for, as Mr. Whitehouse says, "Everything that Lamartine wrote partakes directly or indirectly of the nature of a confession: at times a fragment infinitely minute, yet ever a particle of his soul". The material is abundant but frequently difficult to use, because of the abstract, imaginative, transcendental qualities of much of Lamartine's thought, yet this material has been explored and exploited by Mr. Whitehouse with comprehension, with penetration, with critical detachment and with sobriety of judgment. Also he is thoroughly familiar with the rich and growing monographic literature concerning Lamartine. His bibliographical references show the completeness of his research, and his handling of many difficult problems in Lamartine's life reveals his mastery of the field.

As Lamartine said of himself, there were manifold men dwelling within him: "the man of sentiment, the man of poetry, the man of the rostrum, the man of action". Each of these individuals is adequately presented by Mr. Whitehouse with a nice discrimination and with rare discernment. The growth of Lamartine's multiple genius is carefully unfolded, and we are consequently in a position, when the time arrives, to understand the marvellous revelation of power in 1848, and also the reasons for the sudden, tragic fall. This book is no essay in hagiography. Appreciative throughout of Lamartine's magnificent gifts and important services, Mr. Whitehouse is never blinded, is never partizan, is ever critical. He holds the balances very even. He hews close to the line, and never transgresses the limits of his task. He is writing a life, not a history of the times. He avoids at every step the temptation to which so many biographers have yielded, of so enlarging his canvas that the picture is blurred or out of proportion. He neither magnifies nor minifies his subject. And such is his literary talent that he can make clear such a tangle as that of the Molé ministry, and can render with remarkable spirit and fidelity, the movement, the rush, the excitement, the swiftly passing phases of the Revolution of 1848. He has written a book which holds the attention from beginning to end, and which commands, from the first page to the last, a steadily increasing confidence and respect. The result is a narrative of absorbing interest, and a vital, vivid presentment of an "honest statesman" and an "incomparable poet".

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Bismarck. By C. GRANT ROBERTSON, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919. Pp. xii, 539. \$2.25.)

MR. ROBERTSON has written in many respects the best—the most thoughtful—study of Bismarck which has appeared in any language. In English, Headlam's otherwise excellent biography was written too close to Bismarck's dismissal in 1890 to allow of a proper perspective, and it treats too scantily the period after 1871. Munroe Smith's little volume was avowedly only a sketch. Lowe's two volumes are neither critical nor up-to-date. In German, Hahn's five volumes are enriched with much documentary material, but are not very readable. Lenz's reprint of his article in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* is a masterly critical piece of work on Bismarck in 1848, at Frankfort, and as Prussian minister-president from 1862 to 1871, but is not very full on the chancellor of the German Empire after 1871. Egelhaaf's scholarly volume is much fuller on the period after 1871, but not so well written as Lenz's book. Erich Marcks, who had access to the Bismarck family papers denied to others, began a readable and scholarly work which was expected to be the definitive biography of Bismarck; but by 1914 he had published only the first volume, which covers no more than the life of the "tolle Junker" up to 1848. In French, Paul Matter, with the space of three large volumes at his disposal, has written an admirable standard biography, based on the sources, full of details fascinatingly told, and remarkably objective and impartial in judgment; but few persons outside the guild of historians are likely to read three large volumes of biography, even when written with the Gallic artistry of which M. Matter is a delightful master.

Mr. Robertson's *Bismarck*, as he says in his preface, "does not profess to be a history of Germany from 1815 to 1890, nor is it specifically a biography" of the ordinary type. It tells relatively little of Bismarck's family relations, often departs from chronological sequence, and is not unduly burdened with personalia and detail. It is rather an appreciation, in approximately biographical form, of Bismarck's statecraft and of Bismarck himself as one of the makers of modern Europe. As to proportion, there are nearly as many pages to the period after, as before, 1871. It tells English readers more than they usually hear of the influence of philosophy and ideas upon Bismarck and the German people. For no one knew better than Bismarck that the theories and ideals of the aristocracy of intellect were making the Germany and the Germans of his day. His debt to the "ideologues", as Meinecke has shown, was greater than he ever admitted. The alleged originality of his solution of the federal problem in 1866 and 1871 consisted in an adaptation from principles suggested by the despised Liberal leaders of 1848, and the Bismarckian adaptation would have been impossible but for the intellectual travail of the "ideologues" between 1848 and 1871. Hence Mr. Robertson protests against the conception of Bismarck simply as a

demonic man of action, shaping German and European destiny merely by his titanic will and brute force. He shows him also as a man of titanic brain, fighting for fifty years a truceless battle of ideas with German Jacobins, Liberals, Catholics, Socialists, Pan-German nationalists, and anti-German cosmopolitans.

Mr. Robertson has generally a good *flair* for obscure motives or historical secrets hidden in the archives. He makes very shrewd inferences, for instance, in regard to the war-scare of 1875 and the Reinsurance Treaties with Russia (to which he devotes an acute appendix), as is shown by the later and fuller articles of J. V. Fuller and Serge Goriainov in recent numbers of this *Review*. Occasionally, however, his shrewdness overshoots the mark, as in the case of the Schnaebele affair of 1888. Misled perhaps by a phrase of Debidour's (*Histoire Diplomatique*, I. 114), Mr. Robertson ventures the conclusion (p. 460) "that the 'Schnaebele incident' was deliberately planned [by Bismarck], possibly to provoke the French into a serious indiscretion, certainly to assist the passage of the Army Bill by driving into the German elector's mind the peril from France". Unfortunately for Mr. Robertson, his venture involves an anachronism. Elections favorable to Bismarck had already taken place on February 21 and March 2, and the Army Bill had been passed with an overwhelming majority on March 11; it was not until three weeks later, on April 20, that the French police agent stepped across the frontier in Alsace and was instantly arrested and imprisoned. Equally doubtful may be the author's similar opinion that the war-scare of 1875 was employed by the chancellor "to lash up German opinion and influence the Reichstag" at a critical stage in the *Kulturkampf*.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the information and inference which the author gleans from the critical study of the utterances of Bismarck after his dismissal. In these one sees Bismarck severely criticizing the policy of his successors, Caprivi and Hohenlohe, and obviously Kaiser William II. As these policies were in part at least a continuation and completion of Bismarck's own work, his action raises many nice questions for the historian. How far did Bismarck genuinely change his mind in the retrospect of old age and political retirement? How far, for instance, would he have gone in backing Austria in the Balkans? As far back as 1873 (*cf.* p. 353) he appears to have contemplated that "diversion" of Austria toward the Balkans which found its first marked outward expression in his securing for Austria the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878. Yet a month after his dismissal and after Caprivi's failure to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia (thereby opening the way for the very thing Bismarck had always carefully prevented—the alliance of Russia and France), Bismarck wrote in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*: "Austria cannot hope to obtain Germany's support for promoting her ambitious plans in the Balkan peninsula. These Austrian plans have never been encouraged by Germany as long as Germany's foreign policy was directed by Prince

Bismarck." The Triple Alliance, he kept reiterating (*cf.* pp. 494-501), contemplated only mutual defense against possible attack and did not demand that Germany should support Austria's Balkan interests against Russia. Similarly, no one had done more than Bismarck himself to emasculate the Reichstag and prevent the valuable development of parliamentary responsibility and parliamentary control over foreign policy. Yet after 1890 he complains,

The most disquieting feature for me is that the Reichstag has abdicated its position. We suffer everywhere from bureaucracy. . . . To strengthen the Reichstag the responsibility of ministers should be increased. . . . When I became minister the Crown was threatened by the people. Hence I strove to strengthen the Crown against Parliament. Perhaps I went too far in that direction. We now require a balance of power within Germany, and I believe that free criticism is indispensable to the monarchy.

How far, one wonders, if Bismarck had remained in power, would he, or could he, have altered or reversed the policies which he himself inaugurated. These are nice questions, of infinite difficulty and complexity, which Mr. Robertson touches upon, but wisely refrains from attempting to answer with finality.

The sources from which the author writes are chiefly the great collections of Bismarck material which have been edited by Busch, Horst Kohl, Poschinger, Penzler, and others. He is also thoroughly familiar with the mass of memoirs and the secondary works. Though trained under Lavissee, he studied and visited many times in Germany and had opportunity to talk with soldiers and politicians who had known Bismarck. His volume is the result of many years of study and reflection before there was a thought of war. It is written *sine ira et studio*. He makes Bismarck a living, human being, extenuating, to be sure, none of his grossness or arrogance, but nevertheless deeply appreciating his genius, his greatness, and all that was tender and sincere in him. History written with such sympathy and poise, and on such a subject, is one of the best means of aiding a distraught world to reach a sound judgment on the causes which lay behind the Great War.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung. Von THEODOR LINDNER, Professor an der Universität Halle. Band IX. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1916. Pp. xiv, 524. M. 6.50.)

PROFESSOR LINDNER'S work represents the last volume of a history of the world since the barbarian invasions, and covers the period from 1860 to the outbreak of the war in 1914. The author states that he has limited his treatment of the period to its political development, although he has allowed one short chapter to Socialism and to the Catholic church.

The book was evidently written for Germans primarily, and especial space is given to Germany and to the German element throughout the world. At times this emphasis seems a little overdone; the history of Austria is much more a history of the Germans in Austria than of the empire. Naturally the point of view is frankly German, although one is left with the impression that the author has made a sincere effort to be an historian and not a mere controversialist. Even in his last chapters which treat of the events of the ten years previous to 1914, the tone is more impartial than in many German post-war publications.

A history of the world during the last half-century in less than five hundred pages can only treat of the leading facts in the story. Few, if any, of the important facts are omitted; indeed, the author seems to show a tendency to overload his account with relatively unimportant details. At times the account becomes almost a chronology through which the reader makes his way without assistance as to the bearing these details may have on the history of the period as a whole. The treatment, throughout, follows the conventional lines and no new facts are brought forward.

The first third of the book deals with European history from 1860 to the dismissal of Bismarck in 1890. The period represents, in the view of the author, the "age of Bismarck" (p. 205), and is treated almost entirely from that standpoint. The account follows the conventional lines, but makes clear the essential facts, especially in the treatment of the internal history of the European states. The second third of the book, dealing with the history of the non-European states since 1815, is perhaps the best portion of the work. The chapters on America are clear and cover the essential points, although Americans may take issue with the treatment of the last few years of our history. The last third of the book deals with European history since 1890, and especially in the ten years previous to 1914. It is the conventional German account, in which England is the disturber of the peace, Germany the innocent victim forced to defend herself. Russia is less severely treated, although Pan-Slavism comes in for its share of the blame.

Errors in fact occur, although relatively infrequent. Among them may be mentioned the statement that Lincoln was almost unanimously elected in 1864 (p. 241) and that "Italy obtained certain police rights over the Adriatic Sea" in the settlement following the Bosnian crisis of 1908 (p. 435). The account of the period 1900-1914 contains many undoubtedly incorrect statements, which may be based on a lack of full knowledge at the time when the book was written.

The author gives at the end of the text a list of books used in writing the volume. It presents many serious gaps, especially in the section devoted to America, and has little value except as giving a list of books published on international affairs in Germany since 1914. The works are listed without order and without comment. The index is brief but usable; the format of the book leaves nothing to be desired.

Apart from its value as a compendium of events, for it is little more than that, the book presents a series of thumbnail sketches of European statesmen that provoke thought even if the reader disagrees with them. But the whole work illustrates the terrible difficulty in writing contemporary history in the midst of the prejudices of a world war.

MASON W. TYLER.

Alsace-Lorraine since 1870. By BARRY CERF, University of Wisconsin. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. viii, 190. \$1.50.)

THE purpose and tone of this book are not adequately revealed by the title; one might readily anticipate a description of German administration, a study of the temper of the native inhabitants, or both description of administrative failure and analysis of the attitude of these unwilling subjects at the outbreak of the war and throughout its course. These larger and more general aims are never entirely submerged, but they are constantly obscured by the disposition of the author to present his material in the form of a brief urging the restoration of the provinces to France. The presumption that it is necessary to argue this question at every point has resulted in an unfortunate arrangement of the material and in a disproportionate number of citations. Many of the passages quoted are very brief, so that scrutiny of the text and the character of the author cited leads to a serious interruption in the train of thought. The book would be useful to the student desiring to secure some familiarity with the material available on the subject, but is likely to weary any reader not possessed of more than the average patience.

In the handling of some of the larger questions this method of composition has become the cause of unfortunate inconsistencies of statement. The grounds for the allegiance of the natives to France are variously given. In the first reference to the matter (p. 26), much stress is laid upon the conciliatory policy of the ministers of Louis XIV.; a few pages later (p. 29), a striking passage is cited from Fustel de Coulanges which lays all the emphasis upon the influence of the French Revolution. Subsequent allusion to the matter and a citation from Reuss (pp. 90-91) seem to leave little doubt of the author's opinion, but a casual reader might well fail to appreciate the immense significance of the Revolution.

The character of the motives underlying the annexation in 1870 is also the subject of ambiguity. A brief reference in the earlier chapters (p. 19) attributes the annexation to purely military objects. Subsequently, in connection with a careful discussion of the economic significance of the provinces, it is implied that Bismarck consciously sought the iron mines of Lorraine. "Bismarck's geologists in 1871 made a mistake. They did not, as they thought, seize *all* the French iron fields" (p. 120). Now this statement is not justified by anything we know of the negotiations at Versailles in 1871, nor by the technical facts concerning these Minette ore fields. Some of the facts are evidently familiar

to the author, but there is a serious misconception involved in this portion of his discussion. There are likewise indications that the relation of iron deposits to coal deposits is not clearly understood.

In calling attention to these inconsistencies it is not intended to suggest that the book has no elements of merit and interest. There is an interesting sketch of German administrative policy; one wishes that it might have been longer and more detailed, but it is adequate as it stands. The economic discriminations against the provinces are described with much care, though there is real need of more extended treatment of a number of matters. The sentiment of the people before the war and during its course is indicated by much interesting material and brought out from many points of view, but here again one wishes the author might have chosen to tell the story at greater length.

The European Commonwealth: Problems Historical and Diplomatic. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xi, 370. \$7.50.)

IN this volume are fifteen essays first published in British reviews and selected by their author "because, though not originally designed as steps in a coherent argument, they seem to possess a certain measure of unity and consistency". "The underlying unity of the book will be found in the problem presented to Europe by the evolution of the Nation-State and the working of the influential though illusive principle of nationality." Perhaps a better basis of unity is furnished by the subtitle, *Problems Historical and Diplomatic*. All the essays deal with European diplomacy, mainly of the last hundred years. Significantly enough, four out of the fifteen are distinctly upon southeastern Europe (including one on the Adriatic question), and the Polish problem has two fairly long essays devoted to it. The introductory chapter and the "Rise of Modern Diplomacy" are slightly technical in character, almost like a treatise on international law. The subject-matter in the "Hohenzollern Tradition" and in the "Problem of Small Nations and Big States" may be readily surmised. In "Democracy, Diplomacy and War", he discusses (as of 1916), among other things, whether or not a democracy can meet successfully autocracies and aristocracies based wholly on efficiency. "England and the Low Countries" contains a valuable historical survey. Finally, in "Projects of Peace", the author leads us from the Holy Alliance to the present "European Commonwealth", the welding of which into a league, with the consequent establishment of permanent peace, he considers to be the most vital result of the World War.

In general, the narrative portions of each essay are rather too concise, except for those who are already well acquainted with the ground. Owing to their sporadic origin, some repetitions (as in chapters II. and

III., III. and V.) are met with. Some essays suffer also from too close confinement to certain memoirs and other historical works upon which these chapters appear to be largely in the nature of commentaries. Each essay reflects a different time-atmosphere, ranging from just after the beginning of the World War in 1914 to near its end. This is somewhat of a tax upon the mental agility of even the maturer reader. The author's conclusions are naturally less valuable because premised upon conditions which have ceased to exist or to have the same weight as they did when the pages were written. Austria and Hungary, for example, certainly are now less vital factors in the Adriatic question than they were. Occasionally a propagandist tone is discernible, as in "World Politics" and in "Prussia, Poland and Ireland", justifiable perhaps in view of the circumstances.

The scholarly character of the book is beyond question, in spite of the strictures made in this review. Written with restraint, with an evident desire to arrive at the true facts and to draw only such deductions as are justifiable, the contribution to the literature of the World War and diplomacy is great, even if we suggest that it might have been greater had the author revised, consolidated, and condensed his material in such a way as to change it from a series of window-pictures of world politics into a connected series of demonstrations leading definitely up to his general conclusions.

As to errors discovered—if Austria (p. 197) had the nomination of Polish kings, it is hardly correct to say (p. 198–199) that Russia was responsible. John Casimir's reign (p. 192) should end in 1668, not 1665. "Premisses" (p. 236) should probably be promises. Three useful sketch maps, two of the partitions of Poland, one of the Adriatic, might escape notice, since they are not listed in the table of contents, though mentioned in the preface. Maps of the frontiers of nationality in eastern Europe would have been still more helpful. The omission of an index accentuates the lack of unity. Foot-notes, mainly referring to secondary authorities, are fairly numerous.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

Belgium: a Personal Narrative. By BRAND WHITLOCK, United States Minister to Belgium. In two volumes. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1919. Pp. xi, 661; vi, 818. \$7.50.)

THIS narrative gives a vivid picture of conditions in Belgium from the beginning of the war until April 2, 1917, when Mr. Whitlock left the country. No other book has so well portrayed the courage and spirit of the Belgians. The author is skillful in selecting significant details which reveal the indomitable character of the people, the "irrepressible *zwanse bruxelloise*" which delighted in eluding the German orders and in making them ridiculous.

Mr. Whitlock is at his best in descriptions of individuals. His pregnant words make of them living men: the revered Cardinal Mercier, the

wise and witty M. Francqui, the dauntless Bâtonnier Théodor, and many another. He is generous in his praise of his diplomatic colleagues, especially Villalobar, the Spanish ambassador. He denounces the German system of frightfulness and hypocrisy, but his detestation of it does not lead him into exaggeration. He often heard that the Germans had cut off the hands of little children, but was not convinced that it was true. He notes that while the English Commission published reports of this brutality, the Belgian Commission excluded all such testimony.

Much of the narrative dwells on the difficulties in the work of the C. R. B. and of the C. N. (Comité National), of which less is known in this country, but which was indispensable to the success of the C. R. B. Mr. Whitlock is full of admiration for the workers in the Relief Commission, and especially for Vernon Kellogg and Hoover. Of the latter, the Spanish ambassador said, "Hoover is the best diplomat of us all".

There are about 375 pages of documents, usually given in French and in translation. As these are in fine print, actually about one-third of the whole contents of the two volumes consists of documents. These are well selected, especially those relative to the deportations, and a large part of them had not been published in this country. There are very few, however, relative to the systematic economic spoliation of the country. This is unfortunate.

In spite of its many excellencies, the narrative has some faults as an historical source. The account of Miss Cavell's trial is inaccurate. Mr. Whitlock was ill at the time and had to get his information from others. He states (II. 150) that the "trial took place on Oct. 7, 8, and 9", although (p. 98) he had written that "the trial was concluded on Friday". That this was the fact is established by the report of M. Leval (p. 123), "the trial took two days, ending Friday the 8th"; and by Miss Cavell's own record in her prayer-book. Mr. Whitlock states (p. 150) that the death sentence was "on October 11 at 4:30 in the afternoon", although (p. 140) he had stated that on October 10, Miss Cavell, "already doomed to death", had written a farewell letter. Miss Cavell stated in her prayer-book that she was "condemned to death, 8th Oct." "at 10:30 A. M." (See Whitlock, II. 157, and facsimile of her statement in Hugh Gibson, *Journal from our Legation in Belgium*, p. 357.) Other inaccuracies in the report of the trial might be noted if space permitted.

In his account of *La Libre Belgique* he states that "neither editor nor printer was ever discovered" (I. 645). As a matter of fact, there were several editors and some were caught and sentenced; the most important, probably, was Father Delehay, so well known for his work in hagiography. The list of the members of the C. R. B. at the end of volume II. is inaccurate, and unless Mr. Whitlock was in error in his letter to M. Villalobar (p. 724), there are several omissions. The translations of documents are sometimes infelicitous and inaccurate; they remind us of the official translations made in the State Department.

The proof-reading was extremely bad; there are very many mistakes, in four languages; words are misspelled, accents omitted, dates changed, names twisted, sometimes so as to be almost unrecognizable (Selby for Sedley, II. 800). The publishers were negligent in the making of these expensive volumes. There is no index, and this detracts seriously from the value of the work. The advertisement on the paper cover to volume I. is misleading: "The Story of the Heart of the War by the One American Who saw it All".

DANA C. MUNRO.

Russia's Agony. By ROBERT WILTON. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. xvi, 357. \$5.00.)

MR. WILTON has spent many years of his long life in Russia and at the time of the outbreak of the war and the revolution was correspondent of the *London Times*. He knew personally a number of the prominent men of Russia and many of the leaders of the old régime, their aspirations, and their machinations. He is, therefore, particularly well qualified to speak of the things and the men with whom he has come in contact. The book is divided into four parts and a conclusion: Part I., Slavdom, the Tatars, and Autocracy; part II., "Democracy", "Socialism", and "Freedom"; part III., Russia at War; part IV., Kornilov and the Cossacks; Conclusion: the New Russia, etc.

Every time that a new book on recent history in Russia appears, the historian offers a silent prayer that in it he may find a fair and broad interpretation of the events of the last five years. This hope was especially strong when Mr. Wilton's work was announced, because Mr. Wilton has had such unusual opportunities for observation. To some extent the book accomplishes its purpose, but, taking it as a whole, it has failed to come up to expectation.

As a usual thing the same type of man represents the *London Times* and the Court of St. James in the Russian capital. Both men are familiar with the gossip of the Winter Palace and the intrigues of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They understand the autocrats, and they have more than a speaking acquaintance with liberals like Miliukov and Rodzianko and others like them who approach the English ideal of a country gentleman and who express a genuine admiration for English democracy and English institutions. But men of the Kerenski and Plekhanov type, men who work for a different social ideal than the one advocated by the average English squire, our correspondents do not understand and do not sympathize with. Mr. Wilton's best chapters are those that deal with the court and the war and his poorest are those that discuss "Democracy", "Socialism", and "Freedom". If he had said nothing more his quotation-marks in themselves show sufficiently his point of view, his contempt, his lack of charity toward the Russian revolutionists of 1917 when they were taking their first lessons in democratic government. Socialism is Mr. Wilton's *bête noire*, but there is

nothing in the book to indicate that he has reached his conclusions after a careful and serious study of the subject. On the other hand, the numerous errors lead one to believe that his attitude toward the Socialists is influenced more by prejudice than by reason and knowledge. Plekhanov's part in the organization of the Russian Social Democratic party is not mentioned; the division of the party into Bolshevik and Menshevik factions is placed at Stockholm and not London where it actually took place. When the author says that "German Socialism contains no element corresponding with the Bolsheviks", he shows that his grasp of German Socialism is not much deeper than of Russian. For Kerenski and his Socialist associates of the summer of 1917 Mr. Wilton has little charity and much ill-will, and he brings many charges against them without producing any evidence. "In 1915 and 1916 he [Kerenski] carried on revolutionary propaganda with funds sent from Germany." He "lived in the Winter Palace, used the Emperor's carriages and motors, drank his champagne, and fed lusciously out of his gold plate", and his ministers "used the Imperial Crowns for nuptial ceremony". It is not the Russian leaders alone who are denounced, but men like Arthur Henderson and Albert Thomas, "British and French pacifists" who "worked unremittingly for the success of the Soviet plan", also receive Mr. Wilton's attention. The Kerenski-Kornilov affair is not treated in an unbiased and judicious manner. To speak of the revolutionists of the spring and summer of 1917 as a "horde" committing "excesses against their own officers and innocent women and children", and drunken soldiers "littering" the sidewalks, is hardly a fair statement of the situation. Here and there bestiality manifested itself, but it was the exception rather than the rule.

It is not difficult to understand the author's bitterness. He wrote the book in 1917-1918, at a time when the heart of every Englishman and American in Petrograd was aching at the sight of the disintegration of the Russian army and at the thought of the additional suffering this collapse would bring to the men on the Western Front. No doubt Mr. Wilton felt this more keenly than others because he had a son in the army, and this explains and in part excuses his attitude toward the revolution and the revolutionists. These very facts, however, diminish the value of the book for historical purposes.

F. A. GOLDER.

Problems of Peace from the Holy Alliance to the League of Nations: a Message from a European Writer to Americans. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. Pp. iii, 281. \$1.50.)

THIS little volume is confessedly a product of the war. Indeed it has been characterized—and that not altogether unjustly—as very good propaganda. In the introductory chapter addressed to Americans, the

author dwells with fine appreciation on the marvellous change in American public opinion during the first two and a half years of the war. Viewed in the light of our aloofness and calm indifference to European matters noticed on his visit to this country in 1908, he regards our participation in the World War as little short of the miraculous. But the miracle happened, and it is the part of wisdom "that the men of the old and the new world, now united in a common brotherhood of danger and a common duty", study the antecedents of the tragedy in order better to understand what must be done to safeguard the future.

In six short chapters Professor Ferrero reviews the background of the war for American readers. The mistaken arrangements of the peace congresses of the nineteenth century, and the reactionary tendencies of Austria furnish the chief topics of the first three chapters. The misfortunes of Italy are thrown into high relief by a clear, trenchant style that at times verges on the sensational. In speaking of the Congress of Vienna, for example, he says: Italy "was placed in bondage by the very Congress that should have set her free", "chained to the corpse of a dead age". "For ninety-nine years"—not therefore to 1870 only, but to 1914, and possibly later—"she continues the slave of conditions established at Vienna". Germany like "Italy had to lament the loss of liberty . . . and the two should therefore have been bound together by mutual sympathy in a common misfortune. But this did not come about. Even then the German people wanted unity only to despoil others". France on the other hand was deeply "moved with compassion", etc. Judgments such as these, taken in conjunction with the moderation in dealing with the overthrow of Mazzini's ill-fated Roman Republic by France in 1849, indicate the tendency to read the past in the light of the present.

The chapter on the German Peace and the Germanization of Europe (1870-1914) is in many respects the best. The worship of force and of materialism are very well expressed in the passage on "the potent engines of iron animated by fire" (p. 207). Italy's case for entering the war is not as strongly stated as the terms in article VII. of the Triple Alliance agreement would lead one to expect. Possibly the Russo-Italian pact of 1909 was known. The alliance with the Central Powers is interpreted as a remnant of the old Austrian domination. Failure to secure full satisfaction for the irredentist claims the author regards simply as a perpetuation of that domination in another form. He is not very explicit as to the limits of the unredeemed Italy, but expresses his confidence that "by the time this book is published, the lands desired by Italy will have passed into her possession by force of arms, but Italy does not wish to be suspected of confronting Europe and America with the peremptory argument of force".

On the question of carrying the will of the people into international affairs, Professor Ferrero urges the acceptance by the League of Nations of three rules of conduct: first, to deal only with established

governments, second, to respect nationality, and third, to reduce armaments. And to accomplish this the United States must assume her share of responsibility. "Western civilization is a grandiose Gothic vault . . . one of its arches is Europe, the other America. If either arch is broken, the other will be endangered."

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

MODERN ORIENTAL HISTORY

An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century: a Summary Account of the Political Career of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, surnamed Babur. By L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, Fellow of All Souls College, Fellow and Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad. [Publications of the Department of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University, no. 3.] (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, for the University. 1918. Pp. xvi, 187. \$3.00.)

THE life of Babur has been told repeatedly, first by himself, in Turki, then in the Persian translation, and finally in the English versions of Erskine and Stanley Lane-Poole. The present author acknowledges his indebtedness to all these, as well as to the translation of the Turki text by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge; but he calls attention to the fact that Erskine's conclusions were faulty because he failed to make use of five important sources, of which one is the Shaibani Nama (this shows the Usbeg side of the struggle between Babur and Shaibani), and that Lane-Poole's work (in the *Rulers of India*) is based entirely on translated sources, one of which is unreliable even in the original. In short, there was need of a "summary account" of Babur drawn from all sources, and this is here presented in the Allahabad University Lectures for 1915-1916. If the material is thus not very novel, it is at least more correctly stated than has hitherto been possible when, as in the case of Erskine's *History*, a contemporary historian such as Khwandamir was not even known.

Babur's life lacks the glamor that hangs about that of his greater grandson Akbar. Intellectually he was the inferior, but in activity, in warlike energy, in his dash, patience, and endurance, he was second to none. To found a new empire in India a conqueror, not an administrator, was needed, and Babur the Tiger, ruler at twelve years of the little province of Farghana (now in Russian Turkistan), and victor in battle and conqueror of Samarkand at the age of fifteen, was the predestined man for the work, if inheritance may be said to determine destiny. He united Mongol blood and Persian culture, as did his maternal grandfather, who was conspicuous for the same paradoxical combination, and Babur as fifth descendant of Tamerlane (Timur the Lame) and, on his mother's side, fourteenth descendant of Chingiz

Khan, may be said to have had fighting blood by double inheritance. Born in 1483, son of a fourth son and hence heir to the smallest heritage of the old ruler of Herat, fighting, failing, conquering, betrayed, a homeless vagabond, a persistent hopper, before he was twenty-two he had endured as many vicissitudes as most kings suffer in a long life. But by twenty-two he had made himself master of Kabul and determined his destiny. Till then it was a problem to him whether to work west and rule from Herat or Samarkand, or to turn his back on his native heath and advance east to reconquer the realm his ancestor Timur had held. He was but a boy when he decided definitely to strike east from Kabul, and doubtless he was strongly influenced by the thought of imitating his glorious model. At any rate it was at this time that he proclaimed himself Padshah, no equal among equals but head of all the Mughal or Mongol world.¹

The most picturesque incident in the youthful hero's career is the long march through a veritable blizzard before he entered India; but everything pales before the audacity of the entry itself. Despite the fact that Ibrahim, the Afghan ruler of Delhi, could place more than a hundred thousand men in the field ("twice that", sneers Babur, "if he were willing to pay for them"), Babur invaded India with only twelve thousand men all told, and at his first great battle of Panipat he was outnumbered five to one at the most conservative estimate (not counting camp-followers). His victory was due only partly to his use of firearms, though it is noteworthy that they play an important rôle in this and subsequent military activities. Babur had learned a lesson from the defeat of Shah Ismael, in 1514, at the hands of the Turks, who already used guns; and he secured Ustad Ali and then Mustafa, Ottoman Turks, to manage artillery and musketry for him. When he got to Agra he himself made a gun that carried a "big ball" sixteen hundred paces. Two other incidents in Babur's life are characteristic: first, his spectacular "breaking of wine-cups" in the presence of his army, when he induced all his nobles to renounce strong drink with him and thereby filled his despondent army with new enthusiasm; second, his "sacrifice of self". His son and heir Humayun lay dying, and the father walked thrice around the bed, drawing into himself the deadly disease. At least, he so believed and Humayun lived, while Babur slowly died (1530). But victory, ease, self-indulgence, had already weakened the Tiger. He needed adversity to be strong. Wine, for he failed to keep his pledge, women, and leisure were his destruction; by forty-eight he was used up. "So died a very gallant gentleman", concludes the author; also an empire-builder, whose realm remained till the British absorbed it.

The author has consulted all the native authorities and has embellished his little book with maps and plans, and also with fifteen illustrations from the Alwar and less known Agra College codices, for the

¹ The author consistently uses both forms, Mughal in the broader popular sense, and Mongol in the narrower ethnical sense.

use of which he was indebted to the Maharajahdiraj of Alwar and Mr. Cuthbertson Jones, principal of Agra College.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Geschichte Aegyptens im 19. Jahrhundert, 1798-1914. Von ADOLF HASENCLEVER. (Halle-am-Saale: Max Niemeyer. 1917. Pp. xv, 497.)

EGYPT has always been a subject of much interest to students of history. It will remain so, if only because of its geographical position. And, because of its geographical position—almost at the junction of three continents—this history must perforce be varied. In the book before me, Professor Hasenclever has endeavored to give a history of the country during the years 1798-1914, which he somewhat loosely calls the nineteenth century; perhaps he should have said, the period between Napoleon Bonaparte and William Hohenzollern. For, as he very rightly takes the Napoleonic period as the one in which Egypt once more became a matter of concern for Europe, so he looks upon the Great War as determining for some time to come the future of the Nile region.

As a German, writing during the years 1916 and 1917, it is quite natural that Hasenclever's pen should be dipped in anti-British ink. Yet it is at times fatiguing for the reader to be forced to read all the ill-tempered and churlish adjectives that he attaches whenever his subject forces him to mention Great Britain and British doings. In a book dealing with Egypt—and especially since 1882—this must be reasonably frequent; so frequent as to make the perusal at times nauseating. Now and then there is the evident attempt to be just to Great Britain; *e. g.*, in his description of the crisis in 1838-1841 (p. 137); in his record of English policies in the Sudan (p. 340); in his estimate of Lord Cromer (p. 354); or in his description of the Liquidation Law of 1885 (p. 393). But, in general, his terms are so ill-favored and uncouth as to make it evident that he has written in the heat of war-fever and under the impulse of disappointment caused by the failure of the Turks and the Germans to drive the English out of the country (p. v). Thus, England is wanting in every "sozialen Empfinden" (p. 403); the great dam at Assuan is always called a "Staudamm" and is described only as a "fitting monument of English power" (p. 407). Lord Cromer's attitude toward Abbas Hilmi is a seemly example of "the unscrupulous methods of the English government" (p. 431). The stories told about the prodigality and squanderings of Ismail Pasha are "a nicely fashioned tale put together by the French and the English" (p. 182)—though on the very following page our author is bound to acknowledge this squandering as a "Tatsache". And even the "Scrap of Paper" treaty theory finds an advocate in him (p. 136), on the excuse that the recent war has been a "Krieg aller gegen alle"!!

But let me hasten to say that Professor Hasenclever has given us a very scholarly account of the events as they have occurred, carefully

documented and richly commented upon. He is long-winded, as most German writers are; and he is long-sentenced, some of his periods covering fully half a page. One can easily overlook these faults and make allowance for his anti-British spite and find much that is readable in the volume. But a *History of Egypt*, as its title says, it is not—as we to-day understand the word history. There is not a word descriptive of the inner and real life of the people whose story the author is presumed to tell; not a line about the literary and scholarly doings of the many men who have added, by their prose and their poetry, to the rich literature of the Arabic-speaking peoples. There is no account of the important Coptic minority and its relations to the Mohammedan majority. The great Azhar University is mentioned here and there; but a *History of Egypt* during the nineteenth century cannot afford to omit a description of the influence radiating from this, perhaps the largest university in the world, and from some of its leaders, such as the late rector, my dear friend Mohammed Abdu. Even the peculiar position occupied by non-British Europeans is passed over in silence, despite the fact that the anomalous consular powers exercised in Egypt account for many of the difficulties experienced by the British resident. Professor Hasenclever, I think, feels this want himself; and in his preface he is careful to say that he had in mind to write only a “political history” of the country, and that he has dealt with cultural and other questions only in so far as they have a bearing upon this *political* history. But this is to give us merely the shell of that which we wish to know. I suspect that one reason for this course is the author’s ignorance of the language spoken in the country and in which the natives write.

Another reason is to be found in the fact that the work of Professor Hasenclever is that which he and his German friends would call a *Tendenzschrift*. It is written to prove the false position in which Great Britain has placed herself since 1882, when she felt bound to go into Egypt and to remain there, as well as to assert the right of the Ottoman government to consider the country a part and a parcel of Turkish dominions. In fact, Professor Hasenclever goes beyond this. His thesis is that ever since Napoleonic times, Great Britain has had in mind the inclusion of Egypt in her far-spun schemes of empire (p. 37); and that all the subsequent acts of that power are nothing more than means well thought out to put these plans into execution.

It is perfectly true that Great Britain’s position in Egypt has been a peculiar one. But any one who has taken the trouble to study the history of Great Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century and who knows the position taken in such matters, especially by the Liberal party under Bright, Gladstone, and others, will be slow to charge it with intentional imperialism of this sort. In fact, Great Britain is perhaps the only power which, having gained possession of lands outside its own territory, has willingly given up such lands, *e. g.*,

the Ionian Islands and Heligoland; and the use made of the latter by Germany during the recent war (and in which Hasenclever, p. 301, rejoices) will not aid those who demand that she shall continue such self-denying conduct. It is now well recognized that Great Britain was forced to go into Egypt because of the Suez Canal and in protection of her oversea dominions. Hasenclever himself (p. 45) cites the saying of Napoleon in 1798: "The European power that is master of Egypt, is permanently also master of India." France, for reasons of her own, having refused to accompany her, she went in alone. One can remember the pressure of English public opinion at the time, urging the government to hasten the departure of the British army of occupation from Egypt. But the situation in Europe was such as to make this departure impossible; especially the deeply regretted antagonism between Great Britain and France at that time. My own feeling, which has been deepened by personal observations on the spot, has been that the great mistake committed by England in 1882 was the hesitant manner in which her entrance into Egypt was effected and her hold consolidated there. More decided action would have removed many difficulties that clogged her way, and would also have been a greater blessing to the Egyptians themselves. An operation is done best if quickly accomplished and thoroughly—as the American government did in the trouble with Spain and in the affair with Colombia.

No one will deny that many mistakes have been made by the British in Egypt. At first, the interest of the bondholders was apt to obscure that of the Egyptian people. It is also true, as Professor Hasenclever points out (p. 410), that too little has been done for education; though in answer it could be urged easily that the finances of the country were always most straitened and that the dominating power had a fear of hurting the finer sensibilities of the Mohammedans, with whom religion and education are so closely bound together. Some of the British officials may not have been the proper men for the positions they occupied. But, on the whole, it can be said that the trust which Great Britain took over in 1882 has been administered with justice and with forethought for the people of the land. In 1914, the Egyptian, be he city-man or *fellah*, was in every way in a better condition than he had been for a thousand years.

The Peace Conference, sitting in Paris, has put its seal upon this bit of British work by acknowledging Egypt as a British protectorate. Professor Hasenclever, in ending his book (p. 491), is right in holding that Egypt's future would be settled "not in the hot sands of the Syrian desert or on the banks of the ancient stream", but on the blood-stained battlefields of northern France. Happily not, as he foreshadowed and desired, to be reintegrated in the Turkish Empire. Whatever qualities the Turk possesses—and I have known a number of very charming Turks—the art of ruling others in a modern and civilized way is not his. And, though both are Mohammedans, the Arab has neither inherent nor

acquired love for his Turkish brother-in-faith. What Turkish rule has meant for Egypt, Professor Hasenclever (p. 135) knows only too well.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

American Negro Slavery: a Survey of the Supply, Employment, and Control of Negro Labor as determined by the Plantation Régime.

By ULRICH BONNELL PHILLIPS, Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1918. Pp. xi, 529. \$3.00.)

THE plan of this work is commendable, and it offers a substantial addition to the general store of knowledge concerning the subject discussed. The aim of the author seems to have been to present a great array of facts and, with but few expressions of opinion, to permit the facts to speak for themselves. From an examination of the early exploitation of Guinea, the reader passes through an account of the maritime slave-trade and the sugar islands, to consider the tobacco colonies, the rice coast, and the northern colonies; whence, after a brief review of revolution and reaction, he reaches the account of the cultivation of cotton and sugar in the South, the main object of the author's study. The book closes with a brief discussion of free negroes, slave crime, and the force of law.

The survey, during the period of slavery, of the great industries of the South, cotton, rice, and sugar, has been projected by one well prepared for the task; but the strongest impression produced upon the minds of many whom Dr. Phillips leads through the details he submits, will be that with the stimulated production of cotton the South grew to be more and more what it has remained, a realm where "Cotton is King". Some may go further and incline to the opinion that this rule checked what might have been a healthier if a slower growth, productive of a sounder, if less charming, social system.

The author's narrative of the cotton gins indicates, in 1800, quite a degree of mechanical ingenuity in the South; but with the turning from diversified industries and the absorption of all capital in cotton, there vanished the surplus of the corn crop, and with dwindling live stock and languishing manufactures, the South drew, from other regions, its supplies.

Yet an industrial régime was thereby swiftly established on a great scale over a vast region and one which was free from many of the evils apparently the inevitable accompaniment of such swift development elsewhere. The evidence of the confidence of the slaves in the integrity of the ruling race comes up as a fact too constantly to be ignored. The volume of testimony that they were not overworked is convincing, and, if much that is submitted were lacking, the astounding prolificacy of the slave mothers would in itself be an argument of the care bestowed

upon the race. That there "were injustice, oppression, brutality and heart burning", the author does not deny; but he asks "where in the struggling world are these absent?" On the record presented, he contends, "there were also gentleness, kind-hearted friendship and mutual loyalty, to a degree hard for him to believe, who regards the system with a theorist's eye and a partisan squint". The single concrete item of slave-breeding, which he asserts he has found while long alert for such data, is from colonial Massachusetts in 1636. There is distinct pathos in the brief account of "Mr. Maverick's negro woman"; but in addition the narrative affords evidence of a standard of chastity displayed by the imported black of that date, which a white of high station, in that region where chastity was most insistently taught, seemed incapable of even understanding.

That in such a compilation of facts some errors have crept in is not surprising. The assumption that it was William Lowndes who, in Congress in 1803, supported Governor Richardson's deplorable message on the slave-trade to the legislature of South Carolina (p. 136), is an error. The man great enough in his maturity to receive the invitations of two Presidents, to become Secretary of War, was wise enough in his youth to oppose the injurious policy of the governor of his own state. There was, however, at that time a Thomas Lowndes in Congress. Again, in reference to the rice coast of Carolina, the author says "the planters unlike those of Maryland and Virginia had never imported appreciable numbers of indentured servants to become in after years yeomen and fathers of yeomen". The planters of South Carolina had imported a number sufficiently "appreciable" in 1700 to meet the requirements of an act necessitating one such for every six negro slaves employed on any plantation; while, in the preamble of an act of 1717, we find it stated: "Whereas there has of late arrived in the Province great numbers of white servants", etc. These white servants must have continued to be imported for some decades later, as we find in 1744 an act for "the better governing and regulating white servants".

Yet these are but slight lapses in this comprehensive survey of "the government of slaves", with regard to which most readers will be apt to accept, after a perusal, the author's conclusion that it "was for the ninety and nine by men and only for the hundredth by laws", and that "it is impossible to agree that its basis and its operation were wholly evil".

THEO. D. JERVEY.

Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Edited by H. R. McILWAINE. In three volumes. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1918. Pp. viii, 1646.)

THESE volumes form a valuable supplement to the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, the monumental work edited by Dr. McIlwaine, which has proved so valuable an assistance to the student

of colonial history. The two form a record of legislative proceedings for early Virginia perhaps more complete than that of any other colony. The journals subsequent to 1680 are well kept, fairly complete, and full of information for the historian. Unfortunately, however, they are very meagre prior to that date, the records of the council as a legislative body being entirely lacking.

The student familiar with the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* will find the *Council Journals* informative in many important points, throwing light upon matters left hopelessly obscure in the former work, or touched upon with great brevity. On the other hand the *Council Journals*, as edited by Dr. McIlwaine, are almost useless unless used in conjunction with the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, for many of the communications from the House to the governors and the speeches of the governors to the assembly as a whole are omitted, references being given to the former work.

The *Council Journals* vary much in the richness of the material they furnish to the historian. In certain sessions there is only a meagre and brief outline of the proceedings; in others there are many pages of detailed addresses and discussions. Of the latter type is the session of 1685. Here the *Journals* throw a welcome light upon many of the vital questions which were vexing the colony during the period of the second Stuart despotism—the abrogation of the judicial powers of the assembly, the protests against the additional 3d. duty on tobacco, the attempts to tax the people without the consent of their representatives, the bill of ports, quit-rents, the unceasing wrangles with Governor Effingham.

Dr. McIlwaine has added to the *Council Journals* a valuable appendix of the legislative papers of the general assembly for the whole colonial period. These documents consist of petitions, propositions, grievances, claims, reports of committees, communications between the houses, and miscellaneous papers. Although a thorough search of the British Public Record Office would have disclosed many more documents of like nature, and although some of those given here have been published elsewhere, the collection is a most welcome and valuable addition to the *Journals* of the council.

It is greatly to be hoped that the publication of the journals of the two houses of assembly will be followed immediately by that of the Board of Trade correspondence and reports relating to Virginia. The letters to and from governors, presidents of the council, and secretaries, with other official papers now kept in the British Public Record Office, are after all the chief source of information for the history of colonial Virginia. Often a few lines in a letter will throw more light upon a given subject than several pages of legislative journals. The dreary record of the reporting and reading of bills, even though Hening's *Statutes* have made us acquainted with their subject-matter, is often of little value without some word of explanation of the underlying forces and conditions which moved them. The addresses of the governors to

the assembly and of the houses to the governors are of course invaluable, but they leave much unexplained, and at times tend to confuse rather than enlighten the student. That the publication of the Board of Trade papers relating to Virginia would be a very large undertaking should not be allowed to deter the state from entering upon it, for until it has been done the study of Virginia colonial history will remain almost hopelessly handicapped. Let us hope that the splendid series of volumes containing the journals of both houses of the assembly is but the prelude to even better things to come.

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER.

New England and the Bavarian Illuminati. By VERNON STAUFFER, Ph.D., Dean and Professor of New Testament and Church History in Hiram College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXII., no. 1, whole no. 191.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1918. Pp. 374. \$3.50.)

THE well-known reaction of American feeling from sympathy with the French Revolution to horror of its excesses and the panic made by the strident radicals of the new Democratic Clubs on this side of the ocean is not a new story, but it becomes new when read in the ample detail and interesting co-ordination of Dr. Stauffer's study—a work of admirable scholarship and excellent literary form. His treatment of the material makes it not a mere expansion of antiquarian lore but a contribution to the spiritual history of New England life. The situation which he investigates is one that is the more intelligible to readers at the present hour when suspicion and alarm are excited by rumors of secret Bolshevik machinations for the overthrow of the bulwarks of our social order. The historical problem to which Dr. Stauffer addressed himself was to account for the alarm felt and aroused by the Federalist clergy in New England in 1798 regarding the supposed sinister conspiracy of a secret order for the overthrow of religion and government. What were the grounds for such a belief, what the explanation of an easy delusion?

Dr. Stauffer explains the psychology of the situation by an elaborate account of the growing dismay caused in conservative clerical minds by the relaxation of Puritan standards, the invasion of the theatre and social dancing, the increase of intemperance, the rise of display and worldly fashion in a new mercantile aristocracy. Fear of this apparent but over-estimated disintegration was intensified by the ever increasing bitterness of dissenters from the Standing Order when, guaranteed full religious liberty by the national constitution, they found the rights of conscience still abridged by the New England states. The conservative clergy saw in all this a menace to the church. The dissenters were embittered by seeing their conscientious principles treated as masks of irreligion. Added to this came the indignation and dread caused by

French policy after Jay's Treaty with Great Britain and the notion even of men like President Adams that French plans for world-dominion "comprehended all America both north and south" and found ready tools in the growing Democratic party. Given the intense excitement over the X.Y.Z. despatches and the mad virulence due to the Alien and Sedition Acts, we are prepared to find in 1798 an "over-wrought tension of nerves" to which the most unlikely thing became credible and a suspicion of secret forces of conspiracy at work would be held on the slightest grounds.

Dr. Stauffer then offers a history of Weishaupt's order of the Illuminati with an account of the works of Robison and Barruel which alleged a direct connection of this secret order with the destructive violence of the French Revolution. This part of the work, based on a complete and discriminating use of an extensive but obscure French and German literature, makes a valuable contribution of knowledge to fill a gap in the material available in English.

The ground is thus laid for the story of the New England agitation initiated by Jedediah Morse in a fast-day discourse on May 9, 1798. In that year of intense political feeling Morse charged a plan of the French Directory to discredit American government, rehearsed the social danger of growing irreligion and vilifications of statesmen and divines, and on the basis of Robison's work argued "reason to suspect that there is some secret plan in operation hostile to true liberty and religion". This begins two years of newspaper controversy and pulpit deliverances involving the reputé of Freemasonry and the fortunes of politicians. Even bolder declarations of a secret conspiracy in alliance with the destructive radicalism of Europe were made by President Dwight and others, but Morse held the centre of the scene by his futile efforts and discrediting failure to produce evidence of the conspiracy in America.

Dr. Stauffer's thorough investigation of the sources, his discrimination in dealing with utterances of political and religious passion, and his comprehension of an episode in its large relations make his book an instance of high scholarship and intelligence.

Since the mentality of Jedediah Morse was such a factor in his time, it is useful to recall that once again his morbid suspicion and credulity betrayed him, with the result of a disruption of the Standing Order into Orthodox and Unitarian. In 1815, with even more flimsy and irrelevant evidence, he alleged an organized secret conspiracy of the liberals to pervert Harvard College and the churches from the old faith, waking to fresh life the bitter spirit of dissension which after the War of 1812 had lost the political ingredient and could use only the *odium theologicum*.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Collected and Edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. Volume II. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: the Commission. 1918. Pp. xv, 625.)

THE idea of the republican system is fast becoming obsolete, and we are rapidly drifting into a pure democracy—and it is a melancholy reflection that the proposed change will leave property without Guarantees and without defence against legislative encroachment—and place the Govt. of N. C. in closer approximation to a sheer democracy than that of any of her sister States (II. 562).

Thus spoke good Weldon Edwards, Nathaniel Macon's hand-picked successor in Congress. It was the year 1857 when the Northwest was compelling Douglas to put on more democratic political clothes or yield the baton to plain A. Lincoln; the year when North Carolina seemed about to apply various democratic devices which would leave the accumulated wealth of the community at the mercy of majorities. That was a sad outlook to this good friend of Judge Ruffin three years before the Civil War.

Of equal interest to the historian will be the joyous letter of Paul Cameron, another friend of the famous chief justice of North Carolina, who, although more than comfortable in his handsome mansion at Raleigh, North Carolina, had run off to Tunica county, Mississippi, and made a good investment. He wrote March 21, 1857:

My overseer Jeter a man about 28 full of energy and quite equal as far as I can yet judge to his position says that he has never had such a time in laying up and burning, the heavy rains having brought down so much of the belted timber. Will put 300 to crop—100 acres in cotton and 200 in Corn—and from this expect to gather 100 bales of cotton [worth \$5,000 as the market then stood]—10,000 bushels of corn. as yet only 35 slaves on the place of whom 28 are out hands (II. 549-550).

From the rest of the letter one might assume that Paul Cameron of Raleigh was making a good thing indeed of his new plantation. Perhaps he was making better progress than Stephen A. Douglas of Chicago who controlled a plantation in the same region on which there were supposed to be a hundred slaves. And there were Paul Camerons all over the upper South. One day some keen student will use materials like this excellent book of Professor Hamilton's and the various county records to show the interesting fact of Middle State and Northern ownership of slaves and plantations in the lower South.

These quotations must serve to show what sort of letters Professor Hamilton and Mr. R. D. W. Connor are printing in their *Publications*. As I pointed out in the review of the former volume of this series, it is a most "delightful" group of choice North Carolinians to whom the student is introduced in this correspondence of Chief Justice Thomas Ruffin. The Devereux, the Battles, the Hoopers, Crudups, Roulhacs,

Brodnaxes, and a score of others represent the men whose word counted in their state for twenty-five years. Besides the many real pictures of these representative men and fine aristocrats whom it must have been a delight to meet and sit beside in the Episcopal church—the best club in the old commonwealth—we have glimpses of much of the life of the time, with here and there a touch of national politics, as when the redoubtable Roger Pryor proposed Ruffin for the presidency (II. 512) in 1856.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE, University of Illinois. [Centennial History of Illinois, vol. III.] (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 1919. Pp. 499. \$2.00.)

THIS volume maintains the high standard set for this worthy series on Illinois history. It offers to students and readers a history of varied aspects in the life of the state for the period named. It deals not only with politics, elections, and public men, but with agriculture, society, churches, schools, industry, banking, the press, religion, morality, and amusements. The volume covers the field of historical inquiry, presenting a reasonable and very interesting history of the life of the people of Illinois. The period is a notable one in American history, and the volume shows due regard for the outstanding features of that history, in which Illinois played a very important part. Themes like the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the origin of the Republican party, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the election of 1860, are well related to the common history of the country. The notable public men of Illinois in this period, men of national standing and importance like Lincoln, Douglas, Trumbull, Yates, Oglesby, Palmer, Herndon, Lovejoy, Wentworth, Koerner, McClernand, Logan, Grant, Medill, and others, are brought into view, with facts and estimates that enable one to measure their historic importance. For these reasons, as well as for its social and industrial aspects, the volume will be valued highly by all students of general American history.

The author notices first the passing of the frontier and the coming of the railroads. It is difficult for us to remember that in 1848 Chicago had not yet been connected to the east by rail, and that Illinois was still in the stage of the prairie mud road, the prairie schooner, the river steamboat, and the stage-coach. These conditions are vividly reflected from the correspondence, statutes, and newspaper sources of that day. The politics of Illinois in the decade before the war present great themes, in the struggles of Lincoln and Douglas, the Lecompton question, and the forces and influences in this typical western state which elevated Lincoln to the presidency. The author shows in an interesting way how, in the Lecompton struggle, the Illinois Republicans, while resenting the eastern support of Douglas voiced by Greeley, themselves sought to encourage Douglas just enough to promote the split in the Democratic party, to "make it wider, deeper, and hotter", as Herndon

put it, and how the Buchanan faction, in control of national patronage, began "to lop off the heads" of Douglas Democrats.

The services and life of Illinois in the decade of the Civil War and in the struggles over reconstruction are given due attention, involving the struggle against the "Copperheads", the peace movement and the anti-Lincoln sentiment of 1864. Those who are especially interested in the rapid changes of a growing society, in revolutionary changes in industry, in the growth of western population, and in the coming to an undeveloped agricultural region of immigrant laborers in the Know-nothing days, will find in this volume much enlightening information on local history that has much more than local interest. Labor, wages, land speculation and land reform; the women's-rights movement; the temperance movement (with Chicago a "universal grogshop" and one saloon to every forty of the people in Belleville); dress reform; the conflict between the German beer-garden and the Sabbath observance of the Puritan and the Presbyterian; the churches and their sectarian divisions; the condition and numbers of the negro population; political spoils and the spoilers; the character of the press; the teachers' organizations and the influence of literary societies; the parties and plays of the people; the growth of secret societies and the effective work of the renowned Jonathan Blanchard in opposition to them—all these topics and others find space for informing treatment.

The volume is strong in its account of the growth of education in the state and in its estimate of the influence of Illinois' seats of learning. The author indulges in but little eulogy and in no grandiloquent writing, but his style is direct and interesting and he sets forth significant related facts with the weight of historical authority and with full citations to his sources. The volume has a good index, an extensive bibliography, a series of political maps showing the distribution of party opinion at various elections and the foreign-born population in 1860, together with good portraits of Lincoln, Douglas, Yates, and Trumbull. A brief review can give but an inadequate idea of the amount of valuable matter in such a volume. If the coming volumes maintain the standard set by the two so far issued (vols. II. and III.), other states than Illinois will have reason to be grateful for this notable centennial enterprise.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Les États-Unis d'Amérique et le Conflit Européen, 4 Août 1914—6 Avril 1917. Par ACHILLE VIALATE, Professeur à l'École des Sciences Politiques. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1919. Pp. x, 313. 3.50 fr.)

Les États-Unis et la Guerre: de la Neutralité à la Croisade. Par ÉMILE HOVELAQUE, Inspecteur Général de l'Instruction Publique. (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. 467. 10 fr.)

IN these days when the United States is assuming a most important rôle in international politics it is especially interesting to see ourselves

as others see us. These two books reflect the views of prominent Frenchmen, well acquainted with American affairs. Viallate describes the effects of the Great War on American imports and exports, the sale of European securities in America, the exportation and importation of gold to meet trade balances, the financial adjustments necessary in this country, the European loans contracted in the United States, and finally the developments in our diplomatic relations with Germany which drew us into the war.

The most important part of the book, however, is devoted to a description of American colonial expansion since the beginning of the Spanish-American war. The author shows how the acquisition of Porto Rico, the Panama Canal, and the Virgin Islands, and the financial supervision of Haiti and Santo Domingo have gradually drawn the United States into the Caribbean Sea. From the beginning, Europeans realized much more keenly than did Americans that this situation, together with the growing complexity of international trade, would make it imperative sooner or later for the United States to abandon its policy of isolation and to participate actively in international arrangements. The last five years have revealed these things to the majority of Americans. On account of the economic advantages which the United States enjoys, Viallate has no hesitation in assigning the United States a dominant position in future world-politics.

Hovelaque's book is a series of essays written at various times during the war. Two of them are reprinted from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. In the first essay, the author attempts to trace out the fundamental reasons why America refrained from entering the European conflict. He points out that American newspaper editors, magazine writers, and literary men—in fact, almost the entire intellectual class—sympathized with the Allies from the beginning of the war. Nevertheless, the mass of the people, especially in the middle and extreme West, clung to the policy of neutrality.

Hovelaque attributes this attitude in part to the considerable numbers of Germans, Poles, Jews, and Irish who were irreconcilable to the Allied cause. There were also other reasons, such as the distance of the United States from Europe, the ignorance of European history and politics, and the absorption of the American people until recent years in the problems of domestic expansion. Finally, there was the almost universal interest, originally a necessity, in concrete practical affairs, a tendency which was powerfully aided and abetted by German influence on our educational institutions. In fact, America seemed in a fair way of falling a prey to that worship of force, efficiency, and material things which possessed Germany.

Nevertheless, the idealism, something more than abstract pacifism, that marked all great crises in early American history was slowly but surely awakened by the repeated acts of barbarism committed by the Germans. Finally, the Zimmermann note stirred the West as no tor-

pedoing of American vessels could possibly do, and the United States entered the war a united nation, as it never would have done at any time previous to that event.

One of the chapters in this book is devoted to a delightful description of the journey made through the United States by the French Commission, of which the author was a member. He attributes considerable importance to the quiet influence which Marshal Joffre had on the decision of Congress to adopt the principle of the selective draft rather than to depend on the volunteer system.

In a chapter on the first year of American participation in the war, the author rises to a high appreciation of America's mission. For the first time in history, he declares, a country entered a conflict on another continent entirely free from selfish motives. Indeed, the idealism which President Wilson introduced into the conflict renewed the hopes of war-weary Europe and greatly liberalized the foreign policy of all European governments. The concrete method of expressing this idealism was the League of Nations, which the author endorses in the highest terms. Hovelague, like Viallate, assigns to the United States a dominant position in future international relations.

Both books are keen and penetrating analyses of America. Viallate's book can hardly be surpassed for its clearness and simplicity. Hovelague's analysis of American public opinion during the period of neutrality may seem a little caustic at times, but his praise of American idealism after entering the war is extremely generous.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Obispo de Puebla y Osma, Visitador y Virrey de la Nueva España. Por GENARO GARCÍA. (Mexico: Ch. Bouret. 1918. Pp. 426.)

ANY book on colonial Mexico by Genaro García is worthy of attention. The present work is no exception. When the reviewer reached the middle of the study he was prepared to pronounce it "great". Beyond this point, however, the book enters into the history of a controversy in a way which dampened his enthusiasm.

The author reminds us in his preface that the book was not written under propitious conditions. Not alone was the scholar's calm disturbed by the tragic occurrences of the Great War, but he beheld his native land "ruined, bled, and degraded by a fratricidal struggle, endless and no less violent". In spite of these unfortunate circumstances, García has produced a book of great interest and scholarly merit. It is written with a simplicity and grace which make it fascinating to read. The book is not dry-as-dust scholarship, but has real human interest.

As presented by García's pen, Palafox not only played an important part in the fortunes of New Spain, but was a human personality. His life reads like a romance. The natural son of the second Marquis of Ariza, in Spain, he was destined for drowning by his mother, rescued

and adopted by a miller, recognized by his father, and sent to college where, in very modern fashion, he "learned very little and wasted much time". At twenty he was administrator of his father's estates; then in rapid succession he became member of the Cortés of Monzón, favorite of the Supreme Minister Guzmán, fiscal of the royal Consejo de Guerra, fiscal of the Council of the Indies, and chaplain to the Infanta María, whom he accompanied to Vienna when she married Ferdinand of Austria. Meanwhile his marriage had been set aside by royal decree that he might have ecclesiastical status.

Fortune now took him to Mexico. At the age of thirty-eight he was appointed Bishop of Puebla, visitor-general of New Spain, judge of the *residencias* of the last two viceroys, and special commissioner to reform the commerce of Mexico, Peru, and the Philippines. "Such high charges had never before been combined in a single person." The prestige of the man is reflected by his journey to America, which was made in the train of the new viceroy, the Duque de Escalona. The advent was almost a royal progress, in which the bishop shared honors with the viceroy.

In America Palafox's offices rapidly multiplied, and he soon became Archbishop of Mexico and Viceroy of New Spain. His brief stay of nine years resounded with some of the noisiest struggles which disturbed the Church in the New World—quarrels whose echoes have reverberated down to the present day.

As Bishop of Puebla and Archbishop of Mexico, offices which he held at the same time, Palafox devoted himself with rare energy to destroying heathen idols and asserting the episcopal authority over regular clergy holding curacies. "Three short days sufficed Palafox to separate from the contumacious religious the curacies which they illegally held in Puebla", a feat for which a hundred superior orders had not sufficed. In Mexico he repeated the process, "softly, but without yielding an inch". Here his iconoclasm did not even spare the trophies of the conquest in the hands of the Spaniards. His capital struggle, of course, was that with the Jesuits over tithes. On this matter García throws much light by means of new documentary material, but his conclusions are marred by a manifest bias, a partizanship which perhaps reflects the present-day political struggles of Mexico. Convinced of the malice of the Jesuits, García traces in detail their resistance to Palafox during his life and their opposition to his canonization down to the present time. The proportions of this struggle, as of so many others, have been magnified in the eyes of historians by the length and number of the documents which secretaries and clerks heaped up in the archives in the course of the contest.

But Palafox's days were by no means altogether consumed by quarrels and iconoclasm. He did many things concerning which there can be no controversy. For his piety he enjoyed in his day the fame of sainthood; he engaged extensively in charitable works; in the diocese of

Puebla he erected thirty-five new churches, besides rebuilding numerous others; he encouraged the spread of religious fervor; investigated the tradition of the Miraculous Well of San Barnabé; reformed the University of Mexico; and founded two important colleges in Puebla, donating to them his fine private library. His "beloved Rachel", however, was the cathedral of Puebla. Although this edifice had been begun in 1531, when Palafox arrived it was still far from finished, and it was the custom for careless debtors to say they would pay "when the cathedral was completed". Palafox set to work fifteen hundred men directed by the best architects in New Spain, and in eight years the temple was completed. To-day it stands one of the finest churches in America, and a noble monument to the energy and taste of the illustrious bishop.

Of even more interest to the general reader and historian than García's central theme, the life of Palafox, is the incidental light which he throws upon seventeenth-century Mexico—receptions accorded viceroys, life in Puebla and the capital, the physical appearance of these important cities, education in New Spain, the University of Mexico, and scores of other important matters, all of which are treated in a way to reveal García's masterful grasp of the history of colonial Mexico. These features alone would make the biography an indispensable book.

The bibliography of over one hundred pages and over four hundred titles is one of the most valuable features of the work. The remarkable thing is that they are all in García's private library. Among them are numerous unpublished manuscripts of great importance and many imprints so rare that they are perhaps unique.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON.

Papeles de Bolívar. Publicados por VICENTE LECUNA. (Caracas: Litografía del Comercio. 1917. Pp. xv, 476.)

STUDENTS of the heroic age of South American history have perhaps some acquaintance with the contributions made by Vicente Lecuna to the history of Great Colombia. He is the author of some critical studies of the technic displayed by the editors of the collections of documents which have been published concerning Simón Bolívar. Several years ago he published a scientific study of the campaign of Carabobo in *El Cojo Ilustrado*, the leading literary journal of Caracas. When a delegate from Venezuela to the Pan-American Scientific Congress which assembled in Washington, he published an inedited memoir of the Liberator concerning the Congress of Panama.

The motive for the investigations which have produced the volume under review may be best expressed in Lecuna's words.

That I might be able to write a well-ordered narrative of the campaigns of Bolívar, some years ago I began to search for documents which would fill certain gaps in the published collections. The labor has not been in vain. In the national archives of Venezuela and in the archives of the Liberator I found hundreds of inedited documents;

some of these were of great importance because they illuminated or explained capital facts, others were less important, but all of these documents were useful for the purpose of studying Bolívar's campaigns.

The labor of Lecuna has consisted in extensive investigations in the public archives of Venezuela and in the classification and arrangement of the archives of Simón Bolívar, of Carlos Soublette, and of Mariano Montilla. In addition, he has secured many letters, documents, and copies of documents from private archives in Venezuela; he has acquired a collection of rare bulletins emanating from Bolívar's army in 1813 and 1814; and he has purchased in Spain numerous proclamations and manifestos concerning the Liberator. When all the inedited or rare documents concerning Bolívar which have been discovered by Lecuna are published, they will fill several substantial volumes.

The volume entitled *Papers of Bolívar* includes certain of his letters, political thoughts, proclamations and messages, miscellanea, articles for the press, and family documents. Of his letters there are printed in this volume more than two hundred and fifty, addressed to such persons as Pedro Briceño Méndez, Mariana Carcelén de Sucre, José Fernández Madrid, Mariano Montilla, Daniel F. O'Leary, Andrés Santa Cruz, Francisco de Paula Santander, and Antonio José de Sucre. Among the political thoughts is reprinted Bolívar's memoir concerning the Congress of Panama. Among the proclamations and messages are printed drafts of some of the Liberator's messages to the Peruvian congress. The miscellanea contain a list of the books in Bolívar's library, unfortunately without date. A facsimile reproduction of *El Demócrata*, Bogotá, June 1, 1830, contains an article which throws light upon the assassination of Marshal Sucre—a topic of perennial interest to South American historical writers. The articles prepared for the press include a brief essay on public instruction and an interesting article which contains Bolívar's views concerning the condition of Spanish America in 1829. The papers which concern the family of Simón Bolívar include a letter of his mother, the testament of his father, and that of his uncle, Juan Félix Jerez Aristeguieta. These papers also include an inventory of the deceased Liberator's property, dated Santa Marta, December 22, 1830.

As Lecuna points out, the material which he edits in this substantial volume is supplementary to the great documentary collections concerning the Liberator: the fourteen volumes of documents collected by J. F. Blanco and Ramón Azpúrua and published under the title of *Documentos para la Historia de la Vida Pública del Libertador*; and the thirty-two volumes of documents and memoirs edited by Simon B. O'Leary entitled *Memorias del General O'Leary*. In general, the technic of Lecuna is admirable. Many of the documents in Lecuna's volume are printed from drafts or from originals in the archives of the Liberator. A few are taken from copies, while others are reprinted from rare periodicals. In almost every case specific mention is made of the periodical in which the document was first printed, or of the public or private repository

where it was found. In numerous cases the letters or other documents are followed by careful, scientific, explanatory notes. For example, on pages 373-375 is found an illuminating note respecting Bolívar's family. Unfortunately, the sources of the information which the editor incorporates in his notes are not always mentioned.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1916. Volume I. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919, pp. 507). Any one who wishes to see how much the American Historical Association has developed in the last twenty-five years would do well to compare this volume with the *Annual Reports* of the early nineties. Those volumes contained much excellent matter, but they were almost wholly composed of papers read at the meetings, for the society's activities were practically confined to those annual sessions. Now its activities are multifold, and never has there been a more impressive exhibition of them than in this volume. Nearly 300 of its 500 pages are occupied with their products—reports of the thirty-second annual meeting, held at Cincinnati, of the executive council, secretaries, treasurer, and various committees, of the thirteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, of the conference of historical societies, of the conference of hereditary patriotic societies, of the committee on a centre for higher historical and other studies in Washington, and of the conference which founded the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. The report of the Public Archives Commission carries with it an impressive statement of the condition of the public records of New Jersey, by a committee of New Jersey citizens, showing the appalling extent to which in that state (and similar investigations would show similar conditions in many another state) negligence and fires and pilferings and illegal detentions have deprived the commonwealth of historical materials which were once in its archives but now are not. In another interesting appendix to the same report, Professor Charles E. Chapman describes summarily the archives of Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, and Lima. The report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, consisting of the extant correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, is reserved for the second volume of the report. The substantive historical papers derived from the meeting and here printed are eleven in number. Mr. Herbert Wing discusses the assessments of tribute in the Athenian Empire; Professor Paul van den Ven, of Louvain and Princeton, the question, When did the Byzantine Empire and Civilization come into Being; Professor K. Asakawa, the life of a monastic *shō* in medieval Japan; Professor Chalfant Robinson, "History and Pathology" (specifically the case of Louis XI.). Professor A. H. Lybyer gives a graphic and informing account of Constantinople as capital of the Ottoman Empire. Professors Wallace Notestein and Roland G. Usher set forth some of the chief unsolved

problems of the Stuart period and the methods by which they should be approached. Professor Guernsey Jones describes the beginnings of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, 1640-1661; Professor Edward T. Williams, then of the Department of State, those Chinese social institutions which could serve as foundations for republican government; Mr. Charles L. Chandler, the career of Admiral Charles Whiting Wooster in Chile. The presidential address of Professor Joseph Schafer of Oregon, as president of the Pacific Coast Branch, a lucid and thoughtful paper of great merit, and an account of the history of American historical periodicals, by Mr. A. H. Shearer, conclude the volume.

The Master of the Offices in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires. By Arthur E. R. Boak. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic series, vol. XIV.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. x, 160, \$1.00.) This monograph aims "to treat the entire history of the Mastership", tracing "the stages of its development and its decline, showing the connection between these changes and the general tendencies which affected the administration as a whole". In carrying out this plan, Dr. Boak enumerates the different classes of *magistri*, discusses the history of the mastership, the competence, titles, honors and privileges of the master of the offices. The work is well done. Appendix A consists of seventeen pages of references to the title of *magister* in inscriptions and literature. These are arranged in a classified list, which makes it easy to use them. Appendix B gives a list of the masters of the offices. Finally, there is an index which is evidently not intended to be complete.

For the convenience of scholars who will use this work, a few corrections may be noted. The statement (p. 88) that there were sixteen state arsenals in the Orient "of which four were in the diocese of the Orient" is incorrect. There were in all fifteen, of which five were in the diocese of the Orient (see *Notitia Dignitatum*; reference correctly given by Boak). Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire*, is not included in the bibliography. If Dr. Boak had used this (it actually contains very little on the master of the offices), he would probably have changed his statement as to the date when the mastership became an honorary office, as Bury (p. 108) states that the Emperor Michael offered to confer the rank of *magister* on two brigand chiefs if they would submit. There are slips in proof-reading, e. g., *dictionnaire* (p. 42), Rombaud (pp. 57, 160), *Geschichte der Romischen Postwesens* (p. 80), 92 for 97 (p. 99, note 4). The discussion on pages 90-91 is mainly a repetition of the discussion on pages 41-42; incidentally, in the repetition (p. 91, note 2) Dr. Boak gives the reference correctly as chapter 38, which (p. 42, note 2) he had given as chapter 37. The last paragraph on page 69 makes statements which are evidently contradictory. Finally, why is there no reference in the list of masters to the well-known chronicler, "Simeon, magister and logothete"?

D. C. MUNRO.

The History of Normandy and of England. By Sir Francis Palgrave, K. H. Edited by Sir R. H. Inglis Palgrave, F.R.S. Volumes I. and II. (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. lvi, xxxvi, 560; xxxix, 588.) This is the first installment of a ten-volume edition of *The Collected Works of Sir Francis Palgrave*. First issued in 1851-1857, the *Normandy and England* was the first serious attempt to give the Norman period of English history its larger setting by placing Normandy on the same plane as Wessex and "adopting Rollo equally with Cerdic". Certainly an entire volume on the Frankish empire of the ninth century, and another on the tenth, constitute a generous introduction to Anglo-Norman history. Unfortunately they give the impression that we know a great deal respecting a particularly obscure epoch. The author's wide-ranging and discursive mind lent itself easily to a form of historiography which padded out the chroniclers with comparisons and allusions to the whole course of human history. Palgrave made a serious attempt to cover the narrative sources of his subject, but without thoroughgoing or searching criticism. Thus he relies steadily on the rhetorical compilation of Dudo of Saint Quentin, to which he ascribes both originality and "general accuracy", and, what is worse, he has a way of preferring the twelfth-century translations of Dudo as more picturesque. As a matter of fact, Dudo is not a contemporary authority; he shows no evidence of "diligent inquiry"; and he preserves singularly little of popular tradition. Curiously, in spite of his great familiarity with the English public records, Palgrave makes no effort to utilize the documentary sources for Frankish history, and his critical acumen suffers painfully by comparison with the *Annales* and *Jahrbücher* upon which the student of to-day has come to rely. These defects go too deep to be remedied by a new edition, nor is the editor the one to remedy them. In spite of occasional citation of recent books, his notes are devoted chiefly to the translation of quotations from Latin and French and to the explanation of references and allusions with the aid of the *Britannica* and other obvious helps. If Palgrave's works are thought to deserve perpetuation as classics, which they are not, Bury's edition of the *Decline and Fall* would afford a better model of annotation. The freshest part of the volume is the prefatory memoir, with its numerous quotations from the letters of Sir Francis.

C. H. HASKINS.

The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey. Printed from the Original Manuscript in the British Museum. Edited by John Brownbill. Volume II., pt. III. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, vol. LXXVIII., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1919, pp. xxix, [295].) The contents of this volume are more varied in character than were the preceding installments of the Coucher Book. After the abbey rental with which it opens, come twenty-five pages of court rolls, some of the entries in which fur-

nish interesting sidelights on rural conditions in the early sixteenth century. Tenants are presented for keeping unringed swine; for selling bark and trees outside the lordship; and for driving their neighbors' sheep from the common pasture. A dog characterized as a "shepe-worwer" is to be hanged; a tenant is ordered to remove his "unreasonable" mare from the common pasture; the possession and use of cards and dice is forbidden; while at the chapel of Colton no one shall have new ales, "nutterakes", "upsyttynges", or pots of ale on Saturdays or Sundays without special license.

The letters and petitions include regulations made in a chapter of the order in 1407 and an inquest on the death of Abbot Lawrence. Three monks conspired to murder him. They mixed poison with his ablutions at mass and afterwards gave him poisoned food.

The nine grants headed Manumissions and Transfers of Bondmen include transfers only; but as the editor points out, these may be round-about methods of manumission.

Evidence on the known right of the abbots of Furness to appoint a bishop to the Isle of Man is given in the Manx Documents (pp. 707-715), without, however, throwing new light on that obscure problem. A group of Irish charters relates with one exception to possessions of the abbey in and near Drogheda, and contains little of moment. These are followed by eighty pages of notes and additions to volume I., to meet the chief complaint against the late Canon Atkinson's editing.

The index of persons and places has proved accurate where I have tested it. If anything it is too complete: *e. g.*, Tunstal, Marmaduke, and Tunstal, Sir Marmaduke, are the same person.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

The Immunity of Private Property from Capture at Sea. By Harold Scott Quigley. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 918. Economics and Political Science series, vol. IX., no. 2.] (Madison, the University, 1918, pp. 200, 25 cents.) Whether immunity of private property from capture at sea is destined to be relegated to the limbo of lost causes or not, the problem of re-shaping the law of the sea cannot be satisfactorily solved without the aid of careful investigations into the history of the struggle to shield commerce in time of war. The movement for immunity has always been bound up with the question of neutral rights, and as Dr. Quigley points out, has too frequently been confused with it. Neither can be understood without a careful retracing of the history of the law of capture. This task he has performed with scholarly thoroughness. Perhaps the most useful part of his dissertation is his summary of the opinions of publicists of different countries on the theory of immunity. The chapter on the treatment of private property at sea during the war just ended comes down to the summer of 1915, and is a markedly detached and unprejudiced examination of the methods for the control of commerce practised by the belligerent govern-

ments. He aligns himself with the school which believes the Declaration of Paris went too far ahead of the opinion of the times, and warns against any attempts at reform which fail to take account of the strength of the belief in the military importance of the destruction of enemy commerce.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century, with an Essay on the Character, and Historical Notes. By David Nichol Smith. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. lii, 331, \$2.70.) Mr. Smith has an excellent idea, which, though not new, has produced an interesting book. The selection of a large group of "characters" from seventeenth-century English writings, preceded by an entertaining and informing essay on this species of literary expression, and supplemented by full and illuminating notes, all these witness the industry and knowledge of the compiler and contribute to the pleasure of the reader. No one can read such a collection without renewed interest in this most human and intimate of English centuries. Like those editors who have of late culled for us the choicer flowers of Raleigh and Clarendon, Mr. Smith has laid us under a debt of gratitude for what he has done. It seems the more ungrateful, therefore, to find fault with a volume which cannot fail to provide so much pleasure and profit for any one into whose hands it may come; yet we cannot but regret one obvious limitation. There is somewhat too much of Clarendon, who is honored with nearly as many selections as all other writers together. We could well spare some of these, good as they are, for a wider selection. Ludlow's evaluation of Cromwell, more of North and Aubrey, some of Evelyn and Pepys, and, above all perhaps, some of Sir William Monson's penetrating sketches, would have added variety and spice. Marvell's lines on Charles II., to take one instance of many, would have lightened a page; and there lie buried in the Historical Manuscript Commission *Reports* many lesser examples of an admirable art which might have lent sparkle to the greater jewels set here, if only by contrast of greater informality. Yet when so much is good, it ill becomes us to criticize too closely. There is not anywhere else in English so good an essay on the "character" as this; and though one might insist somewhat more than its accomplished author on the distinction between externals and intellectual or spiritual qualities, and their elucidation as exemplified in Clarendon and Burnet, he has said much on an interesting theme and said it well.

W. C. A.

Le Cardinal Collier: Lettres et Prophéties de Marie-Thérèse; l'Em-bûche Autrichienne. Par J. Munier-Jolain. (Paris, Payot et Cie., 1918, pp. 238, 4.50 fr.) In this little volume M. Munier-Jolain endeavors to broaden the setting in which the life of Cardinal de Rohan has been

placed by tradition and by the judgment of previous historians. He regards the Diamond Necklace affair as a mere incident in Rohan's life, and a minor incident but for its tragic consequences to Marie Antoinette. According to the author's view, Rohan is something more than a great noble of low character and inconceivable frivolity; he is a man of unusual mental gifts and far-reaching ambition. He does not deny the fact of Rohan's immoralities; on the contrary he adds new details. But he quotes testimony to Rohan's intellectual interests, his artistic tastes, his extraordinary alertness of mind. He also finds it hard to believe that even in an age of privilege and favor a fool should have been made honorary member of the French Academy, provisor of the Sorbonne, and grand almoner of France, to say nothing of the fact that he had been French ambassador at Vienna for two years and a half. He believes Rohan's goal was no less a position than that of chief minister of the king. Marie Antoinette stood in his way. She tried to prevent his being made grand almoner, but failed because of a promise the king had made to the cardinal's cousin, the Comtesse de Marsan. In his duel with the queen, Rohan lent himself to the libellers who were busy with her reputation. This conflict, which is supposed to furnish the larger setting to the cardinal's life, goes back in the author's opinion to the period of the embassy and to Rohan's discovery that Austria was to be faithless to the obligations of the French alliance by having a share in the first partition of Poland. Although Maria Theresa acknowledged that this was acting "à la Prussienne", M. Munier-Jolain thinks she conceived an intense enmity for Rohan because he warned Louis XV. what was impending. But if her enmity had this origin, is it not strange that the Emperor Joseph and the minister Kaunitz remained on intimate terms with Rohan, for they, more than she, were responsible for the Austrian policy concerning Poland? Interesting as the author's account of the "Cardinal Collier" is, his argument is not convincing. Rohan's conduct was so habitually crooked, and his wickedness so vulgar, that it is impossible to believe him a man of superior powers.

H. E. B.

Un Impôt sur le Revenu sous la Révolution: Histoire de la "Contribution Patriotique" dans le Bas-Languedoc (Département de l'Hérault), 1789-1795, d'après des Documents Inédits. Par Pierre-Edm. Hugues. Préface de M. Paul Delombre. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1919, pp. lxxvii, 330, 9.50 fr.) The "Contribution Patriotique" has hitherto interested students of the French Revolution chiefly because its proposal offered Mirabeau an opportunity to discredit Necker. Its success was doubtful, but money must be had, and there was little time for discussion. Mirabeau, accordingly, urged that the National Assembly accept "de confiance" the minister's project of an extraordinary income-tax. If it failed Necker would be responsible and his popularity would receive a deadly blow. But the tax has a more interesting side as a feature of

Revolutionary financiering and as an incident in the history of income-taxes. With our own success of recent memory in raising huge sums by taking high percentages of large incomes, it is curious to follow the fate of a tax which took in three annual installments 25 per cent. of each income over 400 livres. This meant only 8½ per cent. a year. Neither Necker nor the Assembly dared in the beginning to inaugurate effective means of controlling the returns. They relied, or pretended to rely, on the patriotism of each citizen to impel him to make a true declaration of the amount due. If he wished to conceal his exact income he could subscribe more than 25 per cent. and declare that his subscription exceeded the required sum. M. Hugues describes in minute detail the experience with the tax in the department of L'Hérault, formerly Bas-Languedoc. He shows that the tax was eventually collected, although the returns were not all in before the close of the Convention. The later installments were paid in depreciated assignats. One of the first obstacles was the change in the system of local government, but the permanent and serious obstacle was the inertia of the rural communes and of the "petit peuple" in general. They supposed the Revolution meant deliverance from taxation, not new taxes. Before many months were gone, the Assembly was obliged to introduce coercion and to impose upon the local authorities the duty of fixing the sum to be paid by those who neglected to make declarations and of increasing amounts declared if these were obviously too small. The "Contribution Patriotique" did not save the country from Mirabeau's "hideous bankruptcy"; it did not even discredit Necker, for he disappeared long before its failure was evident. Its chief interest, in the opinion of the author, is in the illustrations it offers of the inherent difficulties of income-tax legislation. Altogether, this work is an important addition to our knowledge of the financial history of the Revolution.

H. E. BOURNE.

The Religious Policy of the Bavarian Government during the Napoleonic Period. By Chester Penn Higby, Instructor in History, West Virginia University. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. LXXXV., no. 1, whole no. 196.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 346, \$3.00.) This painstaking doctoral dissertation does not attempt to prove any novel thesis, but simply to answer in scholarly fashion three questions. What were the religious and political conditions in Bavaria at the death of the Elector Charles Theodore in 1799? What changes were wrought by his successor, Maximilian IV., from 1799 to 1815? To what extent were these changes permanent? In answer he finds that in 1799 the conglomerate of territories which made up the electorate was overrun with beggars, tramps, and criminals, in spite of the medieval barbarity and frequency of the penal executions. The Roman Catholic clergy were intolerant, superstitious, possessed of considerable lands, and all-powerful politically. Innumerable popular

superstitions prevailed, such as the ringing of church-bells to avert thunderstorms. But, nevertheless, conditions were not quite as gloomy and medieval as they have been commonly painted. From 1799 to 1815, under the beneficent Maximilian IV. and his enlightened minister, Montgelas, came sweeping reforms. Lutherans and Calvinists, though not Jews, were put on an equality with Catholics. Church lands, both of monasteries and cathedral chapters, were secularized. The Catholic hierarchy were subordinated to the control of the state. And the government attempted, though unsuccessfully, to stamp out many of the superstitious practices by edicts regulating the religious life of the people; the government was unwisely trying to accomplish by legislation a task which should have been left to education. After the downfall of Napoleon, and in spite of general reaction, most of the reform measures in Bavaria were permanently preserved, and many were embodied in the Concordat of 1817, which has survived for a century. The secularization policy, however, was reversed, and in the eighteen-twenties and thirties many of the confiscated lands were restored to the monks and nuns, so that in 1904 they numbered respectively 1985 and 12,586, as compared with 3281 and 1238 a century earlier in 1802. The war prevented the author from making any investigations in manuscript material in Bavaria, but we doubt if this results in any very serious loss; for he has made excellent use of all the topographical and descriptive works, the memoirs, and the laws of Bavaria available in the libraries of this country. What he does not explain, but what we should like to know, is what were the underlying causes of the reform movement. Was it the permeating effect of French eighteenth-century philosophy, or the striking example of the French Revolution, or the pressure of Napoleonic influence, or simply the chance fact that Maximilian IV. happened to be progressive and tolerant, while Charles Theodore had been the reverse? One gathers that it was the latter chance of fate, though a part of the reform legislation, especially after 1802, was due to Napoleonic influence.

S. B. F.

The Congress of Vienna, 1814-15. By C. K. Webster, Professor of Modern History in the University of Liverpool. (London, Humphrey Milford, for the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, 1919, pp. xii, 174, 4 sh. 6 d.) This is "one of a series of handbooks on countries and subjects likely to come under discussion during the peace negotiations", which have been edited under the general supervision of Dr. G. W. Prothero by the historical section of the British foreign office with the aid of expert scholars. Intended "for the information of officials and men of action rather than historians", it was written under pressure in eleven weeks during the summer of 1918; and the author modestly describes it as "purely a *pièce de circonstance*", and promises a larger work on the same subject after his release from governmental service. Nevertheless, it is a work of much merit, and until the appearance of a

definitive history of the Congress of Vienna historians will welcome it as the partial fulfillment of a long-felt need. The author has made extensive use of the heretofore somewhat neglected papers of the British foreign office, and it is evident that he has been a student of the problems about which he writes for a much longer period than was taken up with the actual preparation of this little volume. His point of view is frankly British. To many it will seem too exclusively British. He believes that England's diplomatic rôle in 1814-1815 has hitherto received less than its due share of attention; and accordingly he has set forth the course of British foreign policy under Castlereagh's direction in these critical years with considerable fullness. Of Castlereagh he holds that "it has been clearly proved that for courage and common sense he has rarely been equalled among British diplomatists, and that his influence over the settlement of 1814-1815 was greater than that of any other European statesman".

The Century of Hope: a Sketch of Western Progress from 1815 to the Great War. By F. S. Marvin. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1919, pp. vii, 352, \$3.00.) Mr. Marvin has made a laudable attempt to sketch the intellectual history of Europe during the nineteenth century. This is a tribute to the new spirit of history which seeks for explanations, not merely in political mechanisms nor in economic determinism, but also in human ideals and emotions. The book lacks unity, perhaps because the subject does. The reader is frequently left floundering but happy, very much in the same mood as when he hears an engaging lecturer discourse for an hour on some world problem. There are chapters on democracy, literature, socialism, science (by far the best), nationalism, imperialism, education, religion, and social progress. The bibliography contains lists of good, bad, and indifferent books, but without any indication of their relative merits.

Bayern und Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert. Von M. Doeberl. (Munich, K. B. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917, pp. 155.) The author of this brochure occupied himself for many years with the history of Bavaria in the nineteenth century, particularly in its relations to the politics of larger Germany. Numerous studies and articles from his hand have appeared from time to time dealing with special persons and policies, so that the theme is in a measure a rapid glance over the process by which Bavaria came into the German Empire, the actual essay being condensed into fifty pages.

Certain basic principles or motives have been at the foundation of Bavarian politics. The most fundamental has been the consciousness of a South-German distinctiveness, or national sentiment, based on a long dynastic history and not including a love for Prussians. Naturally royal families and royal statesmen were anxious to preserve their dignities and the position of the state to as great a degree as possible. Yet the

Bavarian kings of the last century were for the most part imbued with the sense of German unity. Both Ludwig I. and Ludwig II. surpassed their local statesmen in this respect. The balance of these two motives succeeded in obtaining for Bavaria a superior position, or at least the outward marks of greater independence, in the construction of the empire of 1870. To this well-known outline of facts the author contributes the story of the internal politics by which those ends were achieved.

Another fundamental theme lies in the close ties of sentiment and economic relationship between Bavaria and German Austria. These instincts led nearly to conflict with Prussia in 1866, and to attempts at various previous times to form a separate South-German federation. Writing in 1917, the author sees a wonderful realization of this natural unity in the combination of Germany and Austria against Europe. To those who now or in the future will have to settle the adjustment of nationalities these affinities may have great importance.

The article is fortified with more than a hundred pages of selected state papers taken from the archives and correspondence of Bavaria and other German states, and covering the period from 1814 to 1870.

J. M. VINCENT.

Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest. By Charles E. Chapman, Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. [University of California Publications in History, vol. VII.] (Berkeley, the University, 1919, pp. v, 755, \$5.50.) This volume is the result of the labors of Professor Chapman, while holding a "Native Sons fellowship" of the University of California, and is a credit to his scholarship. The work is compiled from an examination of 207 *legajos* selected from the Papeles de Estado and Audiencia (Guadalajara and Mexico) groups of the Archives of the Indies as most likely to contain materials for California history. About five per cent. of the documents of these *legajos* have entered into the calendar. Although the *Catalogue* does not give a complete list for the regions indicated, it serves to demonstrate the richness of the documentation of the Archives of the Indies for the history of California and the southwestern United States. The entries of the calendar cover the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries inclusive. For the earlier years, the materials include the southwestern United States in a larger sense, while in the later period they are limited more strictly to California and the approaches thereto.

An excellent introduction gives an account of the Archives of the Indies, a statement regarding the work of the Native Sons fellows, a summary of the work accomplished by the author, and an explanation of the system used in making the calendar. Part I. contains a summary description of the 207 selected *legajos*, described either singly or in

groups. Part II. forms the bulk of the volume and comprises a calendar of 6257 items, representing perhaps 20,000 separate documents. The content of the documents is usually indicated by the official summary taken from the document itself, which gives a satisfactory idea of its character. The calendar has already served in the preparation of the author's *Founding of Spanish California* and of Priestley's *José de Gálvez*. In addition the author declares that the calendar contains available data for fifty other works, relating to discovery, exploration, settlement, administration (civil, military, financial, and ecclesiastical), etc., of Spanish California and the southwestern United States.

Little criticism can be offered of Professor Chapman's book. The technical term "Calendar" instead of "Catalogue" in the title would fit the contents better. Placing the numbers of the documents before the entry instead of after it gives them undue prominence. A few slight errors have crept in but they are mostly obvious. The *Catalogue* is a worthy and useful addition to the series of publications of the University of California.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerwyck. Volumes III. and IV. Translated from the Original Dutch by Jonathan Pearson, late Professor of Natural Philosophy in Union College. Revised and Edited by A. J. F. van Laer, Archivist, Division of Archives and History. [New York State Library, History Bulletins, nos. 10, 11]. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1918, 1919, pp. 644, 200). The present volumes, like the preceding two (see this journal, XXII. 444), consist of translations of Dutch records in the Albany county clerk's office. Volume III., *Notarial Papers, 1660-1669*, contains those of the Albany notaries, Dirck van Schelluyne, Adriaen Jansen van Ilpendam, and Jan Juriaensen Becker, who, under the practice of the period, had recording as well as attesting functions and whose registers contain the original documents executed before them. These consist of powers of attorney, contracts relating to both real and personal property, bonds, settlements of accounts and estates, assignments of debts and inheritances, agreements and certificates of apprenticeship, witnesses' depositions, wills, a few deeds and other miscellaneous papers; a number of van Ilpendam's letters are included. Volume IV. is divided into two parts. The first (pp. 7-115) under the general title *Mortgages, 1658-1660*, contains some fifteen mortgages, a number of deeds, contracts for the sale of real and personal property, bonds, powers of attorney, several depositions, the terms of sale at auction of various pieces of real property, of which there are many, and some miscellaneous papers. Part 2 (pp. 117-206) contains wills beginning July 5, 1681, but principally from October 8, 1691, to 1782; only those originally in Dutch are given, but subscribing witnesses' depositions and records of probate, which are in English, are included.

The very description of these papers indicates their large value for local social, economic, and administrative history; for genealogical and biographical purposes they furnish a vast fund of hitherto practically inaccessible information. Volume III. contains not only the greater bulk and variety of documents but its earlier portion has an added importance because the manuscript minutes of the local court at Albany for the period 1660-1668 are wanting.

The work is done with the customary and well-recognized care and thoroughness of the editor; the annotations are many and helpful; the translations show the benefit of his exceptional qualifications for the task.

S. G. NISSENON.

James Madison's Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787 and their Relation to a More Perfect Society of Nations. By James Brown Scott, Technical Delegate of the United States to the Second Hague Peace Conference. (New York and London, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xviii, 149, \$2.00.) The scope of this monograph is defined by the latter part of its title. It is not a discussion of Madison's notes in full, but only of such portions of his record of the Convention's debates as may have direct application upon the constitution of a League of Nations. In brief, the author's point of view is that the Convention of 1787 was "in fact as well as in form an international conference". For this reason, he is "firmly convinced that the proceedings of the Convention are therefore of interest in this day of international conferences". Hence, should the Society of Nations decide to strengthen the bonds which unite them, these notes "should be mastered and the experience of the United States under the more perfect union be taken into consideration".

Following a brief but illuminating introduction, Dr. Scott reviews those portions of Madison's notes which deal with problems analogous to those presented by the international situation of to-day. Thus, he points out in detail how the "two sets of difficulties—namely, equality and local interests—seemingly insurmountable then, and still peculiarly significant to international conferences", were solved. The relation of justiciable to political questions, and the important and unique function the Supreme Court has filled in our country are emphasized. "It offers the nations a model and a hope of judicial settlement of their controversies" which otherwise "can only be settled by war".

Within the limits that Dr. Scott has set himself, his work has been admirably done. It was scarcely to be expected that anything new to the specialist in regard to the work of the Convention would be brought to light. It is rather in his application of the lessons which the successful experience of the union of the states presents to the nations of the world that the author has made his chief contribution.

It may be remarked, however, in conclusion that unfortunately the

covenant of the new League of Nations does not indicate that these lessons were drawn upon to any marked extent by the five great powers.

HERMAN V. AMES.

Life and Letters of Simeon Baldwin. By Simeon E. Baldwin. (New Haven, the Author, 1919, pp. ix, 503, \$3.50.) This book is a compilation from letters and journals, published "with the special view of introducing an ancestor to his remote descendants, and the general view of picturing the life and manners of a former generation". These modest aims have been amply fulfilled by the distinguished author, who allows his ancestor to reveal his own character and tell his own story. Simeon Baldwin (1761-1851) was the youngest of eight children of a farmer in Norwich, Connecticut. An education at Yale gave him the pass-key to the Connecticut hierarchy. For many years he was content to practise law in New Haven, and play Federalist politics from the inside. In 1803 he was sent to Congress, but two years' residence at Washington in that harvest season for democracy made him "more and more satisfied with the mediocrity of the Connecticut style of living" (p. 345). He refused a re-election, and accepted a seat on the supreme bench of his native commonwealth, where he would undoubtedly have passed the remainder of his long life but for the local political upheaval of 1818.

Simeon Baldwin was a fairly typical Connecticut Federalist, sharing every opinion and prejudice of his class. Occasional flashes of discernment are found in his letters. He criticizes the Federalists for their Johnsonian methods of argument and tactless sarcasm (p. 393); he wishes sectionalism to be called by its right name in 1813, and not disguised as Federalism (p. 459). Nothing new or startling, but much illustrative material, is contained in his correspondence. The first half of the book, covering Baldwin's undergraduate life and tutorship at Yale, is a good supplement to Ezra Stiles's diary of the same depressed period in the history of the college. After Shays's Rebellion, Baldwin's friend Dr. Backus is frankly monarchist (pp. 386-389). The letters of Elizur Goodrich and James Hillhouse are a contribution to the literature of ultra-Federalism. A confidential circular of a state Federalist committee in 1804 (p. 290) confirms the reviewer's opinion that the New England Federalists had a political machine which for silent effectiveness equalled anything manipulated by modern bosses. At Washington, Baldwin was not let into the secession plot of 1804, but his letters give entertaining accounts of the impeachment of Chase, the manners of John Randolph, and the dress of Betsy Bonaparte. The author has also wisely included material on the banking and canal enterprises in which his ancestor engaged, and has shown us how one could live comfortably in New Haven on an income less than \$1100 a year—before 1851.

S. E. MORISON.

Centennial History of Moses Brown School, 1819-1919. By Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Associate Professor of History in Haverford College. With an Introduction by Rufus Matthew Jones, Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College. (Providence, Moses Brown School, 1919, pp. xviii, 178, \$2.00.) An attractive book, printed on good paper, illustrated with thirty-seven inserted pages of cuts, and worthy in every way of the dignified institution it describes.

A noteworthy feature of the book is the loving touch of the author. In his preface he speaks of his gratitude for the privilege of doing the work, and of the inspiration of communion through the channels of history with the ancient worthies who founded the school. That the devotion is sincere the volume sufficiently attests. Few schools are so fortunate in their interpreters.

The early chapters deal with colonial times and the beginnings of our school systems. The Quakers early advocated the founding of schools, and had in operation in England by 1671 at least fifteen boarding schools. The Friends' Public School in Philadelphia, now the William Penn Charter School, was founded in 1689. As early as 1684 the Rhode Island Friends granted the use of a meeting-house in Newport for a school, and promised what assistance they could give. A hundred years later the New England Friends established and maintained for four years in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, the predecessor of the present Moses Brown School. A copy of the rules and regulations of that school is given in an appendix, dated November 1, 1784, and reflects the intense seriousness of the times.

That the present school came into being was largely the work of the Moses Brown of historic fame, who continued as its treasurer until the year of his death, at the age of ninety-seven, in 1836.

Among the later workers for the prosperity of the school were the Smiley brothers, later of Lake Mohonk, from whose administration the financial success of the school seems to have dated. Albert K. Smiley was principal of the school from 1860 to 1879, and for much of the time his brother Alfred was associated with him.

The entire book is replete with humor and will prove of interest even to those who do not know the school. It forms a valuable contribution to the literature of the formation of our secondary schools.

As a minor matter, a Rhode Islander naturally takes exception to the author's use of the commonly accepted statement that this state in educational matters was more backward during the colonial period than other New England states. Dr. Carroll in his *Public Education in Rhode Island* (1918) has shown that this impression has doubtless grown from the fact that, although this state had the schools, it did not have the laws requiring the schools to be established. He even claims a reasonable probability that Newport was the first town in all English America to establish a public school.

JOHN L. ALGER.

James Baird Weaver. By Fred Emory Haynes. [Iowa Biographical series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1919, pp. xv, 494, \$2.00.) The influence of James B. Weaver was in the field of agitation. He never held an important administrative post or served as a member of a controlling group of Congress. He was never tested and seasoned by political responsibility. Instead of these experiences, which might have made of him a real national figure, he lived the life of the prophet of marginal reforms. Less unpractical and dogmatic than many of his associates, he was not the less a persistent member of that group that Colonel Roosevelt characterized so aptly as the "fringe of lunatics".

The three decades after the Civil War were relatively barren of constructive political and social leadership, so far as the great parties were concerned. What programme of betterment there was, was offered only outside the party organizations. Much of the programme was lop-sided, and was condemned by contemporaries because of the greenback and silver panaceas that accompanied it. But it is true, as Dr. Haynes emphasizes more than once, that in the half-seen vision of the Greenback-Farmers' Alliance-Populist leaders were the suggestions of much that has to-day become orthodox and commonplace. Weaver could not see the intermediate steps, but he was strong on foreseeing goals and ideals—or guessing at them. Twice, as presidential candidate in 1880 and 1892, he was official spokesman for the discontented. The critique of Dr. Haynes makes little attempt to show how much of Weaver's foresight was rational and how much was mere accident.

Dr. Haynes's biography will be a useful addition to the literature of politics, but it contains relatively little that will be new to the intimate student. Weaver's manuscript remains were not important. His biography makes of necessity a sad contrast with such a work as Caro Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*. Weaver "gave little thought to the *past*", and "he looked *forward* to the very end of his life". A single scrapbook and a letter-file contain all that he preserved for his biographer. With the scanty assistance of these, and with the *Congressional Record* and the Iowa newspapers, Dr. Haynes has done his best, and has traversed again much of the ground covered in his *Third Party Movements since the Civil War*. His foot-notes show that he has consulted the Weller Papers in the Wisconsin Historical Society, and the Donnelley Papers in the Minnesota Historical Society, both of which are rich collections for the Greenback and Populist movements. But he does not appear to have exhausted these papers, or to have enriched his text to the fullest from them.

The book is of course beautifully printed and carefully annotated.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

A Report on the Public Archives. By Theodore C. Blegen. [Wisconsin Historical Publications, Bulletin of Information, no. 94.] (Madi-

son, State Historical Society, 1918, pp. 115.) This well-considered and carefully-written pamphlet is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. It is a study, in the light of the best European and American practice and precept, of the problem of dealing with the public records of Wisconsin. It may occasion some surprise to learn that, in the matter of caring for its archives, Wisconsin is hardly abreast of Massachusetts and is considerably behind Iowa and Alabama, but such is the case. The State Historical Society, turning its attention to this state of affairs, commissioned Mr. Blegen to make a report on the general situation and to suggest a plan for the better organization and administration of the public records. Mr. Blegen first made a study of the archival practices of certain foreign countries, especially England and Canada, and of a few of the American states, such as Iowa, Mississippi, and Pennsylvania. The best practice he found to be based on three fundamental principles: "(1) the centralization of all archives not in current use; (2) an efficient and scientific classification and general administration of the records thus centralized; (3) the custody of the archives under officials thoroughly trained, both in theory and in practice, for their work". In the application of these principles to the situation in Wisconsin Mr. Blegen urges the erection of a special building to serve as an archive depot, and the organization of an archive administration under the State Historical Society, already the trustee of the state for all its historical interests. It is to be hoped that Mr. Blegen's recommendations will be adopted for they are clearly in accordance with the best archival practice and would meet the demands of administrative efficiency and historical scholarship.

WALDO G. LELAND.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The American Historical Association will hold its annual meeting in Cleveland on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, December 29, 30, and 31. The committee on the programme will use as much of the programme prepared for 1918, and abandoned on account of the influenza, as seems practicable. Certain subjects and the entire session on the War Issues Course will be dropped because the end of the war has destroyed the interest in them. The conference of history teachers arranged for last year will be superseded by a session devoted to the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools. Conferences are being organized for those interested in Latin-American history, economic history, ancient and medieval history, the Far East, the Russian Revolution, American colonial history, American nationalism, and modern European history. One or two sessions will present the historical background of some of the boundary problems which have been before the Peace Congress in Paris. The papers of the Latin-American conference will be mainly concerned with the attitude of the Latin-American people toward the Monroe Doctrine, of the modern European history group with the historical background of some of the problems of reconstruction which now claim attention. There will be joint sessions with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and with the Political Science Association, which will meet in Cleveland at the same time; the usual conference of historical societies will also take place.

Proof of the *Annual Report* for 1917 has been read and the indexes are being prepared. Vol. II. of the *Annual Report* for 1918, being the autobiography of Martin Van Buren, went to press in July. Vol. I. of that Report, with contents of the usual sort, but including also a considerable body of material on agricultural history submitted by the Agricultural History Society, has gone to the press more recently.

The Association offers a prize of \$250 for the best unpublished essay in American military history submitted to the Military Prize Committee before July 1, 1920. The essay may treat of any events of American military history—a war, a campaign, a battle, the influence of a diplomatic or political situation upon military operations, an arm of the service, the fortunes of a particular command, a method of warfare historically treated, the career of a distinguished soldier. It should not be highly technical in character, but it must be a positive contribution to historical knowledge, and the fruit of original research. For further

information address the chairman, Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF HISTORICAL SERVICE

With respect to the large series of extracts from the German newspapers bearing on the history of the war, which were mentioned on page 747 of our July issue, it is perhaps best to mention specifically the names of the libraries in which sets of these transcripts may be found: the Library of Congress, and those of Vassar College, Princeton University, and the universities of Michigan, Chicago, and Wisconsin.

PERSONAL

Archdeacon William Cunningham, president of the Royal Historical Society from 1910 to 1913, died recently at the age of 69. He was one of the foremost pioneers of economic history in England, was well known in the United States, and was a man of most genial character. His *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* has been widely read and used.

Rev. John Neville Figgis, honorary fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, friend and editor of Lord Acton, died suddenly on April 13, at the age of 53. He is best known by his essay on the *Divine Right of Kings* (1896) and by his *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius* (1907).

Don Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros, member of the Spanish Academy, permanent secretary of the Royal Academy of History, and a distinguished writer on Spanish legal history, died at Madrid on May 19.

In memory of a son killed in action during the war, Lord Rothermere has founded at Cambridge a well-endowed chair of naval history. The chair has been filled by the appointment of Dr. J. Holland Rose. A chair of Byzantine Greek and history has been established at Oxford, chairs of imperial history, of Russian history, and of modern Greek history at the University of London. To the last two chairs respectively, Sir Bernard Pares and Mr. Arnold Toynbee have been elected. The vacancy caused at Manchester by the retirement of Professor James Tait has been filled by the election of Mr. F. M. Powicke.

Mr. A. Percival Newton, lecturer in imperial and colonial history in the University of London and secretary of the London branch of the American Historical Association, spends October, November, and December in the United States, and lectures at various American universities on subjects connected with the history of the British Empire.

Assistant-professor R. M. Johnston of Harvard University has been promoted to be professor of modern history.

Messrs. Ernest Barker and R. H. Tawney of New College, Oxford, are to teach in Amherst College, the former during the second term, the latter during the third term, of the present academic year.

In Yale University, Dr. Frank W. Pitman has been promoted to the position of assistant professor of history in the Sheffield Scientific School.

Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers' College, Columbia University, has leave of absence during the present academic year.

To a new chair of history founded at Cornell University by Mr. John Stambaugh of Youngstown, the trustees of that institution have elected Professor George L. Burr. Professor Burr has a sabbatical year of vacation which will mainly be spent upon the papers of the late President White and upon an unfinished book of the late Henry C. Lea.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., has accepted an appointment as professor of history in Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.

Dr. Henry R. Shipman has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of history in Princeton University.

Professor R. P. Brooks, though he has withdrawn from the University of Georgia, and is now associated with a bank in Macon, expects to finish before long the volume of Calhoun Papers which he is editing for the Historical Manuscripts Commission. He also expects to complete the life of Howell Cobb on which he has been working for a number of years.

Dr. Percy S. Flippin has been appointed professor of history in Mercer University, Macon, Ga.

Professor H. C. Hockett has been granted a leave of absence from his duties as professor of American history in the Ohio State University for the year 1919-1920. Dr. C. S. Boucher, hitherto of Washington University, has been appointed assistant professor of American history. Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger of Ohio State University has been made head of the department of history in the State University of Iowa. Dr. Wilmer C. Harris, of the same institution, has been appointed head of the department of history at Butler College.

Professor Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati has accepted a call to Northwestern University as professor of Hispanic-American history. Dr. Reginald C. McGrane becomes assistant professor of American history in the University of Cincinnati. Professor Merrick Whitcomb having a year's leave of absence, his work at Cincinnati is temporarily taken by Mr. Raymond Chambers.

Professor Arthur H. Hirsch of Morningside College has been elected head of the department of history in Ohio Wesleyan University in succession to Professor R. T. Stevenson.

In the University of Illinois, Mr. Rexford Newcomb, who last year, as assistant professor of architecture, took charge of the classes in architectural history, carried for over forty years by Dr. Nathan C. Ricker, has been made assistant professor of architectural history.

In the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Mr. Louis B. Schmidt has been promoted from associate professor in charge of history to professor of history, Mr. Albert B. Moore from instructor to assistant professor of history.

Dr. N. A. N. Cleves has been appointed assistant professor of history and political science in the University of Arkansas.

Professor Edward M. Hulme of the University of Idaho has been granted a year's leave of absence for the purpose of study in Europe.

Mr. Joseph V. Fuller has been called as assistant professor of European history to give courses in the University of California on recent European, including especially Slavic, history.

In Stanford University Professor Edward Krehbiel is acting executive of the department of history in the absence of Professor E. D. Adams, who has been granted leave of absence for a journey to Europe. Dr. Yamato Ichihashi has been granted leave for a year's study in Japan.

GENERAL

More than a quarter-century has elapsed since Professors Lavissee and Rambaud began the publication of the admirable *Histoire Générale du IV^e Siècle à nos Jours*. A similar work on a more extended scale, covering in twenty volumes the whole period from ancient times to the present, is now announced, to be prepared under the editorial direction of Professors Halphen and Sagnac with the collaboration of a large group of scholars. The publisher will be Alcan of Paris.

A conference of representatives of the war history commissions and similar organizations of some fifteen states, together with representatives of various governmental offices having important war records, was held in Washington on September 9 and 10. In addition to discussing problems of the collecting of materials in the various states and to exchanging views and the results of experience, the conference founded an organization to be known as the National Association of State War History Organizations, the members of which are to be the officially recognized agencies in each state for the collection and preservation of its war records. The association will maintain, at joint expense, a

bureau in Washington for the purpose of locating, describing, and copying the documents in the governmental archives and other central depositories which bear upon the war activities of the several states. Steps have already been taken to organize this bureau and to compile a comprehensive survey of the various bodies of war records in Washington. The new association is to hold an annual meeting in Washington each year, in April; the first general meeting will be held at Cleveland during the last three days in December in connection with the meetings of the American Historical Association. The officers and executive committee for the first year have been chosen as follows: president, James Sullivan, state historian of New York; vice-president, Arthur K. Davis, chairman of the Virginia War History Commission; secretary-treasurer, Albert E. McKinley, secretary of the Pennsylvania War History Commission; additional members of the executive committee, Franklin F. Holbrook, secretary of the Minnesota War Records Commission, and Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

In the June number of the *Historical Outlook*, Dr. J. G. Randall, special expert of the United States Shipping Board, sets forth some of the War Tasks and Accomplishments of the Shipping Board; Professor E. L. Bogart discusses the Money Costs of the War; Professor L. M. Larson a Few Territorial Problems confronting the Peace Conference, and Mr. Thomas W. Gosling a New Internationalism.

The (English) Historical Association's *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* for 1918, to be obtained from the secretary of the society, is for the most part confined to the important English publications of the year, but the section on ancient history, by Mr. Norman H. Baynes, has additional value as surveying the year's publications in various languages. A full bibliography of the articles on Roman history which have appeared in periodicals, prepared by the same competent writer, will appear in the next issue of *The Year's Work*, published by the Classical Association.

The S. P. C. K. series of *Helps for Students of History*, mentioned heretofore in these pages (XXIV. 313, 750) has been taken over for publication in this country by the Macmillan Company. Recent additions to this useful series of pamphlets are two by Mr. Arthur Tilley on *The French Wars of Religion* and *The French Renaissance*; *Hints on the Study of English Economic History*, by the late Archdeacon Cunningham; *Parish History and Records*, by A. H. Thompson; and an *Introduction to the Study of Colonial History*, by Dr. A. Percival Newton. Volumes rather than pamphlets, on *The Period of Congresses* (pp. 200) and *Securities of Peace: a Retrospect, 1848-1914* (pp. 126), are contributed by the Master of Peterhouse, Sir Adolphus W. Ward.

The Norwegian Nobel Institute announces an international prize essay contest on "The History of the Free Trade Movement in the

Nineteenth Century and the Bearings of that Movement on International Peace". Essays may be submitted in English, French, German, or any of the Scandinavian languages. The author of the successful essay will receive the sum of 5000 Norwegian crowns (say \$1350); the monograph will become the property of the Institute. Essays, bearing an epigraph and accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the name of the author, must be sent to the Norwegian Nobel Institute, 19 Drammensvei, Christiania, before July 1, 1922.

The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World (University of Chicago Press), by Professor Edward C. Moore of Harvard, depicts the missionary movement against the background of general history since the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Evolution of the Dragon (Manchester University Press) by Professor G. Elliot Smith embodies a new theory of the origin of myths. "Dragons" are merely a link in the author's argument, which is a denial of the possibility that similar beliefs and customs develop independently among separate peoples.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Joël, *Vernunft und Geschichte* (Neue Rundschau, April, 1916); R. Hubert, *La Philosophie de l'Histoire et les Événements du Temps Présent* (Revue de Paris, June 15).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago undertakes this winter an archaeological survey of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, including both Babylonia and Assyria, under the general direction of Professor James H. Breasted, the purpose of the survey being to determine what archaeological opportunities have been opened to the western world by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and what obligations in this region should be met by American resources.

P. Karge has published an extended work entitled *Rephaim, Die Vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens, Archäologische und Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1918, pp. xv, 765).

The Annual of the British School at Athens (Macmillan), sessions of 1916-1917 and 1917-1918, is made up of miscellaneous papers, including a discussion of the battle of Mantinea by Mr. Woodhouse, a study of the sources and the text of Strabo, by Dr. Leaf and Dr. van Buren, a hitherto unpublished letter of Lord Byron written from Athens in 1811, and an account by Mr. Wace of Frank Hastings and George Finlay, two less celebrated friends of Greek liberty.

The most recent volume by Professor Eduard Meyer is *Caesars Monarchie und das Principat des Pompejus: Innere Geschichte Roms von 66 bis 44 v. Chr.* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918, pp. x, 627).

Local Government in Ancient India is the title of a volume recently published (Clarendon Press) in the series of *Mysore University Studies*. The author, Radhakumud Mookerji, is professor of history in the university.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. H. Breasted, *The Place of the Near Orient in the Career of Man and the Task of the American Orientalist* (Journal of the American Oriental Society, XXXIX.); A. Rosenberg, *Zur Geschichte des Latinerbundes* (Hermes, LIV. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The Primitive Tradition of the Eucharistic Body and Blood, by Rev. Lucius Waterman, rector of St. Thomas's Church, Hanover, N. H. (Longmans, Green, and Co.), embodies a series of lectures delivered at the General Theological Seminary of the American Episcopal Church in 1918 and 1919.

In one of its series of translations of Christian literature, the series dealing with liturgical texts, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published a translation of the *Pilgrimage of Etheria*, the letter-diary of an abbess of the fourth century, who writes to the nuns of her house, probably in Spain, of her travels in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, with descriptions of churches and services she attended.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Mrs. Charles Singer of Oxford is compiling a catalogue of the medieval scientific manuscripts in the British Isles. The work, which has received grants from both the Royal Society and the British Academy, already comprises more than 40,000 entries.

E. Stein deals mainly with the reigns of Justin II. and Tiberius Constantinus, the immediate successors of Justinian I., in his volume of *Studien zur Geschichte des Byzantinischen Reiches* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1918, pp. viii, 200).

The volume of critical studies by B. Schmeidler entitled *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost-Europa vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1918, pp. xix, 363) includes a critique of the chronicle of Adam of Bremen and other studies relating to the historical origins of the Hanseatic regions.

The Tournament: its Periods and Phases is the title of a volume by R. Coltman Clephan, published by Methuen. The history of this form of sport in England and Europe is studied, as well as trials by combat, duels, and modern revivals of the tournament.

M. Paul Sabatier intends to bring out before long volumes VIII.-XIII. of his *Collection d'Études et de Documents* relative to St. Francis,

of which seven volumes had appeared before the war. Vol. VIII. will contain a critical edition of the *Speculum Perfectionis*; vol. IX., a critical examination of the same; vol. X., a critical edition of the *Legenda Trium Sociorum*; vol. XI., the *Legenda Vetus*; vol. XII., sources for the life of St. Francis; vol. XIII., a general index to the whole series of the *Collection*, and to the three volumes (the third now in press) of the *Opusculs de Critique Historique*. He also announces an extensively revised second edition of his celebrated *Vie de St. François* (1893).

A careful biographical study of *Papst Hadrian V.* (Kardinal *Ottobuono Fieschi*) (Heidelberg, Winter, 1916, pp. viii, 360) has been written by Natalie Schöpf. Hadrian V. was a Genoese whose pontificate extended over but a few weeks in 1276. His mission to England from 1265 to 1268 was the most important episode of his career.

The French School at Rome has recently published in the series *Registres Pontificaux* (Paris, Boccard) additional sections of the registers of the following popes: John XXII., Innocent IV., Benedict XII., Alexander IV., Martin IV., and Clement IV.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne*, V. *La Conquête de la Saxe* (Revue Historique, March); Ch.-V. Langlois, *Travaux de Ch.-H. Haskins sur la Littérature Scientifique en Latin du XII^e Siècle* (Journal des Savants, March-April); E. Emerton, *The First European Congress* [the Council of Constance] (Harvard Theological Review, July).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The final issue for 1918 of the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* was an extraordinary number devoted entirely to articles appropriate to the quatercentenary of the Reformation. The contributions are arranged in five groups: the Reformation in Germany, France, and England, the Protestant origins of democracy, and the Reformation and the modern world. Leading scholars from France and other countries are the contributors.

A series of articles in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* by Professor Wilhelm Oechsli were collected and published under the title *England und die Schweiz* just before the sudden death of the distinguished author. The narrative begins in 1514, the year the first English ambassador was sent to Switzerland. The close relations between the two countries are studied in the period of the Reformation, in the War of the Spanish Succession, in the Napoleonic Wars, at the time of the Sonderbund, and in the Neuchâtel question. No similar account of Anglo-Swiss relations existed before Professor Oechsli's work, which gathers up the results of the detailed studies over the whole period and contributes much that is the fruit of his own researches.

In a Leiden dissertation, *Du Plessis-Mornay* (Kampen, J. H. Kok, pp. vii, 143) Mr. J. Itjeshorst studies in a competent manner the period of Mornay's sojourn in England and the Netherlands, 1576-1582.

The publication of the *Efterladte Papirer fra den Reventlowske Familiekreds i Tidsrumet 1770-1827* by Louis Bobé has reached the eighth volume (Copenhagen, Lehmann and Stage, 1917, pp. 594).

Sir Francis Piggott and G. W. T. Omond have edited for the London University Press a *Documentary History of the Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800 and the War of American Independence*; the volume is one of a series on *The Law of the Sea*.

Cardinal Gasquet has published an entertaining pamphlet on *Great Britain and the Holy See, 1792-1806: a Chapter in the History of Diplomatic Relations between England and Rome* (Rome, Desclée), based upon the correspondence of Mgr. Erskine, the papal envoy who resided at the Court of St. James during the years dealt with—a period of friendly relations, when English ships needed opportunity to refit and obtain supplies in the ports of the Papal States after the fall of Toulon.

The Danish scholar Karl Schmidt has added to his studies on the Napoleonic period a volume on *De Hundrede Dage, Waterloo* (Odense, Hempel, 1917, pp. 276).

The Rice Institute Pamphlet, vol. V., no. 2, embodies three lectures on the Peace Conferences of the Nineteenth Century delivered at the Rice Institute in the autumn of 1917 by Professor Robert G. Caldwell.

Vicomte Georges d'Avenel has added to his valuable studies in economic history a volume on *L'Évolution des Moyens de Transport* (Paris, Flammarion, 1919, pp. 272).

M. Boyer d'Agen's *Une Dernière Amitié de Metternich d'après une Correspondance Inédite du Prince de Metternich au Cardinal Viale Prela* (Paris, Chiron, 1919) reveals many interesting views of the famous statesman on passing events and tendencies. The correspondence, begun in 1846, extended till the death of Metternich in 1859. His confidant was a Corsican who was the papal nuncio at Vienna from 1853 onward.

Fernand Engerand has followed his recent volume on the Charleroi frontier question by a volume on *Le Fer sur une Frontière: la Politique Metallurgique de l'État Allemand* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 235).

Numerous presentations of the French side of the Alsace-Lorraine question have been listed in these pages. The German side is set forth by A. Schulte in *Frankreich und das Linke Rheinufer* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1918, pp. 364) and by the collaborated volume edited by K. Strupp on *Unser Recht auf Elsass-Lothringen* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1918, pp. 228).

E. Sauerbeck has made an elaborate presentation of one of the argu-

ments in the case for Germany in *Die Grossmachtspolitik der Letzten Zehn Friedensjahre im Licht der Belgischen Diplomatie (Geschichte der Einkreisung): eine Kritische Zusammenstellung der Brüsseler Gesandtschaftsberichte mit Einleitendem und Verbindendem Text* (Basel, Finckh, 1918, pp. 201).

Professors Tucker Brooke and H. S. Canby of the department of English in Yale University have published *War Aims and Peace Ideals, Selections in Prose and Verse Illustrating the Aspiration of the Modern World* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. xi, 264). The selections are well chosen and arranged by countries.

The Century Company expects before long to publish *The Adventures of the Fourteen Points*, by Harry Hansen, a journalist who attended the proceedings of the Peace Conference and gives an early account of its doings from its first days to the signing of the treaty.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Vicomte Georges d'Avenel, *Le Budget de la Toilettte depuis Sept Siècles*, I. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15); Capt. H. W. Richmond, *English Strategy in the War of the Austrian Succession* (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, May); E. Lenient, *Hoche à l'Armée de la Moselle* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, July–September); A. Aulard, *Hoche et la République Rhénane* (*Revue de Paris*, July 1); C. Pitollet, *Hambourg sous la Domination Napoléonienne* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, July); Paul Marmottan, *La Mission de J. de Lucchèsini à Paris en 1811*, II. (*Revue Historique*, May–June); P. Vulliaud, *La Politique Mystique de la Paix en 1815* (*Mercure de France*, May 16); A. Monti, *Il Congresso di Vienna, 1814–1815* (*Nuova Antologia*, May 1); A. Pingaud, *Un Congrès de la Paix il y a Cent Ans* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, June); W. A. Phillips, *Peace Settlements, 1815–1919* (*Edinburgh Review*, July); W. A. Dunning, *European Theories of Constitutional Government after the Congress of Vienna* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); Roland Gray, *International Tribunals in the Light of the History of Law* (*Harvard Law Review*, May); M. Hartmann, *Die Islamisch-Fränkischen Staatsverträge (Kapitulationen)* (*Zeitschrift für Politik*, XI. 1); S. Lewinski, *Die Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Letzten Zwanzig Jahre (bis zum Ausbruch des Krieges)* (*Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, LXXIII. 3); A. Iswolsky, *Souvenirs de mon Ministère*, I., II. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1, July 1).

THE GREAT WAR

An Austrian "Red Book", published in September, casts a flood of light on the preliminaries of the war, and especially on the conduct of the former Austro-Hungarian government in June, July, and August, 1914.

An important presentation of the military problems of the first six months of the war is 1914 (London, Constable), by Field-marshal Viscount French. Much light is thrown upon the retreat from Mons, the

disastrous battle of Le Cateau, the French offensive into Lorraine, and the fundamental unsoundness of the Allied plan, which was to meet an attack from the east instead of the north.

Lüttich-Namur (Oldenburg, Stalling), is one of a projected series of monographs by the German General Staff. It gives an account of the capture of Liège and Namur from the point of view of Great Headquarters, with special emphasis on the courage and resources of Ludendorff.

K. Egli has attempted a critical study of *Der Aufmarsch und die Bewegungen der Heere Frankreichs, Belgiens, und Englands auf dem Westlichen Kriegsschauplatz bis zum 23. August 1914* (Berlin, Mittler, 1918, pp. viii, 124). *Der Wall von Eisen und Feuer* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1918, pp. vii, 385) by G. Wegener, correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, deals, in the second volume, with the fighting in Champagne, around Verdun, and along the Somme from August, 1915, to December, 1916.

A little book by Commandant Paul Cassou, *La Vérité sur le Siège de Maubeuge* (Paris, Berger-Levrault) is published to combat a popular idea that the surrender of Maubeuge to the Germans on September 7, 1914, involved treachery.

The first volume of Sir Julian Corbett's *Official Naval History of the War*, which Messrs. Longman expect to publish this autumn, explains the naval war plans and preparations for war, and the operations up to the time of the battle of the Falkland Islands.

A first-hand account of *The Battle of the Falkland Islands: Before and After* (Cassell) by Commander Harvey Spencer-Cooper, M. V. O., is accompanied by useful charts and diagrams.

Operations scarcely known to American readers are described by Olaf Wulff in a volume on *Oesterreich-Ungarns Donauflottille in den Kriegsjahren 1914-1917* (Vienna, Seidel, 1918, pp. 277).

The operations of the Nigerian Brigade in East Africa down to the wresting of this last German colony from the forces of von Lettow-Vorbeck are described in *With the Nigerians in German East Africa* (Methuen) by Capt. W. D. Downes.

The Advance of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, July, 1917-October, 1918, compiled and published by the *Palestine News* in Cairo, is published by the British Stationery Office.

Hon. William G. Sharp, American ambassador to France during the war, is publishing his remembrances and observations of the period under the title *My Embassy at the Heart of the Conflict*.

Prisoners of the Great War, by Carl P. Dennett (Houghton Mifflin), is a statement of actual conditions in German prison camps, by the

Deputy Red Cross Commissioner sent to Switzerland in charge of the feeding, clothing, and caring for American prisoners of war.

Soldiers of the Church: the Story of what the Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) of North America, Canada, and the British Isles did to win the World War of 1914-1918, is the title of a small volume by John W. Pritchard (New York, *Christian Nation*).

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History is making plans for the collection of data on which a scientific *History of the Negro in the World War* may be prepared.

The English translation of General Ludendorff's book on the war, apparently to be entitled *Ludendorff's Own Story*, is to be published this month by Messrs. Harper and Brothers.

The English translation of the memoirs of Admiral von Tirpitz is to be published this autumn by Dodd, Mead and Company. Vol. I. is apparently composed of chapters of history, vol. II. of a diary in the form of letters of the admiral to his wife from August, 1914, onward.

At the end of July the German government at Weimar published a "White Book" containing a mass of documents relating to the period from August 13 to November 11, 1918, dealing with the peace offer of the German government and the armistice.

The pamphlet entitled *Pourquoi l'Allemagne a capitulé le 11 novembre 1918* (Paris, Lang-Blanchong, pp. 66), though anonymous, is obviously of official character and based on documents of the French Great Headquarters. It is written to dispose of the legend that the German armies on November 11, 1918, were still capable of maintaining the war and even of being victorious.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. von Kienitz, *Die Ursache des Krieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); E. Daniels, *Beyens contra Beyens* (*ibid.*, May, 1916); G. Kurth, *Le Guet-apens Prussien en Belgique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); Lieutenant-Colonel Chenet, *Les Trois Batailles de Verdun et la Victoire* (Mercure de France, April 16, May 1); L. Gillet, *La Bataille des Monts de Flandre, Avril-Mai 1918* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); H. Bidou, *La Troisième Bataille de la Somme, Août-Septembre, 1918* (*ibid.*, July 1); J. Bédier, *Notre Infanterie, I.-III.* (*ibid.*, April 15, May 1, 15); A. Guignard, *Les Troupes Noires pendant la Guerre* (*ibid.*, June 15); C. di Villarey, *The Work of the Italian Navy in the Adriatic during the War* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, May); General de Lacroix, *L'Offensive des Armées d'Orient en Macédoine* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, April 15); Anon., *The Military Effort of the British Empire* (Round Table, June); S. P. Osztern, *Der "Heilige Krieg" nach Mohammedanischem Recht* (Ungarische Rundschau, IV. 3); G. Deschamps, *La Journée du 7 Mai à Versailles* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1).

(See also p. 170.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

History expects to begin in its October number the publication of an annual list of theses and other graduate historical work produced in British universities. In the July number the naval battle of Flores, 1591, and Sir Richard Grenville's fight in the *Revenge* are critically considered by Mr. Geoffrey Callender.

At Traprain Law, on Mr. Arthur J. Balfour's estate of Whittingehame, in southeastern Scotland, recent excavations have brought to light a wonderful treasury of artistic objects in silver and other metals belonging chiefly to the fourth century. The objects are of high artistic excellence, of designs in which the Christian element predominates. At present the most plausible conjecture is that we have here the spoils of some monastery in Gaul brought to Scotland by Angle or Saxon raiders.

Nearly one half (79 pp.) of the July number of the *English Historical Review* is occupied by part I. of an outline itinerary of King Henry I., by Dr. W. Farrer, extending from 1100 to 1117.

F. J. C. Hearnshaw has edited *Select Extracts from Chronicles and Records relating to English Towns in the Middle Ages*, a recent addition to the series of *Texts for Students* published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Excerpts from Roger of Hoveden, Matthew Paris, a charter of Southampton (1341), William Fitzstephen's description of London, and similar documents are included.

Mr. Charles Henry Ashdown has prepared with great care an official *History of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers of the City of London*.

John Blacman's memoir of Henry VI., now rare, is being reprinted by the Cambridge University Press, with translation and notes by Dr. Montagu R. James, provost of Eton.

The Walpole Society has printed as its seventh volume the *Note-Book and Account-Book of Nicholas Stone* (Oxford University Press), edited by the late William L. Spiers, who composed a most careful monograph upon a figure of importance in English architectural history, master-mason under Inigo Jones, and an independent architect. The diary of Nicholas Stone, jr., printed as an appendix, presents an interesting picture of Italian travel in the seventeenth century.

A sequel to *The Beginnings of Quakerism* is *The Second Period of Quakerism*, by William C. Braithwaite, published by Messrs. Macmillan. The persecutions endured by the sect, the development of its government and discipline, and Quaker life and thought from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century form the subject-matter of the volume.

Cheshire Classis Minutes, 1691-1745 (Chiswick Press), edited for the provincial assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire by Alexander Gor-

don, is an important contribution to the history of Presbyterianism in England.

The third and fourth volumes of Fletcher and Walker's *Historical Portraits* have been recently published by the Oxford University Press. Volume III. covers the period 1703-1800; volume IV. extends to 1840.

The Navy Records Society expects to issue in the autumn two volumes of the *Life of Admiral Sir John Leake*, edited by Mr. Geoffrey Callender. In the near future it hopes to publish further volumes of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval MSS. in the Pepysian Library*, and of the *Private Papers of George, Second Earl Spencer*, as well as a volume containing the *Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring*.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company have published this autumn a small volume by Professor Harold J. Laski of Harvard University on *English Political Thought from Locke to Bentham*, the first addition made to their *Home University Library* since the war.

A life of Charles Wesley by Dora M. Jones, to be published by Messrs. Skeffington, throws light not only upon its subject but also upon the life of John Wesley.

The Oxford University Press has published two supplementary volumes (pp. xxvii, 288; viii, 307) of *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, edited by Dr. Paget Toynbee. Besides 259 letters, unpublished material from journals and notebooks, and correspondence addressed to Walpole are included, and additions and corrections covering the sixteen volumes of Mrs. Toynbee's edition.

The Cambridge University Press purposes to publish a *History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919*, in three substantial volumes based on original research by various British writers and edited by Sir A. W. Ward with the assistance of Mr. G. P. Gooch. The work promises to be one of great importance.

The Diplomatic Relations of England with the Quadruple Alliance, 1815-1830, are studied by Miss Myrna Boyce, in no. 22 of the *University of Iowa Studies* (pp. 76).

The *Scottish Historical Review* for July has articles on John of Swinton, a Border Fighter of the Middle Ages, by Capt. George S. C. Swinton; on the Highland Emigration of 1770, by Miss Margaret I. Adam; and on the history of the Seaforth Highlanders in the recent war, by H. H. E. Craster; also controversial pieces by D. Hay Fleming and Lord Guthrie on the Covenanters, anent the article by the latter in a preceding number of the journal.

Surveys of Scottish History by the late Professor P. Hume Brown (Glasgow, MacLehose; New York, Macmillan), published with an introduction by his friend Lord Haldane, preserves in permanent form a

group of important contributions by this learned and cultivated scholar, in a field of which he was a master.

After a long interval since the publication of the first volume in 1839, the Scottish Stationery Office has published vol. II. of the *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, acts of the Lords of Council in civil causes from 1469 to 1501, edited by Dr. George Neilson and Mr. Henry Paton, and constituting with its learned introduction an invaluable contribution to the early history of Scottish law and procedure.

The Stirling Merchant Gild and Life of John Cowane (Stirling, Jamieson and Munro, pp. 367), by David B. Morris, joins under one cover a history of one Scottish merchant gild considered in relation to general gild movements and the growth of Scottish municipal institutions, and a life of an eminent seventeenth-century Scottish merchant.

In vol. XXXIV., section C, of the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy is a remarkable article by Professor Macalister on "Temair Breg: a Study of the Remains and Traditions of Tara", taking account of much new material and giving fresh consideration to the old.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Muss-Arnolt, *Puritan Efforts and Struggles, 1550-1603; a Bio-bibliographical Study*, I. (American Journal of Theology, July); William Foster, *The Acquisition of St. Helena* (English Historical Review, July); R. R. Sedgwick, *The Inner Cabinet from 1739 to 1741* (*ibid.*); R. C. Wilson, *Norfolk House, 1746-1815* (Dublin Review, July); R. S. Rait, *Queen Victoria and France* (Quarterly Review, July); Else Kemper, *Carlyle als Imperialist* (Zeitschrift für Politik, XI. 1); Sir C. E. Callwell, *The War Office in War Time*, I.-III. (Blackwood's, January-March).

FRANCE

General review: R. Lévy, *Histoire Intérieure des Deux Empires* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July).

A volume for the time is *Le Relèvement de la France après les Grandes Guerres* (Paris, Éditions de la Sirène, 1919) by P. du Maroussem, who sets forth the conditions following the Hundred Years' War, the Civil Wars of Religion, the Fronde, the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and the War of 1870-1871.

W. Heinecker has undertaken a presentation of *Die Persönlichkeit Ludwigs XIV.* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915, pp. 119). Administrative affairs naturally fill much space in C. de la Roncière's *Un Grand Ministre de la Marine, Colbert* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. iv, 311).

Professor L. Gueneau has recently presented as his thesis at the Sorbonne two studies of distinct value for the economic history of the *ancien régime*; *L'Organisation du Travail (Industrie et Commerce)*

à *Nevers aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles, 1660-1790* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, pp. xv, 634), and *Les Conditions de la Vie à Nevers (Denrées, Logements, Salaires) à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (*ibid.*, pp. 125).

G. Giacometti has completed an exhaustive study of *Le Statuaire Jean-Antoine Houdon et son Époque, 1741-1828* (3 vols., Paris, Jouve, 1918, pp. 389, 392, 339). The second and third volumes are devoted to a catalogue of the identified portraits, busts, and other works by Houdon.

The latest fruit of the investigations of E. Sevestre in the religious history of France is *Les Idées Gallicaines et Royalistes du Haut Clergé à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime d'après la Correspondance et les Papiers Inédits de Pierre-Augustin Godart de Belboeuf, Évêque d'Avranches, 1762-1803* (Paris, Picard, 1917, pp. 296). Abbé F. Gaugain has published the first volume of an *Histoire de la Révolution dans la Mayenne* (Laval, Chailland, 1919, pp. 542).

A useful manual for investigators is *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France depuis 1789 aux Archives Nationales* (Paris, Champion, 1919) prepared by C. Schmidt.

Dr. P. Meuriot has published two brief but interesting and useful studies: *Pourquoi et Comment furent Dénommés nos Circonscriptions Départementales* (Paris, Picard, 1917, pp. 37) and *Le Recensement de l'An II*. (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1918, pp. 47).

A Dictionary of Napoleon and his Times (London, Cassell), by Hubert Richardson, includes a chronology of the emperor's life, biographies of his family and leading contemporaries, maps, and a classified bibliography.

Un Journal d'Ouvriers: l'Atelier, 1840-1850 (Paris, Alcan, 1919) is a chapter in the history of journalism and of the labor movement, by A. Cuvillier.

La Justice à Paris pendant le Siège et la Commune, 1870-1871 (Paris, Marchal and Godde, 1919, pp. vi, 275) is a monograph by Jules Fabre.

Sedan sous la Domination Allemande, 1914-1918 (Paris, Grasset, 1919) is representative of a group of narratives now appearing relative to the condition of various French towns and districts under German control during the war. This volume is by P. Stéphan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Bémont, *La Mairie et la Jurade dans les Villes de la Guyenne Anglaise: La Réole* (*Annales du Midi*, January); H. Prentout, *Les États Provinciaux de Normandie* (*Journal des Savants*, March); E., Freiherr von Danckelman, *Die Bedeutung Saint Malos für die Entwicklung Frankreichs zur Kolonial- und Seemacht im 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, April, 1916); Paul Van Dyke, *Catherine de Médicis et le Duc de Nemours: une Royale Vitrioleuse* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXIII. 1);

A. Mater, *L'Histoire Juridique de la Révolution* (Annales Révolutionnaires, July–September); A. Mathiez, *Le Vote du Premier Maximum, Avril–Mai 1793* (*ibid.*, May); *id.*, *L'Application du Premier Maximum, Mai–Juillet 1793* (*ibid.*, July–September); Maj. T. E. Compton, *Napoleon and the Moniteur* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, May); J. Canu, *Le Régime Électoral et l'Opinion Publique en 1814–1815* (La Révolution Française, May); É. Ollivier, *Lettres d'Exil, 1870–1874* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15, July 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The learned Catalan antiquary, Ferrán de Sagarra, is embodying the researches of a lifetime in the folio series *Sigillografia Catalana, Inventari, Descripció, i Estudi dels Segells de Catalunya* (Barcelona, Verdaguer, 1916, vol. I., pp. xxviii, 270, plates 89). The author has collected some three thousand originals or reproductions of seals of Catalonia and Roussillon from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries.

The study, prepared under the direction of Professor Altamira, by E. López-Aydllo of *El Obispo de Orense en la Regencia del Año 1810* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1918, pp. 341) is a contribution of first-rate importance for the political situation in Spain during the struggle against Napoleon. The volume contains a liberal proportion of documentary materials. Interest turns rather on military affairs in *El Marqués de la Romana, su Influencia en los Sucesos de la Galicia, 1808–1810* (Madrid, Imp. de la Revista Técnica de Infantería, 1917, pp. 101), by F. Pita Ezepelesin.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Boni, *Venezia e il Adriatico* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); I. del Lungo, *Il Guicciardini nella Nuova Autentica Edizione della "Storia d'Italia"* (*ibid.*); G. Mazzoni, *Il Quarantotto in Toscana* (*ibid.*, March 16).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

G. Gaillard has discussed what has for centuries been one of the most important fields of German interest and activity in *L'Allemagne et le Baltikum* (Paris, Chapelot, 1919, pp. 280).

The eleventh volume of W. Stein's *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1916, pp. xxxii, 900) covers the period 1486–1500.

G. Wolf devotes the second volume of his *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Reformationsgeschichte* to *Kirchliche Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1916, pp. xii, 362). The first volume of P. Wernle's *Der Evangelische Glaube nach den Hauptschriften der Reformatoren* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1918, pp. vii, 321) deals with Luther. A volume on *Luther et l'Allemagne* (Paris, Gabalda, 1918, pp. xx, 287) has been published by J. Paquier.

Hans Schulz has added two small volumes on *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. 158, 155) to the series *Hauptquellen zur Neueren Geschichte* edited by Professor E. Brandenburg.

E. Ruck has utilized the Consalvi papers in the Vatican in preparing *Die Römische Kurie und die Deutsche Kirchenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Basel, Finckh, 1917, pp. 170). J. Kissling has issued the second volume of *Der Deutsche Protestantismus, 1817-1917; eine Geschichtliche Darstellung* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1918, pp. xi, 440).

R. Goldschmit has written a *Geschichte der Badischen Verfassungs-urkunde, 1818 bis 1918* (Karlsruhe, Braun, 1918, pp. 278).

The first volume of a *Bibliographie der Sächsischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1918, pp. xii, 521) has been published by R. Bemmman.

Die Oeffentliche Meinung in Sachsen, 1864-1866 (Kammenz, Krausche, 1918, pp. viii, 256) was edited by J. Hohlfeld from the papers of H. Jordant.

Volume VI. of Treitschke's *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, has been published by Jarrold and Allen and Unwin.

It is reported from Berlin that the diary of the Emperor Frederick III. will now be edited by Eduard Engel and published by Dickmann at Halle.

Deutschlands Auswärtige Politik, 1888-1914, by Count Ernst zu Reventlow (Berlin, E. S. Mittler and Son, 1916), is marked by prepossessions now well known to the public in all lands, yet is deserving of attention.

Professor Albrecht Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Count Montgelas, and Professor Walther Schücking have been commissioned by the German government to prepare for publication a collection of documentary materials relating to the origin of the war, following up the work already done in this direction by Carl Kautsky and his wife under a previous appointment.

J. Reinke has reviewed *Die Politischen Lehren des Grossen Krieges* (Berlin, Mittler, 1918, pp. 115). Lieut.-Gen. Max Schwarte has edited a volume of ten articles by competent authorities on as many phases of *Der Weltkrieg in seiner Einwirkung auf das Deutsche Volk* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1918, pp. 521). The small volume prepared by R. Berger on *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie im Dritten Kriegsjahr* (Munich-Gladbach, Volksvereinsverlag, 1917, pp. 131) is made up largely of excerpts from the Social Democratic press.

Germany in the War and After (Macmillan, pp. 101), by Professor Vernon Kellogg, well known for his work for the Belgian Relief Com-

mission, is a very small book, but has much value as a summary of observations made by a well-placed and very intelligent American upon internal conditions in Germany, mental and economic, before and after the armistice.

Mr. Edwyn Bevan's *German Social Democracy during the War*, published in this country by E. P. Dutton and Company, presents a full survey of the part played in Germany by the Social Democrats from the outbreak of the war to the fall of Chancellor Michaelis just before the armistice.

Zur Geschichte der K.-K. Oesterreichischen Ministerien, 1861-1916 (Vienna, Prochaska, 1917, vols. I.-II., pp. xxx, 592, 504) contains the reminiscences of Alois, Freiherr von Czedik. The third volume will complete the narrative from 1904 to 1916.

J. Ruchti has attempted an account of *Die Reformaktion Oesterreich-Ungarns und Russlands in Mazedonien, 1903-1908: die Durchführung der Reformen* (Gotha, Perthes, 1918, pp. xii, 104).

In *Une Ville-Église, Genève, 1535-1907* (Paris, Perrin, 1919, 2 vols.), G. Goyau has given liberal attention to the period since Calvin, to the transition from the Calvinist régime to the present status, and to the revival of Catholicism in the city.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. H. Loeb, *Landanlage und Kirchengut im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XIII. 4); J. Rovère, *Le Développement Économique de la Bavière de 1870 à 1914* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June); F. Meda, *Giorgio von Hertling* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); E. Troeltsch, *Die Ideen von 1914* (Neue Rundschau, May, 1916); M. Fontaine, *Six Mois de Révolution en Bavière* (Mercure de France, June 1); K. Hugelmann, *Die Länderautonomie in Oesterreich* (Zeitschrift für Politik, XI. 1.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Mr. J. H. Holwerda's *Nederland's Vroegste Geschiedenis* (Amsterdam, van Looy, 1918, pp. vii, 219, and 30 plates) is a work of great importance for the prehistoric, Hallstadt, and La Tène periods as well as for the Batavian and Roman; indeed renovates that whole history.

Professor Blok has added to his two well-known volumes on the history of Leiden, *Geschiedenis eener Hollandsche Stad*, two admirable volumes on the later history of this famous city, *Eene Hollandsche Stad onder de Republiek* and *Eene Hollandsche Stad in den Nieuwen Tijd* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916, 1918, pp. viii, 440; x, 233, with maps).

Another important contribution to the history of Dutch cities is Mr. R. Bijlsma's *Rotterdams Welvaren, 1550-1650* (Nijhoff, 1918, pp. xxii, 203), constructed from municipal and notarial records.

Although, as already mentioned in these pages, the fourth series of the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, ed. Bussemaker, and the fifth series, ed. Krämer, have both been finished, a gap between the two, for the period of eclipse of the House of Orange, 1702-1747, remained. Mr. Krämer has supplied a small supplement to the fourth series (pp. xxv, 123) embracing forty-four letters mostly of the years 1743-1747, partially filling this gap.

E. de Moreau of the Society of Jesus has prepared a history of *La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain, 1636-1914* (Louvain, Fonteyn, 1918, pp. 114, 11 plates). The account of the destruction of the library is minutely detailed and is a complete exposition of German guilt.

A volume by P. Dirr deals with *Belgien als Französische Ostmark, zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges* (Berlin, Kirstein, 1917, pp. xxiii, 479).

Le Dossier Diplomatique de la Question Belge (Brussels, G. Van Oest, pp. 426) is a collection of official documents relative to the violation of Belgian neutrality, the German imputations against Belgian integrity, and like subjects, edited with comments by M. Fernand Van Langenhove, secretary of the "Bureau Documentaire Belge" at Havre.

Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove, a member of the Royal Belgian Commission of Monuments and Sites, followed the German armies from the time of their entrance into Belgium and took systematic account of the destruction and depredations committed by them on monuments and works of art in his country. The facts are set forth in *La Guerre et les Oeuvres d'Art en Belgique* (Brussels, G. Van Oest, pp. 192, with 123 illustrations of monuments, ruins, etc.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. van Vollenhoven, *Holland's International Policy* (Political Science Quarterly, June). A. van der Kerckhove (Fidelis), *La "Libre Belgique" pendant l'Occupation Allemande: Petite Histoire d'un Journal Clandestin* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Konung och Adel, ett Bidrag till Sveriges Författningshistoria under Gustav III. (Stockholm, Bonnier, 1917, pp. v, 128), is by F. Lagerroth.

F. Meffert has discussed the relations of *Das Zarische Russland und die Katholische Kirche* (Munich-Gladbach, Volksvereinsverlag, 1918, pp. 207).

Professor Paul N. Miliukov's *Le Mouvement Intellectuel Russe* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. 439), translated from the Russian, is an important study of Aksakov, Herzen, Granovski, and other writers; in the same volume is included a detailed study of the events which brought to the throne the Empress Anne.

Gen. Nicolas de Monkevitz's account of the Russian débâcle has been made available for western readers through translation by S. Persky into French with the title *La Décomposition de l'Armée Russe* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 225).

La Vérité sur les Bolchéviki (Paris, Rirachovski, 1919, pp. 144) is by Charles Dumas, a French socialist who was in Russia for fifteen months following November, 1917. He has relied on official Bolshevik sources to reveal bolshevism by its fruits and to contrast it with socialism. The character of Bolshevik rule has also been exposed by excerpts from its own press collected by Madame N. Wintsch-Maléef in the pamphlet, *Que font les Bolchéviks* (Lausanne, Association A. Herzen, 1919). *L'Enfer Bolchévik à Petrograd sous la Commune et la Terreur Rouge* (Paris, Perrin, 1919) is a journalistic survey by Robert Vaucher.

Six Weeks in Russia in 1919 (Allen and Unwin), by Mr. Arthur Ransome, recounts the experiences of six weeks spent in Petrograd and Moscow, and reproduces the statements of a number of Bolshevik leaders whom the author interviewed.

Dr. E. Privat, docent in the University of Geneva, is the author of *L'Europe et l'Odyssée de la Pologne au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1919, pp. 352), which is a history of Poland from 1815 to the time of Bismarck.

Professor C. Jireček covers the years 1371 to 1537 in the second volume of his *Geschichte der Serben* (Gotha, Perthes, 1918, pp. xvi, 288).

An English version of the *Reminiscences* of M. Take Jonesco, noticed in our last number, is to be published by Messrs. Nisbet, with an introduction by Lord Bryce. The translation will contain some additional portraits of leading personalities of the war, not included in the French *Souvenirs*.

Professor N. Basilescu of the University of Bucharest and deputy to the constituent assembly has published *La Roumanie dans la Guerre et dans la Paix* (Paris, Alcan, 1919). One volume is devoted to the war and the other to the peace problems and negotiations.

A Vindication of Greek National Policy, 1912-1917 (London, Allen and Unwin, pp. 224) is a report of speeches delivered in the Greek chamber by Venizelos, the ministers Polites and Repoules, and other statesmen, in the great debate of August 24-26, 1917, which brought Greece out upon the side of the Allies.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Daudet, *Le Règne d'Alexandre III.: Notes et Souvenirs*, II.-III. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, June 15); A. Kérensky, *L'Affaire Korniloff, Réponse Nécessaire* [to Savinkoff] (*Mercure de France*, May 16); B. Savinkoff, *L'Affaire*

Korniloff, *Réplique à M. Kérensky* (*ibid.*, June 1); J. Varat, *Le Banat Roumain* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, April 15); B. Vosnjak, *Les Origines du Royaume des Serbes, Croates, et Slovènes* (*ibid.*); C. H. Becker, *Barthold's Studien über Kalif und Sultan* (Der Islam, VI. 4); W. Bein, *Die Kapitulationen, beurteilt nach Völkerrecht und Türkischem Staatsrecht* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April, 1916); G. Deschamps, *M. Vénisélou et la Nation Grecque* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion, 1336-1551, is the subtitle of the first volume of *Die Franziskaner im Heiligen Lande* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1916, pp. xvi, 224) by Father Leonard Lemmens, O. F. M., president of the Franciscan historical establishment at Quaracchi. The third, fourth, and fifth volumes of *Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini* (Rome, Manuzio, 1917-1919, pp. xi, 437, 454, 505) by C. da Terzorio are devoted to the missions in Asiatic Turkey.

The Clarendon Press has lately reprinted Capt. Joseph D. Cunningham's standard *History of the Sikhs*, originally published in 1849.

De Ost-Indische Compagnie in Cambodja en Laos: Verzameling van Bescheiden van 1636 tot 1670 (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1918, pp. lxxviii, 463) is a collection of materials edited by H. P. N. Muller as the thirteenth volume of the publications of the Linschoten Vereeniging.

In view of an increased interest in Siberia, it may be well to mention that M. Maurice Courant's two long articles in the *Revue Historique*, for March and May of this year, on *La Sibérie Colonie Russe jusqu'à la Construction du Transsibérien*, constitute practically a book, and a very good one, on Siberian history and the "significance of the frontier".

A Source Book of Australian History (Bell) by Gwendolyn H. Swinburne is composed of contemporary accounts of the discovery, exploration, and chief events in the history of Australia, down to the Gallipoli campaign.

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

M. de Castries has resumed the publication of the *Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc* (Paris, Leroux) which has been interrupted for five years by his war services. Prior to the war three volumes for France and four for the Low Countries had appeared. Now three more are being published, a fifth for the Low Countries and the first ones of the English and Spanish series.

Dr. Arthur B. Keith's *The Belgian Congo and the Berlin Act* (Oxford University Press), written before the armistice and the framing of the covenant for the League of Nations, surveys the history of the Congo Independent State and of its transition to a Belgian colony, with an eye to the correction and amendment of the Berlin Act of 1885.

F. S. Caroselli is the author of *L'Africa nella Guerra e nella Pace d'Europa, 1911-19..* (Milan, Treves, 1918, pp. 402).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

From February to June, 1920, with a view to the preparation of an edition of the correspondence of Andrew Jackson, Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College will be attached to the staff of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in the capacity of a "research associate".

Among recent accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are an orderly book of Charles Lee, 1776; one of Nathaniel Pendleton, 1781-1782; a letter-book of the quartermaster general of the Continental army, July, 1781, to April, 1782; thirty-six miscellaneous papers of Caesar and Caesar A. Rodney; a journal of the schooner *Palladium*, Salem to St. Michael's, 1823-1824; an abstract of the journal of the brig *Ellen Maria*, on a voyage to the northwest coast of America, 1818-1820; thirty-one letters of A. J. Donelson to Andrew Jackson, 1823-1836; some 500 pages of additional Beauregard papers; and the usual inflow of transcripts from British, French, Spanish, and Mexican archives.

The Library of Congress expects to publish soon vol. IV. of its *List of Geographical Atlases*, compiled under the direction of Mr. P. L. Phillips, chief of the division of maps and charts.

A History of the People of the United States, by Waddy Thompson, comes from the press of D. C. Heath and Company.

The Library of Congress has published a comprehensive and useful *List of References on the Monroe Doctrine* (pp. 122), prepared under the direction of the chief bibliographer, Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, and embracing nearly a thousand books and articles.

The Macmillan Company have included in their series of *Pocket Classics* a collection of addresses and state papers edited by President John H. Finley, with the title *American Democracy from Washington to Wilson*. Dr. James Sullivan furnishes a preface and notes.

The July *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library opens with a bibliographical paper by Elbridge Colby on early American comedy.

In the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* Mgr. H. T. Henry examines the evidence concerning the funeral of Stephen Girard, and Rev. Thomas C. Brennan relates the Story of the Seminarians and their Relief Work during the Influenza Epidemic in 1918. The similar account of the work of the sisters is continued.

The July number of the *Journal of Negro History* has an article on the Employment of Negroes as Soldiers in the Confederate Army, by Charles H. Wesley, which much enlarges the knowledge of that subject. William L. Imes treats in excellent fashion of the Legal Status of Free Negroes and Slaves in Tennessee. The editor, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, presents a useful general account of the study of negro life and history in our schools and colleges. A strikingly interesting body of documents, fifty pages in fact, is a series of letters of negro migrants of 1916-1918, collected by Emmett J. Scott, casting much light on all phases of negro life, but especially illustrating the causes of unrest in the South.

A History of the American Negro and his Institutions, vol. I., edited by A. B. Caldwell, has been published in Atlanta by the A. B. Caldwell Publishing Company.

The Armenians in America, by M. Vartan Malcom, with an introduction by James W. Gerard and a preface by Leon Dominian, is published by the Pilgrim Press.

American Federation of Labor: History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book, prepared and published by authority of the 1916 and 1917 conventions, has come from the press (Washington, the Federation).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Macmillan Company, whose publication this autumn of Dr. Justin H. Smith's *The War with Mexico, 1846-1848*, has already been mentioned in these pages, has now taken over the publication of his preliminary volume, *The Annexation of Texas*, published in 1911.

A German presentation of one element in the foreign relations of the United States is furnished by W. Drascher in *Das Vordringen der Vereinigten Staaten im Westindischen Mittelmeergebiet: eine Studie über die Entwicklung und die Methoden des Amerikanischen Imperialismus* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1918, pp. vii, 106).

Under the title *A Quarter-century of American Politics* Hon. Champ Clark, lately speaker of the House of Representatives, presents memoirs of that portion of American political history which has passed under his observation.

The Houghton Mifflin Company are publishing this month *An Intimate Biography of Theodore Roosevelt*, by Mr. W. R. Thayer, president of the American Historical Association, and a classmate of Colonel Roosevelt.

Rand, McNally, and Company have brought out a compilation of President Wilson's addresses in Europe, to which has been given the title *America and the League of Nations*.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

General review: R. Thurnwald, *Amerika und der Krieg: Neuere und Neueste Literatur* (Zeitschrift für Politik, XI. 1).

The Story of the Rainbow Division, by Raymond S. Tompkins, with an introduction by Maj.-Gen. Charles T. Menoher, is from the press of Boni and Liveright.

A History of the Yankee Division, by Harry A. Benwell, with appreciations by Generals J. J. Pershing and C. R. Edwards and Secretary Newton D. Baker, is brought out in Boston by the Cornhill Company.

A special aspect of the American participation in the war is illustrated by *The Story of the First Gas Regiment*, by James Thayer Addison (Houghton Mifflin); the narrative relates chiefly to Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Argonne.

The hearings, before committees of the House of Representatives, on the losses of the Thirty-fifth Division during the battle of the Argonne Forest (pp. 104), are not available through the modes by which government publications are ordinarily obtained, but the historian of the War of 1917 will wish to know of their existence in print, as well as of the hearings on trials by courts-martial.

Everett T. Tomlinson, *The Story of General Pershing* (New York, Appleton, pp. xiii, 260) is a small book, written without pretensions to great military knowledge, but meets in an interesting way the natural popular desire for further details respecting the general's career.

French accounts of the participation of the United States in the Great War have been furnished by Lieutenant-Colonel Réquin in *La Course de l'Amérique à la Victoire* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1919, pp. 202), and by Lieutenant-Colonel Chambrun and Captain Marenches in *L'Armée Américaine dans le Conflit Européen* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 416). The latter gives a careful detailed account not only of the fighting but also of the organization and the work behind the lines.

(See also pp. 155-157, *supra*.)

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Some months ago the secretary of state of New Hampshire published vols. VI. and VII. of the *Laws of New Hampshire*, including public and private acts, resolves, votes, etc., and extending from 1792 to 1811.

The April serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society consists, aside from the annual reports, almost entirely of a paper on Admiral Vernon Medals, 1739-1742, by Dr. Storer, who presents a catalogue of these objects.

The chief documentary material in the *Essex Institute Historical*

Collections, vol. LV., is a Journal of Samuel Holten, M.D., while in the Continental Congress, May, 1778, to August, 1780. There is also a continuation of the Documents relating to Marblehead, 1696-1701, while Francis B. C. Bradley contributes Some Account of Steam Navigation in New England.

The Connecticut general assembly of 1919 appropriated \$10,000 to the state librarian for locating and marking the graves of all soldiers, sailors, and marines, of any of the American wars, buried within the limits of the state. It also established a department of war records, under the direction of the state librarian, to collect, classify, and index all available material relating to Connecticut's participation in the Great War.

The Connecticut Historical Society has received during the past year the correspondence of Colonel Samuel Colt of Hartford, 1830-1861, about 3500 letters, dealing with the manufacture of his repeating fire-arms and similar undertakings; an orderly book of Valley Forge, kept for a month in 1779 probably by a sergeant in Col. John Durkee's regiment; accounts, etc., of Capt. Israel Putnam, kept at Fort Edward in 1757; and various papers relating to Connecticut men in the War of 1812. The society has issued as vol. XVII. of its *Collections* the first of two volumes of *Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship*.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York State Library's *History Bulletin*, no. 12, is a monograph, by George S. Bixby, on *Peter Saily (1754-1826): a Pioneer of the Champlain Valley, with Extracts from his Diary and Letters* (pp. 94). Saily came to America in 1784, arriving in Philadelphia in May, and his diary relates something of his experiences from that time until the latter part of August. He was elected to the New York state legislature in 1803, was a member of Congress from 1805 to 1807, and from 1809 until his death was collector of the port of Plattsburg.

By a recent act of the Pennsylvania legislature the old settlement at Economy, in Beaver county, since 1824 the property of the celebrated Harmony Society, has been dedicated to public use as an historical memorial and turned over to the state historical commission to be maintained as a public park and museum.

In the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* the selections from the correspondence of Col. Clement Biddle (principally letters of Washington and Tobias Lear to Biddle) are concluded, as is also the account, by Hon. Charles I. Landis, of the Juliana Library Company in Lancaster. The letters of Thomas Rodney, contributed by Mr. Simon Gratz, are continued. Those in this issue were written in December, 1803, and January, 1804, from Mississippi Territory, of which Rodney had been appointed one of the judges. This issue

of the *Magazine* contains also letters of Joseph Hewes, Benjamin Rush, Arthur Lee, Thomas McKean, Edward Hand, and Elias Boudinot, and of Joseph Sherwood to the New Jersey Committee of Correspondence in 1766.

The July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains the addresses delivered, April 22, 1919, on the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of Pittsburgh as a borough; also some account of Pittsburgh authors, by Professor Horace A. Thayer, and the concluding study, by Mr. George A. Cribbs, of the Frontier Policy of Pennsylvania. The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has received as a gift from Mr. W. T. Beatty a volume of manuscripts of Gen. George Morgan.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Virginia State Library has brought out *A Bibliography of Virginia*, pt. III., *The Acts and the Journals of the General Assembly of the Colony, 1619-1776* (*Bulletin*, vol. XII., nos. 1, 2, pp. 71), by Earl G. Swem. The bibliography embodies all titles of the printed official documents of the colony of a legislative nature in the period covered, including those relative to the Revolutionary conventions.

In the archives section of the Virginia State Library, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson has completed nearly one-half of the 140,000 cards necessary to index the Confederate records transferred to the archives in 1918.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* continues in the April number the Preston Papers, the Letters of William Byrd, First, and the Roll of Honor of Virginians who have died in the War for Freedom.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has added 337 letters and other manuscripts to its collection of the papers of Chief Justice Walter Clark, has completed arrangements for the making of an index to *Hathaway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, and has brought together into bound volumes an additional number of its manuscripts, including especially the papers of the conventions of 1788 and 1789.

The January number of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, lately received, is chiefly occupied with one of Judge H. A. M. Smith's solid and valuable articles on the historical topography of South Carolina, treating consecutively of the seats and settlements on the north side of the Ashley River from Ashley Ferry to Dorchester. With a corresponding article for the south side of the river, which is to follow, this paper fills a gap in his series of such studies. The editor, Miss Webber, presents extracts from the journal of Mrs. Gabriel Manigault, 1754-1781, and other material for genealogical and personal history.

No. 58 of the *Bulletins* of the University of South Carolina is a *Sketch of the Life and Character of Jonathan Maxcy*, first president of that institution, and previously second president of Brown University, by J. C. Hungerpiller (pp. 56).

The principal article in the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* is an account, by the editor, of the Capture of the U. S. Steamer *Water Witch* in Ossabaw Sound, Georgia, June 2-3, 1864. There is also a brief article by Henry R. Goetschius entitled *Columbus, Georgia*, and General Henry L. Benning.

Country Life in Georgia in the Days of my Youth, is the title of a volume by Mrs. Rebecca Latimer Felton, published by the Index Printing Company of Atlanta. The volume also includes addresses delivered by Mrs. Felton before the Georgia legislature, women's organizations, etc.

WESTERN STATES

Ohio Legislative History, 1913-1917: Administrations of Governors James M. Cox, 1913-1914, Frank B. Willis, 1915-1916, James M. Cox, 1917-1918, by James K. Mercer, has been issued in Columbus by the department of state.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, in the July number, reprints from the *Trump of Fame*, the first newspaper published in the Western Reserve, an extensive body of extracts relative to Ohio in the War of 1812.

A Story of Early Toledo: Historical Facts and Incidents of the Early Days of the City and Environs, by John H. Doyle, is published in Bowling Green, Ohio, by C. S. Van Tassel.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a study, by John E. Inglehart, entitled the Coming of the English to Indiana in 1817 and their Hoosier Neighbors. There is also an account, by Harrison Cale, of the American Marines at Verdun, Château-Thierry, Bouresches, and Belleau Wood.

At the last session of the general assembly of Illinois, an appropriation of \$20,000 was made to the Illinois Historical Library for the biennial period beginning July 1, 1919, for the purpose of gathering material relating to the participation of Illinois in the War of 1917 and ultimately preparing a comprehensive historical narrative. As a result of this appropriation the board of trustees has appointed Dr. Wayne E. Stevens, recently a member of the Historical Branch of the General Staff, U. S. A., as war records secretary, with headquarters at the State House in Springfield. The State Historical Library has also assumed the responsibility of publishing a history of the Thirty-third Division, prepared by Col. Frederick L. Huidekoper, adjutant general of that division.

This was the division which included the largest proportion of Illinois men.

The principal papers in the issues for July, 1918, of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Illinois, the Land of Men, a centennial address by Edgar A. Bancroft; Illinois and Randolph County, an address by William A. Meese; and Journalism in Illinois before the Thirties, by Carl R. Miller.

To the July number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, the editor, Mr. Joseph J. Thompson, contributes no less than three of the chief articles: one on the French in Illinois, a Chapter in Illinois Finances (Oliver Pollock, Francis Vigo, and Father Gibault), and a continuation of his series of articles on the latter. Mr. Stuart Brown's article on Old Kaskaskia Days and Ways lies in the same field.

The library of the University of Michigan has arranged with the Lexington (Kentucky) Public Library to make photostatic copies of its file of the *Kentucky Gazette*, which had its beginnings in August, 1787. Seventeen institutions have subscribed for these photostatic copies.

Sketches of Tennessee's Pioneer Baptist Preachers, vol. I., by J. J. Burnett, D.D. (Nashville, Marshall and Bruce Company), is the result of some twenty-five years of research among church, family, and other local records, and of note-taking from oral sources of information. While the work consists primarily of character and life sketches of leaders of the denomination during a period of substantially 100 years (1775-1875), it is also characterized by the author as being incidentally a history of Baptist beginnings in Tennessee, with some account of the century of denominational effort and achievement in the state. The book has a distinct pioneer flavor. Many of these sketches were originally published in denominational periodicals.

A History of Saginaw County, Michigan: Historical, Commercial, Biographical, in two volumes, by James C. Mills, has been brought out in Saginaw (Seeman, Peters). There are numerous portraits and other illustrations.

The contents of the June number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* include: Cyrus Woodman: a Character Sketch, by Ellis B. Usher; the Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848, by Louise P. Kellogg; and Early Recollections of Racine, by Appleton Morgan, LL.D. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has obtained from Mr. Wingfield Watson of Burlington the loan of a file of the Voree *Herald* and the *Northern Islander*, papers published during a period of about four years, beginning in 1845, by J. J. Strang, who claimed to be the divinely ordained successor of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet. Photostatic copies will be made of these papers, which, added to the numbers already possessed

by the society, will give it 162 copies of the *Voree Herald*, out of 180 issued, and 72 copies of the *Northern Islander*, out of 90 issued. Mr. Watson has also loaned to the society, for the purpose of copying, the records of the church at Voree for the years 1844 to 1849.

Among recent acquisitions by the Minnesota Historical Society are the archives of the surveyors general of logs of Minnesota for the 1st and 2nd districts, 1854-1917. The archives of the governor's office previously received have been arranged and filed, for the period from the organization of Minnesota territory in 1849 to the close of the Civil War. Of personal manuscripts the society has received a three-volume narrative of the Civil War compiled by Col. J. C. Donahower of the 2nd Minnesota Volunteers, and a series of letters of Brig.-Gen. Le Roy Upton, commander of the 9th Infantry at Château-Thierry and the 57th Brigade in the campaign north of Verdun in 1918.

In the February number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* Professor Guy S. Ford, writing under the title *America's Fight for Public Opinion*, presents some of the most significant phases of the work of the Committee on Public Information. The *Twentieth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Historical Society (1917-1918) is issued as a supplement to this number of the *Bulletin*. The May number contains a sketch of General William Le Duc (1823-1917), by Gideon S. Ives, and a paper by Herbert C. Varney, entitled the Birth Notices of a State.

Articles in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: an Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1838-1865, by Cyril B. Upham, and the Movement of American Settlers into Wisconsin and Minnesota, by Cardinal Goodwin.

In the July number of the *Missouri Historical Review* (Columbia) the secretary of the State Historical Society, Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, presents the sixth of his miscellaneous articles on Missouri and the War. A veteran editor, E. W. Stephens, relates the interesting history of the *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, the first American newspaper published west of St. Louis, whose centennial was celebrated last spring. George A. Mahan gives a biography of Rear-Admiral Robert E. Coontz of Hannibal. R. J. Britton continues his papers on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War. The October number of the review will begin a series of reprints from the excessively rare *Shelby's Expedition to Mexico* (Civil War period).

The July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains a study of Texas Annexation Sentiment in Mississippi, 1835-1844, by James E. Winston; the résumé of a history of the Apache in the Southwest, 1846-1886, by Bertha Blount; a brief paper upon John H. Fonda's Exploration in the Southwest (1819-1824), by Cardinal Goodwin; and a translation, by Mattie Austin Hatcher, of two papers relating to Texas

in 1820, one of them being the report of Juan Antonio Padilla on the barbarous Indians of the province of Texas, the other being instructions of the constitutional ayuntamiento of the city of San Fernando de Bexar to its provincial deputy.

Charles A. Gulick, jr., is editing the papers of Gen. Mirabeau B. Lamar, second president of the Republic of Texas, for the Texas State Library. These papers are now in that library, having been purchased from Mrs. Loretta Calder, daughter of President Lamar, some years ago.

Mr. Benjamin M. Read of Santa Fe prints and publishes a pamphlet of eighteen pages entitled *A Treatise on the Disputed Points of the History of New Mexico*.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for July has papers by J. A. Meyers on the half-breed fur-trader Jacques Raphael Finlay, on Reindeer in Alaska by C. L. Andrews, a continuation of Professor Meany's account of the origin of geographic names in the state, and a portion (March to September, 1849) of the journal kept at Fort Nisqually.

The Negro Trail Blazers of California, by Delilan L. Beasley, is described as a compilation from records in the Bancroft library at the University of California, and from diaries, papers, and conversations of California pioneers (Los Angeles, the author).

CANADA

The Historical Section of the Canadian General Staff has in preparation a *History of the Organization, Development, and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763, to the Present Time*. Vol. I., which has just appeared, contains two chapters, the first of which is devoted to a rapid historical survey of the Local Forces of New France from the founding of the colony to 1763; the second chapter deals with the Militia of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1765, and is accompanied by some ninety illustrative documents.

Naturally retarded by the war, the excellent *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, edited by Messrs. G. M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. S. Wallace, and published by the University of Toronto, now combines in one volume (vol. XXII., pp. 203) the product of two years, 1917 and 1918. It is evident that less Canadian history was published in Canada than during most periods of two years in the time preceding the war, but that the national zeal for Canadian history continues unabated. The reviews in the volume have the careful and competent quality which marked its predecessors.

The largest attempt at a prompt Canadian war history is *Canada in the Great World War*, to be written by various authorities and published in six volumes. The first (Toronto, Morang, pp. viii, 380), by Messrs.

E. J. Chambers, L. J. Burpee, T. G. Marquis, and Charles Hanbury-Williams, is devoted to the military history of Canada from 1608 to the declaration of war against Germany in 1914.

The third volume of *Canada in France* (Toronto, Hodder and Stoughton, 1918, pp. xiv, 144) is not, like its predecessors, written by Lord Beaverbrook, but by Maj. Charles G. D. Roberts. The volume deals with the period from the arrival in France of the Fourth Canadian Division, in August, 1916, to the end of the fighting on the Somme in the late autumn of that year, and is of course well written.

Volume XIX. of the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society (Halifax, 1918, pp. xxiii, 128) contains biographies of Hon. John William Ritchie, first president of the society, and of Samuel Cunard, founder of the Cunard Line, and a valuable paper on the early post office in Nova Scotia, 1733-1867, by Mr. William Smith of the Public Archives of Canada.

Mr. E. O. S. Scholefield, archivist of British Columbia, has edited and published the *Minutes of the Council of Vancouver Island, 1851-1861* (Victoria, the King's Printer, 1918, pp. 93) and the *Minutes of the House of Assembly, 1856-1858* (*ibid.*, pp. 78), the council having been the legislative authority in the colony till 1856, and the first legislative assembly having been established then.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The May number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* opens with an article on Factors in the Historical Evolution of Mexico, by Señor T. Esquivel Obregon, chiefly devoted to the explanation of present conditions. Dr. C. H. Haring shows the historical data to be derived from the Ledgers of the Royal Treasurers in Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century. Professor Bolton presents documents on the introduction of Iturbide's rule into California. An article by Professor Herbert I. Priestley presents a great wealth of information respecting Mexican books on the recent years of revolution.

The Hispanic Society of America has brought out through G. P. Putnam's Sons *Cubans of To-day*, edited by William Belmont Parker. The volume contains some 220 brief biographies of representative living Cubans, together with portraits of 88 of them.

In no. 25 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* the leading historical matter is a Relación Geográfica y Descripción de la Provincia de Carácas y Gobernación de Venezuela, dating from 1585.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. E. Chapman, *Cortes and California* (Grizzly Bear, August); M. W. Jernegan, *Compulsory Education in the Southern Colonies* (School Review, June); L. M. Sears,

Jefferson and the Law of Nations (American Political Science Review, August); V. P. Squires, *Joel Barlow: Patriot, Democrat, and Man of Letters* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, July); W. R. Thayer, *Chapters of Roosevelt's Life: the President and the Kaiser* (North American Review, July); E. Schulze, *Die Tatsächliche Grösse der Kriegslieferungen der Vereinigten Staaten* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXIII. 1); W. G. Leland, *Reconstruction in the United States* (Quarterly Review, July); Abbé A. Gosselin, *La Constitution de 1791 et le Clergé Canadien* (Le Canada Français, May, June); F. P. Renaut, *L'Organisation Constitutionnelle du Brésil* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIII. 1); Frederico Sommer, *Die Deutschen in São Paulo und in den Brasilianischen Mittelstaaten* (German American Annals, September–December, 1918); Alfredo Hartwig, *Die Politische Stellungnahme der Südamerikanischen Staaten im Weltkriege* (Deutsche Rundschau, December, 1917).

The
American Historical Review

FALLACIES IN HISTORY

NO science has come out of the Atrocious War more discredited than has psychology as taught and practised by the Germans. Until recently the world regarded it as their especial science. They printed numberless investigations into the psychology of the erotic and the neurotic, of the sane and the insane. They thought that in psychology they had the key which would easily open to them dominion over all peoples. The war proved that they were woefully mistaken; their key unlocked to them only the hidden labyrinthine springs of the German people. They thought that their policy of frightfulness would cause foreigners to give up defending themselves in their terror, and to cringe and whimper before the on-crushing Teutonic hosts. That is apparently what the Germans would have done if the situation had been reversed. But the Belgians did not cringe or whimper; the French did not lay down their arms in terror; the staunch and stolid British not only did not feel or act scared, but seemed for a long time to underrate the great peril which threatened them.

This revelation of the utter inability of German psychology to understand any other race except the German, must vitiate their psychological interpretations in history and in biography, which the German *Gelehrten* have been foisting upon us during the last half-century. This is another reason, I think, why we should be on our guard against history that has been made in Germany. Perhaps I may give this warning with more propriety, for I have protested ever since I began to write, more than thirty years ago, against the German method of writing history. I saw that any method which dehumanizes the subject—history—which should be the most human of all, because it deals entirely with human passions, and actions, and motives, and must be concrete, because men and women are not abstractions, was inevitably a wrong method. I saw, too, that the

boasted impartiality of the Germans, was in many cases pure humbug. Whether Mommsen deliberately intended in his chapters on Caesar to glorify the Prussian ideal of despotism under a single despot, that is what he actually arrived at. That von Sybel was the unblushing court historiographer of the House of Hohenzollern was too apparent to be doubted. Treitschke, intellectually the ablest of the modern German historians, and the one among them whose diabolical influence exceeded that of all the rest, was no more or less impartial than is any special pleader of the first rank, trying to befog and convince a jury. On the score of impartiality, therefore, the modern German historians did not greatly impress me; and since the war has disclosed that they, like the other professional men, the teachers, and clergy, in Germany, were simply working to Germanize the world in order to make it an easier prey for German ambition, I have felt it a duty to repudiate them. If we are to raise history to the high place in the regard of men which it should occupy, we must purge it from the corruption which the Germans inflicted upon it. They used it simply as a higher form of the deception practised by the imperial government. But, as our sole end is truth, not the deification of the Hohenzollern dynasty or the worship of Junkers, I repeat my warning: having every reason to distrust German psychology as we have seen it recently applied, we must beware of accepting the interpretation of history and biography as psychologized by modern German historians.

Psychology seems to be, indeed, a dangerous instrument to knowledge. Fascinating it is, beyond question. We might almost call it the chameleon science, because its conclusions are so subjective. Lowell wittily remarked that the reason why everybody supposes that he can find truth at the bottom of a well is that everybody sees his own face there.

A person not long ago endeavored to interpret literature as a manifestation of the Freudian Wish, and he found no difficulty in proving that Longfellow's poem, "I stood on the bridge at midnight", originated in a sexual motif of which Longfellow was unconscious. All that a sane mind can infer from such a statement is that the doctrine of the Freudian Wish is in danger of being overworked by its devotees. Our fathers took great comfort in the Sun Myth, but that too was overworked, and it seems to have scuttled away into the burrow where once fashionable theories hibernate.

In warning against modern German interpretation of history, I do not mean to imply, of course, that the thoroughness and care with which the Germans study history should be discarded. I would

insist, however, that the Germans have no monopoly over thoroughness and care. Every true historian, from Thucydides down, has wished to know the truth, and to tell it, as exactly as he could. We almost define the historian as a man with a passion for understanding an episode, or era, or historic personage, in the past. So far as the German method of study leads to the consideration of human beings as if they were chemical substances, always subject under given conditions to immutable reactions, we must be on our guard. From this fallacy has arisen the idea of the spurious science of history, and with this idea goes the assumption that men are mere soulless machines, pulled hither and thither by mechanical laws in a universe without morals.

In writing history, we shall be as scrupulously impartial as our temperament allows, and that includes not only our passion for telling the truth, but our sense of justice, and love of honesty. Many great historians have not been impartial. Carlyle and Macaulay, the chief British masters in history of the nineteenth century, were plainly unneutral; but their unneutrality was honest, it does not deceive you; indeed it may reveal the truth to you more accurately than drab, dispassionate impartiality could do. The zealot often sees more than a hostile critic can, in a creed or leader, and he feels emotions which are more important than definitions. The sort of partizanship displayed by Carlyle, or Macaulay, or Grote, being honest, has no resemblance to the deliberate attempt to deceive by veiled Prussian propaganda, and to pervert and to corrupt, not less than to deceive, of the modern German writers and teachers of history.

One of the commonest dangers which the historian runs when he attempts to interpret history, comes from the use of *a priori* arguments. Judging from the torrents of reasons which have been poured upon us of late, as to the League of Nations and as to the effects the treaty of peace will produce, one sees only too plainly that the lesson of the war, which should have taught us to beware of *a priori* arguments before everything else, has been lost on us. Consider, for a moment, the golden age of the *a priori* reasoners who flourished in the decade before the Great War. On all sides we observed warlike symptoms. In spite of suggestions and even offers from other nations, to reduce military strength and preparation, Germany brusquely refused, and not merely increased her army, but went into the business of building up a formidable navy. Officially, she showed by her swaggering threats at Agadir, and elsewhere, that she was intent on making war, and delayed only to catch

the most favorable time for beginning. Her publicists, notably General Bernhardi, issued books to influence the passions of the Pan-Germanists, and to demonstrate how easy it would be, if Germany had the will, for her to conquer the world, which was the mission assigned to her by destiny. Two wars, comparatively small in extent but terribly fierce, actually broke out in the Balkans, and yet the A-Priorists kept on singing as sweetly as the sirens their song of peace. Instead of seeing things as they were, they saw theories which they had agreed to accept as real, and which screened them from reality. These vast armaments, they said, are indeed distressing, and cause an awful burden on the peoples and a waste of resources, but the very fact of the vastness of the armies on a war footing is a guarantee of peace. The weapons and machines of destruction had been so perfected that no human armies could, or would, stand up against them. So, by a wonderful irony, the demon of war, in his attempt to make himself irresistible, had virtually made war impossible. Then too, moral and social considerations would preserve peace. The world was becoming better, with such speed that you could almost see it grow in virtue. Charities of all kinds, the desire of the rich to assist the poor, of the strong to comfort the weak, the greater concern on the part of the community to safeguard health, and diffuse pleasures, the development of the sense of mercy towards the suffering even of animals—what did this all indicate, except that the nations would never listen to the proposal to go to war? War was the negation of mercy, charity, justice, even humanity. They assured us that no monarch, no government, could be so wicked as to plunge into this crime. Modern inventions, transportation by sea or land, modern commerce, which enabled the industrial products of one country to be exchanged swiftly with those of another, modern banking and finance, which bound together the stores of capital in all parts of the world in ties so sensitive that they responded to the faintest tick of the telegraph, would veto the first whisper of war. Capital is *solidaire*, capital thrives on peace.

With such assurances, many of which we may suspect issued from German sources, the nations ought to have been lulled, and only too evidently they were lulled—to their own undoing. We lived in the best possible of worlds, in which war could never take place. Nevertheless, war came, a frightful war, an atrocious war, for which history has no parallel. I need not trace the steps which led to the convulsion, but the A-Priorists owe it to mankind to explain how they deduced inviolable peace from conditions which made war inevitable.

Old Oxenstiern's remark on the little wisdom with which the world is governed, might be matched by another on the little foresight of supposed statesmen. Is there any class of experts which displays so much ignorance on concerns of first-rate importance? If you consult an eminent lawyer or doctor, the chances are ten to one that he can give you a valid opinion. Not so the statesman. Take what would seem to be a simple test. Ask him whether war is likely to come within a given time. If he is honest and sagacious he will tell you that he does not know. How shall we qualify Lord Granville, therefore, who at the beginning of July, 1870, announced that the peace of Europe was assured, and that not the smallest threatening cloud could be seen on the horizon; and yet at that very moment Bismarck was working with might and main in order, as he said, by waving the red flag before the Gallic bull to drive him to desperation. Bismarck intended, if he could compass it, that there should be war; but even he could not state with certitude that there would be war, for he could not foresee the preposterous blunders of the French government. The dominating fact of it all was that he was ready to turn to his own advantage any blunder the French might make, and he had behind him the very powerful Prussian army, to strike with at a moment's notice. To know what he wants and to be prepared, are the two indispensable attributes of the real statesman. "If you ask me what will happen within a year, or within a month", said Cavour, in substance, "I cannot tell you; but if you ask me how I would act under any given combination of circumstances, I can tell you." Therein he differed from the doctrinaire, or the shallow observer, like Lord Granville. His saying confirms my belief that the average statesmen constitute the least trustworthy body of specialists; and as we advance in the process of democratization, we find it more difficult to foresee with reasonable clearness what antics the future will play in political affairs.

In earlier times, when the international relations among the countries were determined by monarchs, or by ministers who spoke and acted for the monarchs, it was comparatively easy to predict. England and France had a traditional policy which with occasional variations or digressions directed their mutual relations for many years. No signpost was needed to the attitude which Louis XIV. would take towards Austria. So, in the competition of cunning in which Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and the English Henry VII. engaged, we have helpful clues from knowing these respective policies. But to-day, when a parliament or a congress may upset the plans of a country, the penumbra of uncertainty has

broadened. In Congress men often support or oppose a bill for reasons which have nothing to do with the goodness or badness of the bill itself. This is one of the penalties, if you choose so to call it, of democracy; but I believe that in the long run democracy is a better instrument than unchecked autocracy for achieving the high ends of civilization. It adds evidently to the burdens of the statesman, and requires of him faculties which were never looked for in old days. Cavour, Lincoln, Roosevelt, had to persuade Congress to support their measures before they could cause those measures to be accepted by Piedmont, or by the United States. How different the task of Olivares or Richelieu, of Mazarin, or of Metternich.

These thoughts make me view with scepticism many of the assertions, and promises, and demonstrations with which we have been bombarded by the friends and enemies of the League of Nations and the treaty of peace. I hope that my scepticism is healthy and that my suspicion is warranted. But who has a right to be as certain of anything as are those persons who argue so vehemently about every item under dispute? Whatever happens must happen in the future, and we can assert no more about the future than that it some time will be the present. Imagine a drawing-master who should set his pupils to draw and paint the clouds which will form the sunset on some evening next June. This figure insists on rising before me when I listen to the conflicting prognostications. I do not wish to ridicule the habit we all have of building castles in the future. There are certain apparently fixed facts in human nature, and in geography, which we instinctively count on. The sun will rise tomorrow, the seasons will follow each other in their immemorial circuit, and with hardly noticeable variations; but we must not mistake our belief in the permanence of facts like these, for the vague, elastic, and unpredictable combinations in politics. Even a timid man of science, who shudders at any inaccurate statement, may dare to assert that water will never run up hill so long as the earth remains as we now know it; and yet there are prophets so bold that they do not hesitate to say what will be the condition in Dantzic ten years hence, or in Ragusa, or Somaliland.

I know not whether to pity or to envy those who feel their position in the universe so assured! Omniscience must be a delightful delusion for its victim, although it sometimes bores his victims. My own position, I am ashamed to say, is rather that of the spider who spins a long thread from a bough, and swings to and fro, dropping deeper and deeper trying to find bottom, or some other bough to which she may make fast the lower end of her thread. As a result

of this limitation, my scepticism increases as I listen to the champions and to the antagonists of the peace treaty and of the league.

Nevertheless, I firmly believe that there are some principles which, humanly speaking, may be considered immutable. The spirit of righteousness may take different forms in externizing itself, but it does not change. So the loyalty of man to man, friendliness to one's neighbor, self-sacrifice, are abiding elements of human nature, in the same way that iron and gold and oxygen are elements in the chemical world. If you have assembled these in your treaty or your league, nothing can prevent the dawning of the Utopian day; if you have not, you can no more attain peace than you can twist ropes of sand.

After making this confession which casts doubt on our ability to peer far into the future, shall I be charged with inconsistency when I declare that I believe history will become increasingly a vital concern not only to students, not only to intelligent amateurs who by means of a good historical work can wander up and down through the past without leaving their library, just as they can, by means of a good book of travel, explore the earth without fatigue or discomfort, from the tropics to the pole? Is it not discreditable that although we have the political records of the more forward peoples for nearly three thousand years, we have distilled from them no essential knowledge to serve beginners in statecraft? "History never repeats", you may urge; and no doubt all the elements of any event may not be repeated in a later combination, but the gist may be repeated over and over again. A liar may never tell the same lie twice, or with the same results, but it will still be possible for the person who investigates the art of lying to generalize truth from the study of particular lies.

Speaking of puzzles, I am reminded of economics and statistics; which I wish to refer to, however, with the respect to which their great service entitles them, and which an ignoramus ought always to pay to shrines of knowledge into which he has never strayed. The economists have arrived at certain conclusions concerning sumptuary laws, inflation, attempts to fix maximum and minimum scales, the observance of which ought to prevent the recurrence of economic and financial follies and disasters. The old kings of France, when they were hard up, stamped their names on pieces of leather which they forced the people to accept instead of gold and silver coins, a device which merely staved off bankruptcy. Devices equally absurd, though not exactly of the same form, have been practised in the United States in this very year. Why should not we be taught to

profit by the blunders of the past? The inhabitants of a shore where there are dangerous quicksands do not go on, generation after generation, walking into the quicksands; cannot the experience of our forerunners teach us also what to avoid in government and in politics?

Perhaps the reason why history has so seldom been respected as a guide or as a warning, is because it has so seldom laid bare the moral basis of politics. Politicians have chosen to look upon morals as having little or nothing to do with politics. In Germany they carried this notion so far that professors and parsons evolved a system which scoffed at the idea that the state had any business to consider the moral law. Whatever it decided to do was right; and the learned and pious champions of this system so far lost touch with reality that they failed to see that, while the state was an abstraction, the men who governed it were concrete human beings. And these doctrinaires flattered themselves that they had discovered the secret of *Realpolitik*, of "practical politics". But morals are to politics what the rocky bottom is to the stream which flows over it; and when history is so written that it shows not merely the frothy and often confused events that speed away on its surface, but the permanent basis, this will deserve and receive a more serious attention. Then may its generalizations carry real weight; and its truths, which are now embodied in ambiguous proverbs or fantastic folklore, will have definite validity.

Again I must disavow any purpose of advising that moral interpretations be lugged in. We will never let down the bars for those who would inject the Sunday-School-book spirit into the interpretation of history—that spirit which is thrice objectionable: first because it sets up a false world and makes believe that it is true; next because it turns those who write its books into sanctimonious deceivers; and last because it perverts the children who read the books into precocious prigs. Whoever sees life deeply, and has the talent to describe it, will not fail to reveal that it is an affair of more than surfaces; but this revelation is more likely to be made unconsciously than by deliberate intent. To set out to find a purpose is like hunting mare's nests. I remember reading a book of essays by a Shakespeare critic who wished to prove that in each of the plays Shakespeare wishes to unfold a moral design. The critic with dexterity, not to say surprising intellectual sleights, proved his case to his own satisfaction, until he came to *Othello*; he admitted that he was puzzled to justify the killing of Desdemona, for he could not find her charged with any crime that merited capital punishment. At last a beam of

light broke through his critical perplexity. Shakespeare condemned Desdemona to death because she was guilty of miscegenation! Let historians take warning; let them refrain from wedding the false standards of a spurious ethics to the truth of facts. That indeed is miscegenation worthy of death by strangling.

One fallacy which is too old to be called modern has been recently revived and employed in so many places and by so many persons that evidently those who employ it deem it efficacious in spite of its age and of its patent speciousness. We must notice it, therefore, in passing. Its mechanism is as simple as that of a popgun adapted to the use of the smallest boy. The plot, if we may dignify it by that name, runs thus: if the same thing happens to two persons, they must therefore be alike. Lately I heard a publicist of distinction in his community argue that Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, had all been outrageously abused and misjudged by their contemporaries; but time has reversed this judgment, and those three are now held in the highest honor. President Wilson is being abused and misjudged by some of his contemporaries; therefore he and Washington and Lincoln are alike, and equal.

Those of us who will not be alive fifty years hence cannot tell what time's immunity bath may do to Mr. Wilson's fame; but while we live we can at least protest against such silly logic, and laugh as we protest. Put it in another form: the lion and the adder have each two eyes; therefore the lion and the adder are similar. Two men rowing in the same canoe are upset and drowned; therefore both have red hair. But why should we be surprised that logic too has gone into the melting pot, in our era of convulsions? Has not everything else? The standards of music, and poetry, and painting, began to crumble years before the war; the ideals of justice, humanity, and righteousness have been thrown overboard, and Bolshevism has been openly preached in this country, and, shame to say, perverted professors and degenerate intellectuals have been its prophets. The gigantic, primeval beast has sloughed off humanity, as a snake sloughs its skin, and we have the aboriginal ego, the remorseless and insatiate self, a creature of claws and fangs and coils, which denies God and right and law, and seeks only the gratification of its lusts and cruelties.

Amid such a dissolution why should logic be spared? Logic is the system of thinking which, in the course of many ages, has been evolved by reasoning men. If you throw it over, you have no common meeting-ground with those who still reason. Logic binds the minds of men together in their processes of thought. It unites ra-

tional thinkers to-day with the thinkers of all the past, and all of its products and ideals. The Bolshevik has voted to abolish God; he might as well abolish the multiplication table, or the binomial theorem about which he hardly knows more than about God. Whirling words unchecked by reason cost nothing, and they create nothing, unless it be chaos. Universal law, which they supposed they had abolished, underlies chaos itself, and will bring back order. Logic, too, refuses to be destroyed; can you destroy the law of gravity, which causes the acorn to drop from the oak, or the cone from the hemlock?

Should not historians, therefore, whose domain is the past, regard themselves as dedicated to defend those great facts and attributes in human nature which have been manifested in the past, and become, so far as we can say this of anything human, permanent? I do not mean fashions in creed, or politics, or society, or art; we may look upon these as we might look upon the voyages of ships to different ports, but the laws of navigation by which each ship steers are the same. So let us resolutely stand by logic and repel every attempt upon it. The instance which I have cited, in which by using false logic President Wilson was raised to the same level as Washington and Lincoln, shows the power of the unthinking to mislead, and of the designing to deceive. President Wilson may be equal or superior to both Washington and Lincoln, but not on the grounds alleged; and it must seriously impair the intelligence of the American people if they are allowed to suppose that such arguments deserve credence.

I shall close this list of fallacies by referring to the prediction which has lately been made that history proper will soon cease to be written or read. Estimable scholars, recognized professionals in the field of history, hold this opinion, and yet I cannot help believing that they are the victims of a fallacy. We shall have, they say, special histories of politics, of society, of finance, of industry, of crimes, of religion, of transportation, and of all the other aspects of life, but there will be no attempt to consider a people, or a nation, as a separate entity having a continuous life of its own. Is this not like saying that there will be no more anatomy, no more study of the human body with the interplay and co-ordination of its various parts and functions, but only a minute investigation of each of those separate parts? Instead of "Anatomy", the titles of monographs will read "Pylorus", "Thyroid Gland", "Clavicle", and each vertebra of the backbone will have its special volume. Do you think this likely? And if it were likely, would it be desirable? If you lop

off all branches of a tree, and, after studying each branch, you study each twig, should you really know the whole tree, having failed to examine its trunk? I think not.

I hold, therefore, that history proper will endure as long as nations and tribes lead a collective life through which runs what we may call a common, consecutive, public plot. From this as a centre may radiate as many separate functions and interests as you choose, and each may have its special chronicles. One who thinks otherwise, and predicts that history will soon be dispersed and lost in its elements, is like one who should devote his life to studying the mouse, and should declare that the order of mammals might be regarded as non-existent.

Having seen through this fallacy, also, we shall not allow ourselves to be entrapped by it.

Thus I have touched on several matters suggested, or made directly pertinent by the recent war, and concerning more or less nearly the relation of history to life. I have attempted throughout to look at the historian broadly and generously, measuring his scope by the reach of his ideals. I do not wish to imply the slightest disparagement to those students and practitioners of history who limit their task to the scrutiny of some minute subject. That, too, is worth while when the tiller makes the plot which he cultivates so much his own, so firm and completely investigated, that nobody can shake his hold on it, and that everybody who follows him can count upon it as an established fact.

But, as ideas are above facts, so interpretation is above information. We must not only catalogue the impressions and events which flow in unending sequence over our consciousness, we must try to discover the meaning of the stream. Even the most rigid agnostic, for whom every path vanishes in the unknowable, sees at least far enough to frame for himself a creed which will serve to guide him through the mazes of the knowable—the actual and known existence which conditions our daily lives. Socrates, too, had his unknowable, but like the wise man he was, it neither discouraged nor frightened him. “If our ship sinks on the ocean of life”, he said, “we must build us a raft, and drift on over the waters, as best we may, but with courage unabated.” Not less valiant, certainly, should be the spirit of historians.

The interpretation I have in mind, will not be quickly found and cheap; it will not be partizan special pleading, under disguise; it will not be Protestant or Roman Catholic, Mohammedan or Jew. Directly or indirectly, it will give tidings of the mysterious life from

which we all spring. As historians grow more subtle they will see more clearly the subtlety of life, and their histories will be more subtle. In our efforts during the past half-century to attain precision and impartiality, two indispensable qualities in every history worthy of the name, we have overlooked other qualities needed in any perfect work. For a while we were told with much stubborn assertion, that it makes no matter how a man writes, or how he presents his facts; if readers can discover all the facts in the historian's dump, his end was achieved. From this came the epigram: "If a book of history is interesting, it is not history." This doctrine of muddle, or slovenly writing, condemns itself, and though some still practise it, none praise it. Speech being the instrument through which human beings exchange thoughts, does anyone maintain that he speaks best who stammers most?

Let "Hospitality" be written over the gate which opens on our great domain of history. Let every worker, if he be earnest and true, be held in honor, and let each work according to his talents and his choice. There must be distinctions—what is life but an unending series of distinctions—there must be great and small, but identity in purpose will bring all into a common equality of friendship.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

GENOESE TRADE WITH SYRIA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

THE economic significance of the medieval Italian cities has received less attention from historians than it has deserved, perhaps because their political and artistic importance has been so striking. But the bonds of medievalism were material as well as spiritual. Life in the later Middle Ages was freer and richer not only because the spiritual bonds were being shattered but because physically men were more comfortable; because the new tastes could the more easily be gratified through the possession of greater material means. In the increasing interchange of commodities throughout the Mediterranean that assisted so much in this transformation of the Middle Ages, Florence, Venice, and Genoa played the dominant rôles. The first two, as centres of medieval civilization and trade, have justifiably received the greatest attention; with them Genoa failed to compete in any but the commercial field. The Genoese have not thought deeply nor built grandly. They never achieved the political coherence of Venice or the solid native industrial foundation of Florentine life. Yet in commercial and colonial exploitation no shore of the Mediterranean escaped Genoese influence, and in a large measure the peoples on its western shores for centuries were dependent on the Genoese merchants for most luxuries and many necessities. To the historian, moreover, Genoa should be particularly interesting, because the preservation of the archival records has been so nearly complete from the twelfth to the sixteenth century that the economic phenomena of the changing world can best be observed there in fine detail.

Perhaps never since the ancient Phoenicians has a people been so exclusively maritime as the Genoese. About them on the east and north, behind them as it were, rose a mountain-wall as an obstacle to landward growth. To the south lay the whole Mediterranean, a field of activity promising the richest rewards, limited only by their own energy and perseverance. The physical situation predestined them to a maritime career. Their restless activity made that sea their own, not indisputably, but upon it no rival could with impunity disregard their will. With admirable restraint they extended their hegemony over Liguria but only within the safest of limits, so that no rival to sea power might arise near by. To the maritime and

mercantile motive all the hard strength of the folk was directed; even the factional rivalries that ravaged the internal life as in no other medieval Italian city, were hushed when the sea power was threatened, when the nerves of the commune, its commerce, were assailed, or when some great maritime enterprise was in prospect.¹ It is not the purpose of this paper to trace this spirit throughout its course but to treat the period in which it first reached self-consciousness, looked into the future, formulated a plan, tried various experiments, with different degrees of success, and at last entered upon its own. The time roughly was the twelfth century, from the beginning of the Crusades to the capture of Constantinople by the men of the Fourth Crusade. The field was the whole Mediterranean, and the great success came in Syria. Within that period the commune was born, tried its strength, and at the close began its greater career.

All the foundations of Genoa's later triumphs were laid in the twelfth century. Once a Roman *municipium*, long under Byzantine rule, reduced by the Lombards in the seventh century to a defenseless village, pillaged again and again by the Saracens in the ninth and tenth, it was not until the eleventh century that the city was free and strong enough, in momentary alliance with Pisa, to attack the Saracens with some success, to dispute with her occasional ally their respective rights in Sardinia and Corsica,² and to look far afield for the realization of her destiny. As early as 1087-1093 the Genoese dreamed of conquests in Africa and Spain,³ but the strife of internal factions, grappling for the control of the government, then just escaping from the feudal domination of the Ligurian margraves, was not stilled until Urban II. gave the summons to the Crusade. The Genoese heard that call which so stirred Christendom and seized upon it as a means toward unity and power. At once they were launched on a career in the Levant that was to make their city the great emporium of the western Mediterranean, a point of exchange between East and West for many centuries.⁴

¹ E. Heyck, *Genua und seine Marine im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge* (Innsbruck, 1886), pp. 1-4.

² H. J. Sieveking, "Genueser Finanzwesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Casa di S. Giorgio", in *Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen der Badischen Hochschulen*, I. 3 (Freiburg i. B., 1898), pp. 1-2; A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich, 1906), pp. 63-64.

³ *Annales Iannenses*, in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia pubblicate dall' Istituto Storico Italiano*, vols. XI., XII. (Rome, 1890), I. 13.

⁴ The belief in a thriving Genoese trade in the Levant previous to the First Crusade, founded almost entirely on fable and forgery, has persisted curiously. See W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age* (Leipzig, 1885),

In view of the lack of locally manufactured goods of high value, of the failure to produce sufficient food and materials for home consumption, Genoese trade could only be built upon profits gained from rare products of the Levant, the need of which throughout the West would furnish the economic force necessary to the attainment, first of independence, secondly of economic predominance. To this end the full strength of the people was directed, ignorant as they were of the economic law behind their efforts. To accomplish their object several things were essential. First of all political independence, primarily of the margraves, secondarily of the Empire; this was achieved in 1162. Next, the unquestioned leadership of the Ligurian coast, and control of the passes into Lombardy; this also Barbarossa recognized long after it had been usurped. Thirdly, the acquisition and retention of varied, numerous markets in the West; this necessity was the basic cause of the Pisan wars which have seemed to be the central thread of early Genoese history. That warfare persisted intermittently for nearly two centuries, but it was only a single feature of the general plan, the constant expression of an idea frequently disclosed in other ways. The crushing of Ligurian independence, the shrewd diplomacy that won the markets of southern France and northern Africa, the bold daring that sought a permanent foothold in Moslem Spain by the conquest of Almería and Tortosa, the attempt to erect a Sardinian puppet king, the haunting dream of the mastery of Sicily—all these were but expressions of the attempt to fulfill their economic destiny by securing the western complement to their Levantine prizes, not the futile struggles of unreasonable hatred and political incompetence.

From the religious and romantic impulse with which the Crusades began, the Genoese apparently were so free that to them the Crusaders were merely men to be carried to the East "*certo naulo*", maintained there by Genoese aid, in return for rewards and privileges of deep import.⁵ It would almost seem that to them, as later to the Venetians, the Crusade was a matter of indifference except as it affected their material prosperity. A foothold somewhere in the Levant was absolutely essential to their mercantile life; in Constantinople, despite mighty efforts, they were unsuccessful, outstripped

I. 124; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 65; C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1901), II. 422. The only basis for assuming a Genoese connection with the Levant earlier than the Crusade, is that Caffaro the annalist, a participant in the First Crusade, accepts the possibility of a Genoese ship having gone to Alexandria some time earlier. *Liberatio Orientis*, in *Fonti*, XI. 99.

⁵ Heyck, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

by the Venetians;⁶ in Alexandria their trade prospered periodically as circumstances over which they had little control allowed.⁷ In Syria their foothold was secure, not so assured as to be free from interruptions, caused either by their over-exertion in the West, or by the misfortunes of Christian dominion in Syria, but secure enough to supply the real basis of their growing commerce. By the fall of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade the Genoese efforts were perforce concentrated in Syria, where a new epoch of commercial prosperity was opened to them. By that time the markets of the West had been acquired, and Genoa had become the leading centre of exchange west of the Adriatic. The era of experiment and transition was ended.

Viewing the century of Genoese effort from 1097 to 1205 as a whole, one may observe several distinct stages through all of which the Levantine trade runs as a dominant motive impelling the young commune to thought and activity, meeting advances and checks contingent upon the successes and failures to which it gave the impulse. The first stage, from 1097 to 1154, is characterized by the exuberance of the first enthusiasm, producing most of the main lines of later development, but closing with five years of serious economic depression, the result of over-exertion. The second stage, 1154 to 1164, is that in which the revived trade with Syria prospered in accordance with the highest expectation and enabled the Genoese to throw their commerce like a great net over all the western sea. Like the earlier period it ended in a catastrophe, owing to a mad effort in Sardinia, which threw the commune into debt, a civil war, and a long struggle with Pisa. From those disorders Genoa had not yet recovered when the Lombard wars stilled all thought of extension abroad, to be followed by the collapse of the Christian power in Syria before the strength of Saladin. With the Third Crusade, into which the Genoese plunged with their full strength, that the source of their commercial prosperity might be regained and rebuilt, began the last stage, characterized by expansive tendencies which clearly foretold the triumphs of the thirteenth century.

While the notarial archives enable us to observe details best in the second and last stages, those of greatest activity, one may say that the first stage, from 1097 to 1154, was formative, a period of political organization at home, of conquest abroad. The period begins, under the stimulus of the First Crusade, with the formation of the commune itself just before 1097—a *compagna* of all the arms-

⁶ Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 228 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

bearing men, and a body of elective consuls.⁸ In the next thirteen years Genoa sent forth six armed fleets to Syria, varying in size from two to sixty galleys.⁹ More than either Pisa or Venice, Genoa shared in the conquest and occupation of the towns along the Syrian riviera; the colonial and commercial privileges given as rewards were magnificent. Churches, warehouses, dwellings, ovens, gardens, orchards, freedom from dues, shares in the taxes, in every town of importance except Tyre, fell to their lot, with the whole town of Gibilet.¹⁰ All were granted in common to the commune and to the cathedral of San Lorenzo, whose bishop was still one of the powers in Genoa to whom the commune looked for leadership before the world and for protection at home against the remnants of the feudal powers of the margraves. These possessions were not all held permanently, for the crusading powers made promises and broke them easily, yet enough was retained of what was granted in the charters to afford the opportunity for colonial experiments and to furnish a commercial base demanding complementary efforts in the West. For that, the young commune's ambitious leaders were ready, but as events proved not always judiciously restrained.

Their operations in the West were varied but coherent. In Syria the Genoese had co-operated with the leaders of the crusaders from southern France. The friendly relations there established were continued in the West. In 1109 an advantageous commercial treaty was arranged with Bertram of St. Gilles, followed by a series of similar agreements which threw open to the Genoese the trade of Narbonne, Marseilles, and Montpellier.¹¹ Armed expeditions were sent to northern Africa; Tunis, Bougie, and Ceuta were opened to Genoese traders.¹² Fifteen years of warfare with Pisa, 1118-1133, were a costly effort, with half of Corsica and the erection of the Genoese archbishopric as the ends achieved.¹³ The subjection of the Riviera from Portovenere to Monaco was carried forward, partly by arms, partly by diplomacy. The margraves and counts of Liguria were forced to join the *compagna*. The mountain passes into Lombardy were secured, and an advantageous commercial treaty with Pavia was signed. An agreement was entered into with Lucca that

⁸ *Annales*, I. 5; Heyck, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ff.; Sievéking, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-21.

⁹ *Annales*, I. 5, 13, 14, 15, 102, 110, 112.

¹⁰ Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 133 ff.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-129.

¹¹ *Liber Jurium Reipublicae Genuensis (Historiae Patriae Monumenta)*, VII., Turin, 1854), I., nos. 12, 31, 45.

¹² *Annales*, I. 28, 29; Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 280.

¹³ M. G. Canale, *Nuova Istoria della Repubblica di Genova* (Florence, 1858), I. 108-117.

the carrying trade between Lucca and the fairs of the North might rest profitably in Genoese hands.¹⁴ The climax to this westward expansion in the search for markets came between 1146 and 1149, in Spain. Valencia was successfully penetrated by Genoese diplomacy, and attacks were made on the Saracen power in the Balearic Islands, but only as a prelude to the expedition which conquered Almería in 1147 under the leadership of the consuls themselves, and from which the booty was immense. Part of the expedition wintered in Spain, so that with further aid from Genoa and the new ally, the Count of Barcelona, a most disastrously expensive attack upon Tortosa was made.¹⁵ The resources of the commune, long overtaxed, were at last exhausted; for five years it groaned under the burden of enormous debts. The brilliant leaders who had directed a remarkable series of expansive thrusts were driven from office. Over eight thousand lire were borrowed in Piacenza.¹⁶ Incomes, castles, colonies were mortgaged for fractions of their real value.¹⁷ Five years of depression, and of failure on the part of the new consuls, ensued, until some of the former leaders were induced in 1154 to reassume the direction of the government, under popular compulsion, real or inspired, and with the archiepiscopal promise of absolution for their past mismanagement.¹⁸

In the course of the period sketched above a definite commercial policy was being formulated. The Genoese sought to make their city the staple town of the northern half of the western Mediterranean, a *mare clausum* of their own like the Adriatic of the Venetians. Ligurian ships between April and October must depart from and return to Genoa, if engaged in any but the coastal trade.¹⁹ In this way the precious trade with the East, the real basis of all their commerce, was assured to the Genoese alone. Naturally, in the search for markets, exclusive privileges were obtained by treaty as protection against Pisan competition.²⁰ Thus did the directors of Genoese affairs succeed in clearing the way for a western outlet to the products of the eastern trade.

¹⁴ G. Caro, *Die Verfassung Genuas zur Zeit des Podestat* (Strasburg, 1891), pp. 12-14; *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 47, 63, 64, 93, 188.

¹⁵ *Annales*, I. 33-36, 79-89; *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 124, 152.

¹⁶ *Annales*, I. 37-38; Sieveking, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁷ "In maxima necessitate communis". *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 135, 146, 150, 159, 162, 178, 184, 196, 197, 198, 200.

¹⁸ *Annales*, I. 37-38. For the five years of depression, 1149 to 1153, the chronicler gives no information beyond the names of the consuls.

¹⁹ *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 187; Caro, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

²⁰ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 189-192, 298-299, 312, 324.

The ten years 1154-1164 constitute the most prosperous decade commercially and in many ways the most significant politically in the history of Genoa in the twelfth century. The finances were re-organized by the group of men who were gradually restored to power after 1154. Having paid more than 15,000 lire in 1154 to the creditors of the commune, chiefly bankers of Piacenza, by 1160 the consuls had freed the city from debt.²¹ The castles, customs, mint, weights and measures, and other sources of revenue were for the most part redeemed; the consuls pledged themselves solemnly in the *Parlamentum*, or assembly of the people, not to mortgage the revenues again beyond the year of their term of office.²² New agreements were made with the Embriaco family for the administration of the Syrian colonies for twenty-nine years.²³ Barbarossa was so skillfully dealt with by the representatives of the city while the construction of the new wall was hastened, that in 1162 he not only legalized the rights of autonomy and of control over Liguria which the city had usurped, but entered into an agreement with them for the conquest of Sicily²⁴—a tempting project, the collapse of which was shortly to lead the prosperous commune once more to disaster, as in 1149.

It was in this decade that the Genoese reaped richly the first reward of their efforts in Syria and of the opening of the western markets. Six mercantile ventures were sent from Genoa to Syria in as many years,²⁵ with a total investment of over 10,000-lire in money and wares.²⁶ From Genoa the proceeds were shipped to France,

²¹ *Annales*, I. 38, 60; *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 195, 202-208.

²² *Annales*, I. 41; *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 212.

²³ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 196-198.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 236-238.

²⁵ In 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160, 1161, and 1164. E. H. Byrne, "Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century", in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXI. 132.

²⁶ This amount, 10,075 lire, is the sum of the investments for the Syrian trade given by the acts of the notary Giovanni Scriba, *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, VI., *Chartarum* II., nos. 240-1513. In making the total, only such amounts were used as are there specified for Syria. It is therefore a minimum, but undoubtedly fairly accurate since the investors were careful to stipulate the destination in most eastern enterprises. It would be futile to attempt to compute the value of this sum in modern terms. For the value and fluctuation of the Genoese lira or *libra*, of 20 uncoined soldi or 240 denarii, see C. Desimoni, "Le Prime Monete d'Argento della Zecca di Genova ed il loro Valore, 1139-1493", in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, XIX. 198. More significant for the purpose of this article is the purchasing power of the lira in the twelfth century, of which some idea is conveyed by the following illustrations. In 1158, the annual interest on 16 lire provided the food and clothing of a young boy for a year. *Chart.* II.,

Spain, the Balearics, Ceuta, Bougie, Tunis, Sicily, Salerno, Naples, Rome, Sardinia, and Corsica.²⁷ The conditions under which this wide-spread commerce was conducted are of high importance in the study of the rise to maturity of a medieval commercial city.

One of the most interesting features of the Levant trade in this decade, as I have elsewhere shown, was that at just this point the controlling interest in it was passing from the hands of the Syrians and Jews who had been the purveyors of eastern goods throughout the West for centuries, into the hands of the Genoese capitalists.²⁸ This same change must have occurred elsewhere in the course of the twelfth century, but it can only be traced in Genoa where the records for the period are fairly complete. It would seem that the small but important colony of easterners domiciled and naturalized in Genoa, familiar with all the intricacies of the trade to which the Genoese were new, continued to act as directors of the exchange after the appearance of the Genoese as traders in the wake of the Crusade, until, by the middle of the century, the Genoese were steadily pushing them aside for their own greater profit. In the decade under review this transition was just completed, and a small group of five Genoese families—della Volta, Burone, Mallone, Usodimare, and Vento, associated with whom were an able and wealthy

no. 777. Two and a half lire furnished the food of an adult man for a year. *Ibid.*, no. 679. The wages of seamen for the voyage to the Levant and return, about nine months, varied from 3½ to 5 lire; the wages of a captain for the same voyage were about 10 lire. *Chart. II.*, no. 795; Archivio di Stato di Genova, Atti del Notaio Lanfranco, Registro I., f. 59; Notaio Guglielmo Cassinese, ff. 10 v., 11. It cost 8½ lire to hire three men to calk a ship, preparatory to the eastern voyage in one instance; 13 denarii (.054 lire) a day for three men to do the same work, furnishing all the materials, in another. *Chart. II.*, no. 795; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 167. The expenses of a factor going to Syria in 1190 were estimated at one-half to one lira a month. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 91 v. The price of Saracen slaves varied from about 3 to 8 lire, according to age and sex. *Chart. II.*, nos. 294, 1005, 1051; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 45 v., 46, 60, etc.; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 86. Mules ranged in price from 4 to 15 lire. *Chart. II.*, no. 772; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 52 v., 53, 134; Not. Ignoti, f. 112 v. A mule could be hired for the journey from Genoa to Santiago di Compostella and return for 3 lire. Ferretto, *Doc. Gen. di Novi e Valle Scrivia* (Asti, 1909), I., doc. 220. A horse was worth about 12 lire. Not. Lanfr., reg. II., pt. I., f. 6 v. A hundred lire would purchase 1000 goat skins, and 150 lire a galley. Not. Ign., f. 20; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 177. The man of legal training and of noble birth sent to Syria by the Embriachi in 1200 to manage their concessions in Acre, was given a salary of about 75 lire per annum. Not. Ign., f. 160. These illustrations are interesting when compared with Schaub's estimate in 1906 that the Genoese lira was the equivalent of 20 to 24 Reichsmark. *Handelsgeschichte*, appendix.

²⁷ *Chart. II.*, *passim*.

²⁸ "Easterners in Genoa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVIII. 176-187.

Syrian, Ribaldo di Saraphia, and a Jew, Blancardo, fine types of the Syrian and Jewish merchants of the previous epoch²⁹—practically monopolized the trade with Syria. These families, represented in most cases by a single individual, so dominated the six ventures to Syria in these ten years that aside from their investments and those of the two men mentioned above, less than twenty other persons were able to invest in the trade. Of these only three invested in more than one voyage;³⁰ the others, two of whom were women and one a priest, each invested once.³¹ The sum of these scattered investments was about 2100 lire out of a total of about 10,000 lire, a fair share in appearance, but all of which was invested through the great leaders or their factors in such a manner as to contribute to the profits of the masters of the trade by reducing their operating expenses per lira.

These five families were enabled to assert and to maintain their domination over Genoa's richest trade through a combination of economic and political conditions in Genoa which throw an interesting light on twelfth-century trade.

In the stage of development which Genoa had reached by the middle of the twelfth century, money was not plentiful; dowries, purchases, and even communal loans were still being drawn in terms of articles of trade, principally spices and dye-materials from the Levant.³² These wares could only be obtained from the East by exports of gold and silver. The only classes in Genoa which had a large ready surplus for investment were: first, the landed nobility, who were able to turn their revenues from land into money by sales of their produce, or possessed the right to collect in money as well

²⁹ For the detailed careers of Saraphia and Blancardo, *ibid.*, pp. 181-184.

³⁰ Guglielmo Filardo invested in two voyages, possibly in three, mainly through the Malloni and delle Volte, and at this time he arranged a marriage for his niece with one of the Usodimare family. *Chart. II.*, nos. 457, 472, 677, 752, 822. Guglielmo Aradello made two Syrian investments through the delle Volte. *Ibid.*, nos. 424, 664. The third of these investors was Eustachio, an agent and associate of the delle Volte. *Ibid.*, nos. 441, 663, 1104. All three were of the non-noble class, and though long established in Genoa, where they were closely associated with Syrians, Jews, and Greeks, they failed to increase their wealth in this period and cannot be traced after 1164.

³¹ Five were men of the consular nobility, Grillo, Picamiglio, Elia, Nebulone, and di Castello. *Chart. II.*, nos. 468, 1110, 1113, 1504. Three were from families of later prominence, Malfiliastro, di Sauro, and Capo di Gallo. *Ibid.*, nos. 484, 487, 673. The others are all obscure, except Stabile, a non-Christian broker and confidential agent for Saraphia, the Syrian. *Ibid.*, nos. 674, 1080, 1082, 1102, 1104, 1106, 1108, 1418.

³² *Chart. II.*, *passim*. Especially interesting is the payment to the bankers of Piacenza by the commune in 1154. *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 202.

as in kind the tolls, duties, and taxes at the harbor, gates, and passes leading to the interior; and secondly, the small merchant class of the previous epoch, mainly Syrians and Jews. The landed classes were constantly increasing their property by purchases, especially in years of economic distress, from the smaller landed proprietors in Genoa and the vicinity.³³ A third class of men was beginning to appear, engaged in a smaller way in the western distribution of the wares from the Genoese market, but they were unable at this time to compete with the great capitalists in the eastern trade. The insignificant industrial class in Genoa apparently did not yet produce a surplus beyond the needs of local consumption, nor were their products such as were demanded in Syria and could be exported in exchange for the precious goods from the sale of which in the West greater wealth could be produced. This economic phenomenon, common throughout southern Europe at the beginning of the Crusades, explains why, in general, participation in the Levant trade was limited to the landed classes.

However, this does not explain how so narrow a group of families, five in number, maintained a grasp on all but twenty per cent. of the bulk of the trade. The explanation for this lies in the peculiarly favorable position occupied by the larger group of families known as Visconti, to which three of the five families above mentioned belonged either by ancient right or by marriage.³⁴ The Visconti were those families, only one of which still bore that name, who were descended from Ido *Vicecomes* of the tenth century; the *vicecomites* or *visconti* were formerly the officials of the margraves of Liguria, to whom they owed feudal allegiance in return for the enjoyment of the military and financial rights over the city and over

³³ *Chart. II., passim.*

³⁴ For the Visconti and their privileges, see Desimoni, *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, I. 113, 128 ff.; L. T. Belgrano, *ibid.*, vol. II., pt. I., p. 314, and tab. XIX. ff., in app. to pt. I.; Sieveking, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff. The Usodimari were Visconti in origin. Belgrano, tab. XXVI. Two of Ingo della Volta's daughters were married to the heads of the important Visconti families, Spinula and di Castello. *Chart. II.*, no. 349; *Annales*, I. 214. Guglielmo Burone was a brother of Ingo della Volta. Belgrano, tab. XXXIX. The Venti were associated with the *delle Volte* as collectors of the archiepiscopal revenues in the Bisagno valley, and Guglielmo Vento's son was married to the daughter of the head of the Pevere family, one of the most powerful Visconti. Belgrano, "Registrum Curiae Archiepiscopalis Januae", in *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, vol. II., pt. II., pp. 21, 24; *Chart. II.*, no. 364. The daughter of Ugo Mallone was married to a Visconti, di Castello, while Ido Mallone, more active in the Syrian trade, but whose relationship to the head of the family is not clear, was able to invest only as factor for Guglielmo Burone. *Chart. II.*, no. 799. *Ibid.*, nos. 329, 619, 923, 1013, 1115.

Liguria. These feudal rights the Visconti converted into private possessions in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries by alliance of their personal strength with the bishop and the rising communal spirit, of which the crusading expeditions were the first successful expression. The Visconti privileges consisted mainly of the right to collect the taxes and tolls, at the harbor, gates, passes, and at the city markets, important incomes in kind and in money which were hereditary among them. These incomes were apportioned among the Visconti families, on what basis is not clear. It was unquestionably owing to their membership in this privileged class that the Embriaco family had secured the administration of the Syrian colonies and the collection of colonial revenues patterned after those of the Visconti in Genoa itself; whether or not the Embriachi surrendered privileges in Genoa cannot be said.

Thus at both ends of the Syrian trade the Visconti were in a position of great influence and power, economic and political. It would be quite possible for the Visconti to afford special commercial opportunities to their relatives and adherents both in Genoa and in Syria, of such a character as to exclude those commercial rivals whom the Usodimari, delle Volte, etc., desired to shut out; just as the leading Visconti were able to abrogate the rights of certain other Visconti,³⁵ and to utilize the growing strength of the commune for the maintenance of their privileges against the margraves. That some such division of the commercial and financial opportunities had been made is further attested by the fact that the other Visconti refrained generally from engaging in the Syrian trade. Syria was left to the group led in Syria by the Embriachi, in Genoa by the delle Volte. Even the Embriachi did not actively participate in the Syrian trade as investors until toward the close of the twelfth century,³⁶ when their special rights had begun to wane and when the Visconti privileges were being generally attacked. The richest and steadiest source of supply upon which Genoese commercial prosperity was based, the trade with Syria, was in this way limited to a narrow group of feudal families, bent on maintaining their commercial supremacy through political domination in Genoa and in the colonies. The trade with Alexandria, on the other hand, although decreasing in volume as the Syrian trade increased, was open to all able to invest money abroad, for upon it the great families were not able to fasten their hold since they could not control the eastern

³⁵ *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 239.

³⁶ Between 1179 and 1200 they are found engaged in exports of cloth and money to Syria for the first time. Not. Ign., ff. 5, 160, 160 v.

end, as in Syria, through the Visconti.³⁷ In Constantinople the Genoese footing was so insecure as to afford no such opportunities.³⁸

Here lies one explanation for the growth of the political factions in Genoa in the twelfth century, factions whose deadly feuds at times of crisis threw the city into terrific disorder. The attempt to apportion a commercial and financial supremacy led to economic rivalry and to the formation of political machines for the purpose of securing control over the consular elections. It would be the aim of all the factions to develop the economic possibilities of the commune to the highest degree and to reap the chief rewards for themselves. The mass of the people would benefit from the general increase in trade, without being allowed to share equally in the most profitable branch, the Syrian trade. In the years 1154-1164 the dominant political faction was led by the man whose Syrian investments were the largest of the period—Ingo della Volta, the head of the family of that name, a man of great wealth and energy, father-in-law to the heads of two leading Visconti families. This group, which may be called the della Volta faction, had led the Spanish expeditions of 1147-1149, was driven from office as the penalty of their failure, and had been restored to consular power after the serious depressions of the years 1149-1154.³⁹ In the ten succeeding years, Ingo della Volta, whose wealth increased enormously through the Syrian trade, built

³⁷ The acts of the notary Giovanni Scriba, *Chart.* II., disclose nearly a hundred individuals engaged in the Alexandrian trade between 1156 and 1164; most of them are of families of lesser prominence, investing smaller sums, although the great families also participated. The relative importance of the two streams of trade in these years, indicative of the increasing significance of that with Syria, will be seen from the following table, compiled from the acts of Scriba. I have been unable as yet to follow the Alexandrian trade after 1164.

Anno	Syria (lire)	Alexandria (lire)
1156	545	1,871
1157	2,074	1,804
1158	2,394	1,307
1160	1,550	1,395
1161	1,988	1,770
1164	1,524	884
	10,075	9,031

³⁸ The total volume from Scriba's acts is only 2007 lire. The trade ceased completely in 1162 after the Pisan attack upon the Genoese there, except for what Stabile, and Blancardo the Jew's brother, Raimondo Capellano, were able to invest there. *Chart.* II., nos. 1468, 1469, 1506. Cf. Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 204; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

³⁹ The names of the men holding consular office in 1147-1148 do not again appear in the lists of consuls until 1154, except that of the annalist, Oberto Cancellario. After 1154 they rapidly re-established their power. See the lists of consuls in the *Annales* for each year and in Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 412 ff.

up a machine which dominated the consulship, restored the city to unusual prosperity, sent commercial embassies far and wide, asserted successfully Genoese independence of the Emperor, and in 1163 extended its influence into the ecclesiastical field through the election of Ugo della Volta as archbishop.⁴⁰ The downfall of this faction in 1164 was one of the dramatic events in Genoese twelfth-century history and was brought about, as once before, in 1150, by excessive ambition for commercial expansion, which again strained the economic resources of the commune to the breaking-point and ruined the Levantine trade for many years.

Della Volta was by tradition and experience an expansionist. One of his family on the First Crusade had shared the credit for the Genoese victories in Syria;⁴¹ he himself had been one of the chief participants in the Spanish expeditions.⁴² Between 1154 and 1164 he reached the height of his commercial and political power.⁴³ At the head of the Genoese embassy to Barbarossa in 1162, he negotiated the treaty of alliance with the Emperor for the conquest of Sicily.⁴⁴ To that project his faction sacrificed their richest trade; no voyages to the Levant were made in 1162 or 1163, and all efforts were concentrated on the Sicilian preparations. In 1164, when all was ready, Barbarossa twice postponed a decisive answer to the importunate Genoese.⁴⁵ The della Volta faction was in a precarious position: the Syrian trade had been sacrificed, the new colony in Constantinople had been destroyed by the Pisans in 1162 with great financial losses, a brief war with Pisa had resulted therefrom,⁴⁶ and now the Sicilian dream was fading. Rumblings of discontent were heard in the city. In despair they grasped wildly at a scheme for the addition of Sardinia to their commercial empire in the attempt to erect there under Genoese tutelage a kingdom from which Pisan trade should be excluded, the Genoese to be masters of the whole island with the crafty Barisone, one of the four judges who ruled the island, as king.⁴⁷ The preliminary plans and bribes were arranged in the camera of the archbishop Ugo della Volta, with Ingo and

⁴⁰ *Annales*, I. 75; Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 411.

⁴¹ *Annales*, I. 118.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I. 35, 80; Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 135.

⁴³ For the della Volta-Spinula control over the consulate, see Canale's consular lists, *op. cit.*, I. 414-415. In 1161, when Ingo's son and son-in-law were consuls, the houses and towers of their opponents were destroyed. *Annales*, I. 61.

⁴⁴ *Annales*, I. 65-66; *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 238.

⁴⁵ *Annales*, I. 157 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 67 ff.

⁴⁷ Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 168 ff.

another of the family present,⁴⁸ and were continued at the court of the Emperor in Lombardy, where Barisone's agent was seeking the crown of Sardinia. The consuls lent Barisone 4000 marks to pay the Emperor for the crown; to raise this sum they mortgaged the communal revenues and possessions at usurious rates. Barisone borrowed vast sums from individuals in Genoa. The expedition sent to Sardinia was a failure and led to a renewal of the war with Pisa. Barisone, fetched from Sardinia, was placed in the charge of the nobles to whom he was indebted, to linger in Genoa for many years as a hostage, a hopeless debtor and embarrassing guest.⁴⁹

In Genoa the anger at the della Volta faction was profound. They had grown rich in a trade in which all were not allowed to share. They had restored the commune to prosperity after the Spanish troubles for which they had been held responsible, only to involve it in elaborately expensive schemes for the conquest of Sicily and Sardinia, the failure of which had brought commercial ruin and enormous debts. In September, 1164, Marchio della Volta, consul and son of Ingo, was murdered; civil war followed and for five years absorbed all the energy of the commune.⁵⁰ The consuls dared not call the *Parlamentum* lest the people should rise in arms against them; unwilling to convoke the *Consilium*, they contemplated retention of office and of power by force, the erection of a despotism. The della Volta archbishop was at last forced to intervene; elections were held and the della Volta faction was once more overthrown. The *Consilium* decreed that consuls should never hold office longer than one year, and that on leaving office they should rank merely as private citizens. The delle Volte were ruined, their towers and houses seized, and soldiers quartered upon them. With them suffered the Venti, Buroni, Malloni, and others whose wealth had grown on the Syrian trade. Five years of civil war, and war with Pisa prolonged to 1175, nearly destroyed the Levantine commerce.⁵¹ The reconstruction of Genoese prosperity took place under other auspices and under different conditions.

In the decade of their political and commercial supremacy the families of the della Volta faction poured the revenues from their

⁴⁸ *Chart.* II., no. 1466.

⁴⁹ Canale, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁰ *Annales*, I. 168 ff.

⁵¹ No records of voyages to the Levant have been found in the archives for the years 1165-1178. The *Annales* however, I. 200, 206, 214, 229, state for the years 1166-1169, that despite the civil troubles, "naves laboratum iuverunt". Not until 1177 were peace and prosperity restored and the normal commercial life possible again. *Ibid.*, II. 11-12.

landed possessions and their shares in the feudal privileges into the Syrian trade. The profits from the sales of eastern wares in Genoa and throughout the West were in turn used to increase their investments in Syria and also their landed holdings in Genoa. They became wholesale importers and exporters operating through men of lesser rank and means. Their activities illustrate the early use alike of landed income and of feudal privileges as economic commodities, and disclose the importance of the wholesale trade as a means of making money with money, for most of them were growing richer very fast in these years. An illustration from each of the great families will make these points clear.

Ingo della Volta owned one-eighteenth of the salt monopoly; his meadows, pastures, mills, etc., in Sturla alone in 1157 were valued at 1000 lire. He regularly maintained as his agents in voyages to Syria two associates, Opizo Amico Clerico and Ingo Nocenzio. Possessed of his full confidence, they occasionally transferred portions of his capital to other factors and shipowners. As many as three subordinates were thus employed in 1160 in the distribution of Syrian wares in the West. In the absence of his regular agents abroad, della Volta used other factors going to Syria, though his arrangements with Clerico and Nocenzio were so stable and sufficient for his purposes that he seldom entered into other partnerships. The partnership with Nocenzio originally amounted to 300 lire, just previous to 1156; in 1157, della Volta's share alone was 410 lire, while in 1160 it was 689 lire in a total of 1199 lire, the largest fund of its kind in Genoa. The association with Clerico mounted from 484 lire in 1156 to 753 lire in 1160. In both cases expenses were paid and profits withdrawn at intervals according to the needs or desires of the associates. In 1160 della Volta's foreign investments, all founded on his Syrian interests, amounted to 1562 lire as compared with 623 lire in 1156. Throughout the period he supported his son Marchio, a shipowner with casual Syrian interests, in trade to Alexandria, Byzantium, and Spain, and his own agents were selling eastern wares in Sicily, Provence, and northern Africa. The elder della Volta did not noticeably increase his landed holdings, but utilized his commercial gains for political ends. His son Marchio, on the other hand, bought houses in Genoa in this period worth 379 lire and lent 200 lire in pepper to the commune. The delle Volte retrenched markedly after the negotiation of the treaty with Barbarossa in 1162 for the conquest of Sicily, where their trade had long been important. From this project, as from the ill-fated Sardinian scheme of 1164, they had doubtless expected handsome re-

turns to which their eastern profits were to be momentarily sacrificed. Marchio's murder and his father's downfall put an end for many years to the power of this family whose career in politics and commerce embraced so much of Genoese twelfth-century effort.⁵²

Second only to della Volta in the importance of his Syrian investments was Baldissonne Usodimare. He was one of della Volta's associates in the Spanish events of 1146-1149, came into political power with his faction as consul in 1154, and participated in all the negotiations with the Emperor in the following years, as in the plans for the conquest of Sicily and Sardinia. His chief interest was in the triangular trade between Genoa, Syria, and Provence. Oberto of Lucca, domiciled in Genoa, was his agent in this trade for many years. Their original partnership of 264 lire amounted to more than 750 lire in 1159-1160, and reached 950 lire in 1164, when more than 700 lire were taken to Syria by Oberto, beyond stocks in Genoa worth 240 lire and profits deducted at intervals through all these years. Not only had Usodimare's wealth greatly increased, but he had enabled a younger man as his agent to acquire means and experience sufficient to raise him to the consulship in 1182.⁵³

The career of an older man in this group of investors, Guglielmo Burone, a brother of della Volta, is interesting. He had been a youthful crusader in 1127, and sixteen years later served in Syria as Genoese legate. A slave-owner, married to a wealthy woman, he was many times consul, and co-operated with Ingo della Volta in the critical negotiations with the Emperor in 1162. His first-hand knowledge of conditions in the Levant was unique among his friends of the della Volta faction. He invested in four out of the six Syrian voyages of the decade 1154-1164, to the amount of 1233 lire, and sent lesser sums to Alexandria and Constantinople. Agents were maintained by him in Syria for two and three years at a time, while others were sent to France, Spain, Bougie, and Ceuta with the proceeds. From the profits he enlarged his holdings in Genoa regularly; in 1158 alone he bought eight houses for 250 lire. He must have suffered from the collapse of the faction in 1164, since he was so closely identified with its interests as to represent it officially in the famous reconciliation of 1170. In the same year, after forty-three years of public life and a singularly active share in the erection

⁵² The important references for Ingo are: *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 178; *Chart.* II., nos. 304, 424, 530, 955, 958, among many others. For Marchio, *Chart.* II., nos. 563, 661, 1081, 1155, 1325.

⁵³ Important references: *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 124; *Annales*, I. 37, 49, 71, 157; *Chart.* II., nos. 775, 957, 1189, 1473. Oberto di Lucca was consul in 1182, 1184, 1197. *Annales*, II. 17, 19, 71.

of Genoese power in Syria, he was one of the Genoese chosen to escort the Byzantine ambassador from Terracina to Genoa when it was vainly hoped that the Byzantine trade might be reopened—a last tribute to his knowledge of the Levant.⁵⁴

The active member of the wealthy Vento family, later important international bankers, who held the lease of the Genoese mint, shared in the salt monopoly and in the collection of taxes, was Guglielmo, many times consul and ambassador. His interests were about evenly divided between Syria and Alexandria. In 1156 he sent an agent to Syria with 300 lire; the results of this investment cannot be followed directly, since the agent apparently remained in Syria, possibly acting under the direction of Vento's grandnephew, who represented him in the Levant at this time and to whom he made remittances. As time went on he sent other sums to Syria, and factors to Sardinia, Sicily, Spain, and Africa with exports of cinnamon, pepper, and dye-woods. Year by year he bought land, mills, aqueducts, and houses in Genoa. Regarded by his family connections as financial adviser, his efforts materially increased their importance.⁵⁵

The last of the great families with Syrian connections in this period was the Malloni. In this instance the head of the family, Ansaldo, one of the old leaders of the della Volta faction,⁵⁶ took no active part in the investments in this decade at least. He may well have done so in earlier years, since of all these families the younger Malloni participated most often in the Syrian trade by journeys to the Levant. The Malloni were clearly not possessed of such great means as their friends. They were associated in trade on the one hand with Guglielmo Burone, on the other with Guglielmo Filardo, a man of lower rank than they, but of considerable means and wide knowledge of the Levant, possibly a Syrian or Jew. In both relationships the Malloni contributed the smaller amounts of capital. Ugo, son of Ansaldo Mallone, sent one son, Rubaldo, to Syria and one to Sicily as agents for himself and Filardo in 1157; Rubaldo remained in Syria for two years and soon after his return departed in the same service for two years more.⁵⁷ By the time he was in

⁵⁴ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 20, 95, 124; *Annales*, I. 28, 35, 45, 64, 65, 231, 235; *Chart.* II., nos. 293, 322, 329, 331, 355, 426, 474, 619, 668, 724, 725, 846, 882, 892, 893, 909, 923, 969, 1013, 1115. Testament of Alda, his wife, disposing of many lire, silks, jewels, and a psalter. *Ibid.*, no. 399.

⁵⁵ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 144, 150, 154, 178; *Annales*, I. 32, 36, 46-47, 65; II. 10-11; *Chart.* II., nos. 328, 347, 354, 364, 404, 471, 473, 505, 580, 584, 600, 617, 636, 740, 794, 932, 939, 940, 1085, 1093, 1098, 1102, 1219, 1354, 1355, 1375, 1410, 1436, 1500, 1502.

⁵⁶ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 124, 162, 166. He was eight times consul between 1133 and 1159, and legate to Byzantium in 1164. *Annales*, I. 167.

⁵⁷ *Chart.* II., nos. 457, 486, 792, 822.

Genoa again, the della Volta catastrophe had occurred, so it is impossible to trace his fortunes. Another young member of the family, Ido, in partnership with Burone achieved more evident success. In 1156 he first went to the Levant for Burone, to be absent two years. Soon after his reappearance in Genoa in 1158 he set forth again for a similar period of trading in Syria and northern Africa. With the proceeds of this voyage he went to France in January, 1161, laden with eastern cloth and cinnamon; by August he was once more in Genoa, where a renewed partnership with Burone for a third voyage to Syria and a commission to collect a debt owed to Conrad of Chiavari by the King of Jerusalem, furnished him with the means for his most prosperous venture. In five years his investment in this trade had increased from 134½ to 488 lire, aside from his expenses abroad for the whole period. Then he too is swallowed up in the collapse of 1164 and is heard of no more in the records until the house of his son was destroyed by the commune, and the gold, silver, and jewels therein confiscated, in 1196, in punishment of an attempt to violate the trade laws.⁵⁸

It is evident from what has been said above that none of the great Genoese capitalists, and only occasionally their sons or nephews, went to Syria in a mercantile capacity. For the most part the actual operations were conducted by an interesting class of professional factors or agents, men with first-hand knowledge of the East, its customs and tongues, upon whom the great families were dependent for skill and guidance. Some of these agents were undoubtedly Syrians and Jews; others were foreigners domiciled in Genoa, whose names and associates suggest the existence of a considerable colony of skilled traders, such as had previously furnished the commercial link between East and West.⁵⁹ Some were itinerant peddlers who flit across the scene but once in a decade. Many were Genoese engaged in mastering the details of the trade, acquiring wealth through their associations with the landed capitalists, making frequent trips, and slowly building up a middle class of the pure merchant type. Considerable wealth was acquired by some of these factors in this period. An agent of the della Volta family, Ingo Nocenzio, is a good example. Nocenzio made at least two voyages to Syria, spent several years there, and also directed for della Volta the sale in the West of the imports from Syria. His trade capital increased tenfold in these prosperous years, quite aside from such profits and

⁵⁸ *Chart. II.*, nos. 329, 619, 914, 915, 923, 1013, 1108, 1115; *Annales*, II. 61.

⁵⁹ "Easterners in Genoa", *loc. cit.* Maiomono, Merlo of Lucca, Ugo di Pavia, Suplicio di Verdun, Ogerio Ascherio Aguxino, etc. *Chart. II.*, nos. 1108, 907, 1102, 1499, 441.

expenses as were paid to him in the meantime.⁶⁰ Oberto of Lucca's original investment of 86 lire with Usodimare in ten years increased to more than 300 lire, though he had withdrawn 383 lire in profits.⁶¹ Alvernacio, a skipper and factor in Genoa for short intervals between his Levantine voyages, had 75 lire invested in a ship in 1156. By 1164 he owned a mill in Genoa, land on the water-front, and paid a dowry of 140 lire for his daughter, a handsome *dot* in that age.⁶² The methods by which the Syrian, Ribaldo di Saraphia, built up a capital fund of more than 700 lire in the Syrian trade, through his personal knowledge of Syria and his shrewdness as an administrator of the estates of minors, I have elsewhere described in detail, as also the career of Blancardo the Jew, second only to Ingo della Volta in capital invested abroad.⁶³ Often enough, on the other hand, the factors depart for Syria, are heard of no more in Genoa, but remain in the East as Genoese colonists. It is probable that many of them took this way of earning their passage eastward and enough to begin life there in a congenial field.

Between the collapse of 1164 and the Third Crusade in 1187, the Syrian trade must have suffered severely.⁶⁴ The debts incurred in 1164, the resultant taxation, the war with Pisa, the disturbances created by the strife between the Emperor and the Lombard League—all were made more difficult to meet by the terrible struggle between factions for the control of the government and by the gathering wrath of the wider ranks of the landed and trading classes.⁶⁵ In the course of these troubles it was only with difficulty that control of the Syrian colonies was maintained.⁶⁶ No sooner was financial and political order partially restored than the successes of Saladin wiped out the Genoese colonies in the Christian disasters in Syria.

⁶⁰ *Chart. II.*, nos. 359, 424-425, 790, 805, 955, 963, 1364-1365, 1406, 1412. Sibilis, *née* Nocenzio, in 1156 made a will leaving handsome bequests, and making Saraphia the Syrian her executor instead of her husband, suggesting a possible Syrian origin of the family. *Ibid.*, no. 283. In 1191 Rogerio Nocenzio sent 402 lire to Syria; his widow Mabilia in 1203 was still interested in the trade. Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53, 212. With patience and time the careers of dozens of these factors and their families can be followed for generations. The accumulation of a mass of such material will throw valuable light on the social changes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

⁶¹ See above, note 53.

⁶² *Chart. II.*, nos. 345, 359, 955, 1149, 1398.

⁶³ "Easterners in Genoa", *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ The archives disclose records of voyages in 1179, 1182, 1184, 1186. Not. Ign., ff. 3, 6, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 1, 130 ff., 95 ff.

⁶⁵ Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 191 ff.

⁶⁶ Letters of Alexander III. and Urban III. on behalf of the Genoese in Syria. *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 320-322, 345-356.

The permanent downfall of the Christian power in Syria would have spelled the ruin of Genoese prosperity. All the force of the Genoese leaders was thrown into the Third Crusade,⁶⁷ and from the rebuilding of the crusaders' states the Genoese profited richly through concessions more liberal than before.⁶⁸ But in these eventful years great changes become visible in Genoa. The absence of the former leaders on the Crusade was utilized by the wider ranks of the nobility to overthrow the consulate in 1190 in favor of a Podestà who should govern in the communal spirit, not in the interest of a faction.⁶⁹ In Syria the new charters to the Genoese were drawn in the name of the commune alone, not in that of the archbishop and commune. Although the Embriachi were allowed to continue as administrators of the Syrian possessions, they were supervised by consuls and *vicecomites* resident in Syria, appointed by the home government.⁷⁰ As early as 1168, foreseeing the possible trend of events after the quasi-revolution of 1164, the Embriachi had solemnly declared the trade of Gibilet, probably of the other colonies, free to all Genoese citizens, and also to all residents of the entire archbishopric.⁷¹ They were ready to meet the demands of the commune that the Syrian trade should be free, if they might be allowed to remain in control of the colonies even under supervision.

In the Podestà the people had a leader in the fight against feudal and commercial privilege. The feudal families, engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain their political grasp, led now by the son-in-law of Ingo della Volta, Fulco di Castello, were forced to sacrifice their trading interests. Except when departing for Syria in the large crusading expeditions, they were henceforth not often able to participate in the Syrian investments.⁷² The great bulk of

⁶⁷ *Annales*, I. 29, 30-31, 32-33, 36.

⁶⁸ Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 310 ff.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff.

⁶⁹ *Annales*, I. 33, 36-37; Caro, *Verfassung Genuas*, p. 33 ff.; Heyck, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷⁰ Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 332-333.

⁷¹ *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 256.

⁷² The delle Volte invested only three times—in 1186 (amounts illegible), 1191 (23 lire), 1205 (50 lire). Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 57, 273 v. Adalesia, widow of Simone Vento, sent 50 lire in 1205. Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 250. Mallone investments, as a half-century previously, carried by younger members, not by other factors, are found in 1190 in amounts indeterminable, while in 1205 four members of the family sent 247 lire, by a fifth. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 93 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 258, 267, 270. The di Castelli, so closely identified with the delle Volte, sent amounts varying from 50 to 334 lire. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 95; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 55, 212, 224, 269. The Embriachi, for the first time active investors, take or send sums of from 100 to 460 lire. Not. Ign., ff. 3, 160, 160 v., 161; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 99. A single investment of the Buroni in 1190,

this rich trade passed into the hands of all Genoese with means to invest, regardless of rank or privilege. This significant change, first seen in the Embriaco agreement of 1168, is clearly visible in 1179 in the first voyage on record after the troubles begun in 1164, and is strikingly evident in all the voyages from that time on, particularly after the revolution of 1190. Hundreds of new names appear in the contracts—names of dozens of families of the lesser nobility, of scores of individuals whose status cannot now be fixed, men from the Ligurian riviera, from Lombardy and elsewhere, immigrants to Genoa, the founders of a new industrial life.⁷³ The deep social significance of this opportunity for the increase of wealth among the masses of the people was not fully felt until a half-century later when the masses rose in strength against the aristocracy as a whole.⁷⁴

It is not entirely possible to trace year by year the growth of the trade in the period from 1179 to 1206. Yet some comparisons with the earlier epoch will disclose the important changes. The total volume of the Syrian trade conducted in six voyages between 1156 and 1164 was slightly more than 10,000 lire. In single years of prosperity and peace in the later period, the yearly average for 1156–1164 was frequently surpassed, and in two instances the total for 1156–1164 was nearly reached in a single year: in 1191 the sum of two ventures, spring and fall, was 6900 lire, and for a single venture in 1205 the amount involved was 8000 lire.⁷⁵ In the earlier period four or five factors went to Syria on each voyage, representing barely more than a score of individual investments of the great families. For the autumn voyage of 1191 thirty-seven contracts involving over eighty individuals survive; for the autumn voyage of 1203 there are eighty contracts representing the interests of about two hundred investors. The largest venture of all, in the spring of 1205, is cov-

the amount unknown, completes the list of the old group, with the Usodimari missing. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 58. These figures are not quite complete, since some of the photographs sent me since 1914 are defective; other photographs of documents noted in 1914 have failed to arrive. Moreover, there may be a few documents dated between 1179 and 1205 in the records of other notaries which I have not been able to examine as yet. Even so, the point is clear that the old families had lost their control of the trade.

⁷³ It is impossible here to give any evidence of the sweeping character of this change without citing long lists of names. Only eventual publication of all the Syrian documents can make it clear to readers unfamiliar with Genoese families of the Middle Ages.

⁷⁴ Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer, 1257–1311* (Halle, 1895), ch. I.

⁷⁵ These are the totals for these years from the acts of Not. Gugl. Cass. They are the minima for reasons given above in note 72. The difficulties there cited forbid an estimate at present of the total volume for the later period.

ered by 132 contracts containing the names of over three hundred participants.⁷⁶ Sixteen voyages are recorded between 1179 and 1205; in 1191 and 1201 voyages took place both in the spring and autumn.⁷⁷ The fleets of three or four ships required for the trade were regularly met on the return voyage, laden as they were with the precious wares upon which Genoese trade for another year must largely depend, by armed galleys sent to convoy them homeward from as far east as Crete.⁷⁸ In the great ventures men and women, the latter in ever-increasing numbers, from every rank in society were interested. Even the sailors about to depart on the Syrian voyage invested therein the half of their wages for the journey, the portion customarily paid them in Genoa before departure.⁷⁹ The revenues of the commune from the returning merchants and their goods were so reckoned upon by the government that, in 1201, 450 lire were borrowed for the equipment of the navy, to be repaid eleven days after the arrival of the fleet from the Levant.⁸⁰ These are some of the evidences of the growing significance of the trade to the Genoese at large, of the economic shift that led to the popular uprisings of the thirteenth century.

In some ways the most striking contrast between the conditions surrounding the trade in the middle and in the last quarter of the century is the greater facility with which it was conducted. The later dates on which the fleets found it necessary to leave Genoa in order to reach Syria in time for the Christmas festivities suggest improvements in ships and navigation.⁸¹ The wider latitude of movement and judgment, especially in loaning money in Syria, allowed the factors by their associates in Genoa, discloses increased trust in the ability of the agents and greater knowledge of the opportunities of the trade. Much earlier than has heretofore been supposed, the Genoese penetrated the rich markets of the interior, Aleppo and Damascus; by 1203 the factors were regularly permitted and directed to send or carry the investments through the Syrian riviera by sea or by land as far as Aleppo and Damascus.⁸² The factors often

⁷⁶ Anno 1191, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 35, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 52-58; anno 1203, *ibid.*, ff. 195-225; anno 1205, *ibid.*, ff. 242-273.

⁷⁷ "Commercial Contracts", p. 132, note 1.

⁷⁸ *Annales*, II. 77, 79, 80, 91, 96.

⁷⁹ "Commercial Contracts", p. 150.

⁸⁰ Not. Ign., f. 192.

⁸¹ The date of departure can always be fixed within a day or two from the notaries' books. "Commercial Contracts", p. 132, note 2.

⁸² For example, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 201, 207, 225, 267, etc. Cf. Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 176-177, and Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215, where the dates are placed later in the thirteenth century for the Pisans and Venetians, and no mention made of the Genoese.

spent long periods in the East,⁸³ some permanently as colonists, others long enough to return to Genoa with Syrian appellations.⁸⁴ To these agents, sons, nephews, Orientalş, goods and money were consigned, at times in response to orders; from them goods and profits were received in Genoa by consignment without their accompanying the shipment. To them letters were sent from Genoa directing their movements and investments in accordance with the demands of the western markets.⁸⁵ Youths were taken by more experienced men to learn the trade in detail.⁸⁶

The improved conditions of trade and the freer participation therein by the masses of the people, toward the close of the period under discussion, are excellently illustrated by the displacement of the rigid form of partnership known as the *societas maris* by the much more flexible *accommodatio*, as I have elsewhere shown in detail.⁸⁷ Another form of investment, the amplified use of which stands forth as evidence of the expansion of the trade, of its increasing security as a means of using capital for speculative purposes, was the medieval variations of the ancient *foenus nauticum* or sea-loan.⁸⁸ The sea-loan was in fairly common use in the Genoese trade in the West in the middle of the century and in the Alexandrian trade, but in the Syrian trade only five instances are found in the decade 1154-1164.⁸⁹ In the later period it was frequently utilized for many purposes—making remittances to agents in Syria, raising money on goods to be exported and given as security for the loan, on stock owned in vessels, and as a method of securing investment capital beyond the means of the merchant departing for the East.

In the sea-loan the lender assumed the entire risk, since payment was contingent upon the safe arrival of the ship and goods or the

⁸³ "Si autem Ianuam non redirem", "si morabor ultramare", are expressions found. Not. Ign., f. 162; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96. Men rent their property or leave it in charge of a servant, taking their wives with them to Syria. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 136 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 250 v.

⁸⁴ "Bertramo di Syria", "Giovanni Andrea di Tripoli", "Giovanni di Acri", etc. Not. Ign., ff. 108, 128. "Bonvassallo di Antioch", consul. *Annales*, II. 5.

⁸⁵ Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53 v., 56 v., 207, 219 v.; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96. The factors often stipulated that they be allowed to send to Genoa the profits of their transactions. Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 59, 91 v., 95, etc.

⁸⁶ Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 212; Not. Ign., f. 16 v.

⁸⁷ See my detailed study of the associations, "Commercial Contracts", *loc. cit.*, for analysis and bibliography of the *societas* and *accommodatio*.

⁸⁸ For the sea-loan, see W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea Law* (Oxford, 1909), p. ccxxiv ff.; Goldschmidt, *Handbuch des Handelsrechts* (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 345 ff.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁸⁹ *Chart.* II., nos. 419, 661, 907, 963, 1450.

greater part thereof at the destination. The usual term set for the payment of the loan was one month after the arrival in Syria. The money was either repaid to the lender, who was often a member of the expedition, or to his agent in Syria, or was invested in goods to be sent or brought to Genoa, or else was retained by the borrower after certification of the sum with interest before a notary in Syria, and used by him in *accommodatio*. The advantages to both parties are apparent: remittances to Syria and sums being carried there for investment drew interest during the voyage; merchandise to be exported could be realized upon in Genoa, or bought on credit to be sold in Syria at a price high enough to cover interest and expenses and to afford a comfortable profit. Shipowners and share-holders in shipping secured what amounted to insurance or bottomry. The rates charged are a direct index to the margin of profit in the Syrian trade. In 1157 and 1160, money was loaned for the Syrian voyage to bring the same rate of interest as of profit obtained on merchandise carried by the factor. In 1158, $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. was asked for the round trip (about nine months), and in 1160, 62 per cent. was demanded for the outward voyage alone, but with the use of the money in trade and a share in the profits and interest as an offset to the excessive rate. In the period of greater mobility after 1179, the rates, all for the eastward voyage (about three months), rose noticeably. In 1184, when the recent financial stringency in Genoa was beginning visibly to lessen, the rate stood at 41.2 per cent.⁹⁰ Just after the Third Crusade, when the trade was being rebuilt after several years of cessation, it rose to 50 per cent. for small sums, and to $62\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for a large loan of 400 lire with inadequate security.⁹¹ In 1200 a single loan is found at 45.7 per cent.; the rate varied from 34, 41, and 43 to 46 per cent. in 1203 and rose in 1205 to 50 per cent.⁹² The sea-loan was forbidden as

⁹⁰ Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 1 v., 139, 141 v., 142.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 91 v., 93 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 48 v. The borrower of the 400 lire was able to give as security in ship and cargo only 135 lire. *Ibid.*, f. 37 v.

⁹² Not. Ign., f. 162; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 206 v., 207, 218 v., 222 v., 224-225 v., 248 v., 252 v., 255, 261, 265. The loans are made in the uncoined silver lira of Genoa, to be paid in Syria in gold besants often designated as "b. sarracinales", "b. di Acric", "b. di Sulie", all of which were apparently accepted by Genoese traders as of equal value, and were Christian imitations of the Saracen gold besant of the pre-Crusade period. Cf. G. L. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1882), pp. 130-135, and supplement, pp. 9-11. In this connection it may be noted that Schlumberger, following L. Blanchard, *Le Besant d'Or Sarrazins pendant les Croisades* (Marseilles, 1880), places the gold besant of Acre only as early as 1201, whereas reference to it is found as early as 1179 in the notarial documents. Not Ign., f. 3. The interest rates here given are all based on the

usurious by Gregory IX. and continued in practice thereafter despite papal prohibition.⁹³

A review of the articles of commerce in the Syrian trade emphasizes the economic difficulties of the trade in its beginnings and the gradual expansion as these disadvantages were overcome. In the middle of the century (1154-1164) one is forced to conclude, from the few references to merchandise, that the great bulk of the investments carried to Syria was in gold and silver. For gold and silver alone could the precious wares of the East be exchanged by an as yet non-industrial folk trading among a people with whose needs they were unfamiliar, and for whom the West in the twelfth century could have produced few necessities and no luxuries. Even the western Christians in the crusaders' states must have found most of their wants more than satisfied without dependence on Europe.

This conclusion, based on recognized economic conditions, is well supported in the period after 1179, when the more widely differentiated classes of investors and factors drew their contracts with specific reference to the nature of the investment, whether gold or merchandise. In that period large amounts of gold and silver were still sent to Syria. Individuals exported it in sums varying in value from 12 soldi to 100 lire, and Simon de Bulgaro in 1200 carried to Syria 1004 lire 6 soldi, apparently all in gold or silver; of this 700 lire was his own, and the balance was entrusted to him by three female relatives and three male associates.⁹⁴ The form in which the exports were made varied—bullion, rings, cups, thread, chains, or expressed in terms of the gold *tareni* of Sicily and the silver *melgorienses* of southern France.⁹⁵ Aside from the need for gold as a purchasing agent, it was a lucrative form of investment in Syria as loans. The Syrian powers must often have been in need of money; but such loans were not always favorably re-

normal exchange of one lira for two besants found in a document of 1191 where no interest was involved. Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 17 v. Could the normal rate of exchange be found for each year, the interest rates here given might be subject to correction.

⁹³ *Decretal.*, Gregory IX., lib. V., tit. XIX., c. XIX.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁹⁴ Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 118, 272; Not. Ign., f. 162.

⁹⁵ For example, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 217, 268 v., 271 v., 272, 273, 293 v.; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 143 v. In the great majority of cases the investment is simply stated to be "in auro". The growth of this method of trade in the thirteenth century in Genoa may be inferred from the fact that in 1277 a Genoese merchant who died in Armenia left, with a store of many kinds of cloth, 16 sacks of silver bars weighing 592½ *libre*, bearing a Genoese stamp. Ferretto, *Codice Diplomatico*, II. (Genoa, 1903), p. 178, note 1.

garded by those who did not maintain permanent agents in Syria. The Embriachi authorized their administrator at Acre for the years 1200 to 1202 to loan money to knights or governments as he pleased,⁹⁶ but the average investor often stipulated that his money should be loaned only to merchants on good security, not in usury, nor for the equipment of warships, nor to the crusaders' governments.⁹⁷ Returning pilgrims and crusaders, as well as merchants, must occasionally have had to be financed: one of the largest single loans made in this period was 200 marks of fine silver to Bishop Ralph of Liège in 1191, returning from Syria with a suite made up of his nephew, archdeacon, chaplain, seneschal, butler, and secretary.⁹⁸

One interesting transformation in the trade between 1154 and 1205, is the gradual displacement of gold and silver by cloth as the most important article of export. The position of Genoa at the most northern point of the Tyrrhenian Sea, nearest to Lombardy, Germany, and France, enabled the Genoëse to make their city a centre for the distribution of cloth. Familiar with the cloth fairs of southern France from the beginning of their commercial expansion, as with those of Champagne by the third quarter of the century, in the decade 1154-1164 the Genoëse were already important agents for the sale of cloth in the West, and had begun to find it a profitable article of commerce in Syria. As early as 1149 the *introitus de canna* was one of the most important revenues of the commune.⁹⁹ Not only did the export of cloth to Syria increase enormously in volume toward the end of the period, but an equally significant change in the diversity of quality, color, and value took place. In the middle of the century the only cloth exported to Syria regularly and in large quantities was the common fustian. A cotton cloth known as *baladinellis*, small quantities of finer sorts as serge, green and scarlet cloth of still higher value, French cloth, and cloth of undescribed quality or color were also sent east.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Not. Ign., f. 160 v.

⁹⁷ The loaning of money by factors to Syrian powers was regarded as dangerous in the middle of the century by some Genoëse investors, and difficulties were met in collections. *Chart. II.*, nos. 1106, 1107, 1108. For the period 1179-1205, similar loans are either expressly forbidden (Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53, 58, 91, 212), or more often the investment is entrusted "causa mercandi", which might be construed as excluding loans. *Ibid.*, ff. 262-266, etc. Cf. Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁹⁸ Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 38.

⁹⁹ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 146, 147, 212. The *canna* was the standard measure of cloth. The development of the Genoëse cloth-trade from the notaries' acts would repay careful study. There can be given here only a brief statement of the important phases of it with reference to Syria.

¹⁰⁰ *Chart. II.*, nos. 414, 419, 457, 486, 963, 1504.

When the Syrian markets for western cloth had been developed, not only did fustian of Lombard weave maintain its hold in black, white, and stripes,¹⁰¹ serge in black and blue,¹⁰² *baldinellis* in larger shipments,¹⁰³ but two new and exceedingly important lines of trade in cloth were opened, namely, cloth of English wool, and linen. As early as 1191 an English merchant is found in Genoa selling cloth of Stamford wool; the presence of three English merchants in 1205 in the same trade enables one to assume a profitable connection with England thus early.¹⁰⁴ The Stamford cloth, in white and colors, sometimes dyed after its arrival in Genoa, was exported to Syria in large quantities and, like the more valuable cloths, in pieces, not in bales.¹⁰⁵ The linen in demand in Syria came mainly from France, especially from Rheims, and from Germany; it was shipped in lots worth up to 183½ lire.¹⁰⁶ Beyond these staple cloths, are mentioned great quantities of other sorts, cloth of Liège and Ypres; Corbeil, Mers, Vogue, and Nérès in France; Caparica, near Lisbon; Garbo in Africa, Lombard cloth, blue, green, brown, black, and vermilion cloth, or simply *pannis*.¹⁰⁷ The Genoese cloth-trade in the twelfth century, disclosed in the Syrian commerce, is of economic significance in view of the vista opened by glimpses into the records of the thirteenth century, when there developed in Genoa a thriving industry in weaving, dyeing, and finishing, accompanied by a complementary development of Genoa as the wool market for northern Italy.¹⁰⁸

In addition to the staple exports of gold and cloth, the Genoese occasionally exported lead, copper, steel, and nails; helmets, chest-armor, and shields; furs, sometimes in large quantities, coats of lamb, cony, and squirrel; cloaks and mantles of gray or scarlet,

¹⁰¹ Not. Ign., ff. 20, 21, 87 v., 213 v., 219 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 212, 256.

¹⁰² Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53, 261.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, f. 53; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96.

¹⁰⁴ Colin, Simon, and Robin of Stamford. Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 43, 128, 175, 252 v., 255 v. In 1188 Rubeo della Volta was sent to England to arrange for Richard's aid in the Crusade. *Annales*, II. 29. The commercial connection between England and Genoa was apparently the result of the Crusade. It could be traced throughout from the notaries' acts.

¹⁰⁵ For example, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 43, 212, 225, 252, 261, 264 v., 265, 272.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 207, 212, 216 v., 225 v., 261 v., 269.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in addition to the references in the two notes previous, Not. Ign., f. 160 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 54, 252 v., 256, 268; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 91 v., 139.

¹⁰⁸ Pending a satisfactory study of the Genoese wool market, some idea of its importance may be gleaned from the miscellaneous collections of extracts from the acts of the notaries, for reference to which, see "Commercial Contracts", p. 130, note 1.

lined or trimmed with fur; garments, clerical vestments of silk, embroidered in gold and in colors, mostly articles intended for the Genoese colonists in the East. Shares in ships were used as commodities to be sold abroad if good opportunities arose. In addition to this miscellaneous list of wares, hundreds of lire were exported invested in merchandise (*implicatas in mercibus*), impossible to identify but unquestionably of the same general character as the wares specifically mentioned.¹⁰⁹

The wares imported from Syria, as from Alexandria, are those long identified with the Levant trade. In the middle of the century pepper, brazil-wood, alum, and cotton were the staple imports and were used as currency in Genoa by individuals and by the government, evidence of their high value. Next to these in importance came miscellaneous spices—cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves; dye materials aside from the highly prized brazil-wood and alum, such as gall-nuts, saffron, mastic, and indigo; steel blades, of Damascene workmanship no doubt; lacquer, incense, and drugs; silk and cloth of Bagdad; sugar and sugar confections; quantities of unspecified merchandise. All these Levantine wares Genoese merchants distributed throughout the West, in Africa, Spain, southern France, and the fairs of Champagne. The foreigners who frequented Genoa in ever-increasing numbers, Lombards, Arabs, French, Germans, and English, found there a steady supply of eastern goods. The increased use of eastern luxuries in western Europe in the twelfth century, largely owing to Genoese traders, is apparent; the records of the thirteenth century will disclose remarkable advances in this respect.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Chart.* II., nos. 1105, 1457; *Not. Ign.*, ff. 15, 22, 87 v.; *Not. Gugl. Cass.*, ff. 36, 56 v., 222 v., 235–236, 243, 257 v., 266, 272; *Not. Lanfr.*, I. ff. 141 v., 143. The later thirteenth-century records abound in references to armor, cutlery, etc., indicative of the growth of new industries.

¹¹⁰ *Chart.* II., nos. 335, 501, 508, 597, 644, 652, 734, 988, 1013, 1189, 1312, 1365; *Not. Gugl. Cass.*, ff. 50, 54, 79 v., 233 v., 234, 249, 265. My investigations do not throw a great amount of new light on the imports from Syria in the twelfth century, as given by Heyd and Schaube. An interesting fact is the decreasing number of references to dye-woods at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the use of native dye-materials, grana, rozia, etc., was increasing as the Genoese dye-industry developed. Here again the notaries' acts are full of rich promise. The lack of many references to silk imports is interesting in view of the enormous imports I have noticed in casual glances into the records of the thirteenth century, when merchants of Lucca and Florence frequented the Genoese markets for silk as for wool. In this same connection a study can and should be made, from the archives, of the Genoese activity in the sale of wares to merchants going to the great fairs.

THIS review of Genoese commercial expansion in the twelfth century illustrates many of the difficult conditions under which Italian enterprise began to transform European life in the Middle Ages. For the Genoese it was a century of political and economic experiment. They found in Syria a source of wealth that compensated them for their territorial limitations, for their failure to compete successfully with the Venetians in Byzantium, to realize fully their ambitions in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. On their Syrian experiences of the twelfth century they were able in the next to submerge Pisa, to grapple on equal terms with Venice, and to found a great commercial empire throughout the Levant. The Syrian enterprises supplied the stimulus and the means through which a young and vigorous folk discovered their opportunities, their strength and weakness. The seizure of control of a rich trade by native capitalists from their Levantine predecessors, the rise and overthrow of feudal privilege, the growth of money economy, the ebb and flow of economic advance despite temporary retardations resulting from efforts beyond the strength of youth, the impulse to an internal industrial development that should if possible keep pace with the maritime trade, the gradual advance in commercial methods, the near approach of credit operations—all are outlined or suggested. It is a chapter in the story of expansion from the stage of village economy to that of international trade, with wide social implications, a chapter duplicated elsewhere in Italy no doubt, but one that can best be traced from Genoese sources.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

SLAVERY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES¹

ONE of the characteristic features of the evolution of the western nations in the last two centuries is the passing of comparatively simple agricultural societies through various stages to that condition known as industrialism. Reduced to their lowest terms, the chief factors which caused such changes were, first, increase in population, and second, exhaustion of the land, both in quantity and quality. These conditions led to diversification of industry, to an increase in the number and variety of artisans, trades, and occupations, not specifically agricultural. With a continued increase in population and a tendency toward compactness, with rapid exhaustion of the soil, with a growing scarcity of, and high prices for, food supplies, new lands were opened up and surplus population was either exported or, if not, it was diverted to manufacturing industries, trade, and commerce. This process was hastened in the Old World by the colonization of new lands overseas, and the resulting opportunities for the more rapid production of wealth through the development of the resources of these lands, the production of raw materials for use in manufacturing, or to supply other needs, and the establishment of markets for the sale of manufactured goods.

The American colonies supplied England with a portion of the new lands she needed in order to make the transition from agriculturalism to industrialism. Likewise the colonies were compelled to depend on England, or some other country, in making a similar transition for reasons to be noted. The influence of some of the factors mentioned, with others to be mentioned, caused the colonies to pass through the earlier stages of the process leading to industrialism even before independence was secured. This period of semi-industrialism is marked by a rapid increase of population, exhaustion of land and soil, and in consequence a tendency toward a diversification of farming and of occupations. Other important influences affecting this movement were the commercial policy of

¹ This article is submitted as only a tentative study of a large subject. Important aspects of this subject are but lightly treated and others not considered at all. Emphasis is placed on only two colonies, South Carolina and Virginia. Since however nearly three-fourths of all the slaves in the South, at the opening of the Revolution, lived in these colonies, we may consider that the economic conditions described are typical of the other southern colonies.

England, which tended to stimulate as well as to retard certain manufactures. England also was in part responsible for scarcity or high price of imported manufactured goods, due to poor transportation facilities, or to the interruption or retardation of trade, because of wars or for other causes. The colonial governments were thus led to stimulate manufactures by bounties and other methods in order that the colonists might meet pressing and immediate needs, and individuals were stimulated to manufacture for profit under such conditions. The high cost of transporting and marketing the bulky goods produced by the colonists, in connection with overproduction, especially of tobacco, and England's restrictive commercial and trade policy, often resulted in inability to ship goods, or in such low prices for the product as to make the colonists either unable or disinclined to purchase manufactured goods abroad. This also led to diversification of farming and of occupations, thus again stimulating certain forms of manufactures. In the decade preceding the Revolution the movement for independence, in its economic as well as in its political aspect, stimulated manufactures. The colonists wished to avoid the payment of taxes on imported goods, both because of the principle involved and because of high prices. Patriotic motives, the desire for economic as well as political independence, the non-importation and non-consumption agreements, all these stimulated manufactures to supply pressing and immediate economic needs. In general we may say that there was, in the generation or so preceding the Revolution, a rapid increase in the number of men who were convinced that it was more desirable, practical, and profitable to employ labor and to invest capital in industries or manufactures involving partial or complete transformation of raw materials into finished products, than to confine themselves exclusively to agriculture or to occupations involving only the production and transportation of purely raw materials. With the one exception of food supply, all the factors so far mentioned, viz., increase of population, exhaustion of land and soil, scarcity or high price of manufactured goods, encouragement of specific manufactures by England and by the colonial assemblies, low price of exported products, especially tobacco, the influence of the movement for independence, and the proportionate return to be obtained on capital invested—all of these factors were influential in producing a diversification of farming and occupations, and an increase in manufacturing in the southern colonies as well as in those of the North.²

² There is no comprehensive account of the development of manufactures in

In the so-called tobacco colonies of Maryland and Virginia, the general tendency of the tobacco régime was to make it more and more difficult because of overproduction and low prices³ to make this product alone pay for the manufactured goods imported. Hence many a planter was faced with a loss of credit, heavy debt, or bankruptcy on the one hand, or the necessity of finding a remedy to meet the situation on the other. This remedy might be based on one or more of the following principles: that of decreasing the product, or using some other means of increasing the price of the same; that of raising other agricultural products for which a higher relative price could be obtained; that of purchasing fewer manufactured goods from abroad; or that of producing such goods at home. To counteract the bad effects of the English commercial policy, a few of the planters made the discovery, as early as the end of the seventeenth century, that it was more profitable to plant partly exhausted tobacco lands, and sometimes even fresh lands, with corn, wheat, or other cereals, or turn them into pasture lands for cattle and sheep, than to grow tobacco.⁴ Moreover, much of the land unsuited to tobacco culture could be profitably used for such purposes, and as the centre of population moved westward it became necessary, for the upland soil was lighter and more sandy. Such crops were also desirable and even necessary to supply food—corn, for example—for the rapidly growing population, and especially for the negro slave. Corn was also necessary to feed the cattle, as the practice of allowing herds to roam the woods proved too costly. There was thus some tendency toward a system of agriculture based on corn, wheat, and other cereals, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and later, farther to the south, cotton—products more suited to exhausted and poorer soils—than on tobacco, hemp, and flax, those products which both demanded a rich soil and at the same time exhausted it most rapidly.

the southern colonies. For illustrations of the points in this paragraph consult in general, V. S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860* (Washington, 1916); R. M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago, 1917); and J. L. Bishop, *History of American Manufactures, 1607-1860* (Philadelphia, 3 vols., 1861-1868). In particular consult P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. II., chs. XVII. and XVIII., "Manufactured Supplies: Domestic"; and Clark, "Colonial Manufactures", in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, ed. J. C. Ballagh, vol. V. On soil-exhaustion see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I. 424-425, II. 566.

³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, I. 345, 389-394, 401. In 1664 the Virginia and Maryland crop amounted to 50,000 hogsheads, valued at £150,000 sterling, yet the price was so low that the planters were brought in debt £50,000. *Ibid.*, I. 391.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 459-466, 370-372, 481-482. In the winter of 1673, 50,000 cattle are said to have perished in Virginia. *Ibid.*, I. 372.

We may now inquire what was the relation of these agricultural tendencies of the eighteenth century to other industries and occupations resulting, and particularly to the occupations of negro slaves. It is obvious that with these raw materials present and plantation needs greatly extended, some needs might be satisfied by transforming a portion of these raw materials, through primary or secondary processes, into manufactured articles. If a surplus could be produced for purposes of export, the profit obtained could be used to supply other manufactured articles for which tobacco alone could no longer provide the funds. We know that as the eighteenth century progressed, there was in all the southern colonies a large increase in the production of corn, wheat, and other cereals, and in the raising of cattle, sheep, and hogs. Likewise we know that there was a large increase in mills for grinding grain, both for home consumption and for export. The production of cereal and animal products was stimulated by the opportunity for profit in provisioning ships, both English and colonial. The great increase in shipping in the eighteenth century called for large quantities of provisions, such as flour, ship-bread, beef, and pork; and besides there was a great demand for these articles in the West Indies, in exchange for molasses, sugar, and other products needed by the American colonies. We know that the number of tanneries increased; that the southern colonies passed numerous laws to prevent the export of hides and leather in order to encourage the tanning of leather and allied industries; that leather manufactures, including especially the manufacture of the rougher grades of shoes, increased. We know that the textile industries—the weaving of cloth from flax, wool, and cotton—increased, both for home consumption and for neighborhood exchange.⁵

There was an increasing desire to secure a greater return from the capital invested, by making greater use of the natural resources of the plantation, both because of necessity and for possible profits. Beverley had called the attention of the planters of Virginia in 1705 to their wastefulness and lack of energy in this respect.⁶ There were large supplies of raw materials on many plantations, the natural products of the land, especially forests, that led to occupations

⁵ There were exported from the upper district of the James River, from October 25, 1763, to October 25, 1764, among other articles, 29,145 bushels of wheat, 3003 pounds of bacon, 50 tierces of bread, 62,763 bushels of corn, 1098 barrels of flour, and 920 barrels and 1000 pounds of pork. *Virginia Gazette*, February 12, 1767. For the increase in the leather and textile industries see Clark and Bishop, above, indexes, "Maryland", "Virginia", etc.

⁶ R. Beverley, *The History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 255.

based on lumber products. The needs of England compelled her to stimulate the production of naval stores, and the southern forests were available for masts, spars, planks, and boards for building ships and boats of all kinds and for repairs on the same, as well as for the production of tar, pitch, and turpentine. There were, besides rough manufactures from the forests, other lumber products requiring more skill. We have evidence of a great increase in the manufacture of staves, hoops, and "headings", in order to provide for the enormous number of hogsheads, barrels, and tierces, containers for tobacco, rice, and other products to be exported. We know besides that great quantities of the above articles were manufactured for export⁷ to the West Indies and other countries, containers for molasses, sugar, etc. We know that various other industries were based on cultivated or natural products of the soil, such occupations as brewing, wine-making, and the production of bricks, rope, hats, salt, soap, candles, powder, potash, and a variety of domestic utensils and implements.⁸ We know that the eighteenth century witnessed a rise in the standard of living; that there was a demand for better houses and a tendency to lath and plaster, to shingle and clapboard, to build brick houses, in place of the earlier unfinished log or board structures.⁹ The great increase of slaves and of production called for a larger output of lumber for building operations, for barns, tobacco-houses, outbuildings, landings, warehouses, etc. We know that as a result of these industries there was an increase in the number of artisans and craftsmen of all kinds; that effort was made by the colonial governments, particularly through the apprenticeship acts, to increase the supply;¹⁰ that as a result there was an increase of millers, brewers, weavers, butchers, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, sawyers, carpenters, shipwrights, brickmakers, masons, plasterers, and other skilled workers.

This diversification of farming and industry is the fundamental factor leading to the employment of the slave in non-agricultural labor and manufacturing processes. We have seen that the move-

⁷ From the upper district of the James River, October 25, 1763, to October 25, 1764, there were exported 566,800 staves, 9250 hoops, 80,860 shingles, and 3800 headings. *Virginia Gazette*, February 12, 1767. From Charleston, November 1, 1763, to November 1, 1764, there were exported 1,553,365 shingles, 700 laths, and 228,015 staves and headings. *South Carolina Gazette*, October 29, 1764.

⁸ For these industries see indexes of Clark and Bishop above.

⁹ Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, ed. J. Sabin (1865), p. 36 (London, 1724); Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 251 (1722).

¹⁰ These acts have been summarized, and their workings described, by the writer in articles in the *School Review* for June, 1919, and January, 1920.

ment began in the latter portion of the seventeenth century, and was due principally to the shortage of goods from England, high prices for the same, and low prices for tobacco. The movement, however, had not made much headway by 1705, according to Beverley, though there is good reason for believing that he underestimated the amount of manufactures at this date.¹¹ The evidence of diversification of farming and of occupations increases rapidly after 1720. We have references to such in the reports of governors to the Lords of Trade, in reports of travellers, in the advertisements in newspapers, and in the statistics of the export trade in manufactured articles. We note diversification in the production of cereals, in the increase of mills, of cattle and sheep and industries dependent on them. Further evidence of this tendency is seen in the legislation designed to increase the supply of artisans and in the acts to encourage manufactures and to prevent the export of raw materials. Such evidence proves that the industrial development of the southern colonies in the eighteenth century at least made possible the employment of the negro slave in non-agricultural occupations.¹²

It is evident that the part the slave might take in these rough manufactures would depend on the number of slaves available, their intelligence, and the relative profit to be obtained by use of this kind of labor; in other words, on the question whether it was possible, desirable, or necessary, practicable, and profitable. The eighteenth century witnessed a rapid and large increase in the number of slaves, both from importation and from births.¹³ There was therefore a large possible supply. Negroes were of two general classes: first, "raw" or "Guinea" negroes, those imported directly from Africa; secondly, those "country-born". The latter might be imported from the West Indies or from some other colony; or they might be negroes born and brought up in the colony where they were employed. It is evident that the second class would constitute the most important possible sources for the supply of slaves who might be trained as artisans.¹⁴ "Country-born" negroes would generally have greater intelligence and a better knowledge of the English lan-

¹¹ Beverley, *op. cit.* See note 2.

¹² The reports of governors at various dates are summarized by Clark, in *History of Manufactures*, ch. IX. See also A. A. Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1789*, and Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹³ For the slave population of the southern colonies in 1755 and 1775 see article by the writer, "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies", in *American Historical Review*, XXI. 523, note 123.

¹⁴ A few negroes imported directly from Africa may have possessed some mechanical skill. See J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, pp. 32-33.

guage. They would be more docile, more adaptable to their environment, more familiar with the methods of production, and in general more civilized than freshly imported negroes. Indeed, the latter were often judged, *a priori*, as nothing but brute creatures without intelligence.¹⁵ The native-born negro came in contact with the civilization of the white man from birth and was disciplined, to some extent, in childhood and youth. Such discipline tended to develop the intelligence of this class of slaves, and it was from among them, by a process of natural selection, that the more capable were assigned to occupations requiring more intelligence than ordinary field labor; occupations usually calling for a certain degree of skill in handicraft. The "country-born" negroes were, however, subdivided into groups of varying degrees of ability. There were negroes of pure blood who, of course, varied in intelligence just as white persons do. But from the first there was the class known as mulattos, negroes with more or less white blood in their veins.¹⁶ It is quite generally admitted that the effect of crossing the races made most of the mulattos more intelligent than the negroes of pure blood.¹⁷ There were doubtless exceptions to the rule, but the percentage was small. This fact was reflected in the higher prices paid for mulattos throughout the period of slavery.¹⁸ There was thus a continual and increasing supply of this class, with a tendency to select from it the most intelligent for work requiring handicraft skill. Negroes of this class tended to increase in ability from generation to generation, both because of natural selection and because they were more favored. They had better opportunities for religious instruction, and for closer contact with the white population.

It was natural for a planter to employ a slave to do a piece of work requiring skill or intelligence if he had one of suitable character. If, besides, such employment was necessary, he might make the attempt even at considerable cost. In fact, we know that there was throughout the colonial period a great scarcity of free artisans in the southern colonies. We know that indentured servant artisans were insufficient in number for the work to be done and were unsatisfactory for many other reasons; that frequently, perhaps generally, they gave up working at their trade, if they had one, in

¹⁵ On the intelligence of the negro see article cited above, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI. 517, 519, and notes 88, 103-106.

¹⁶ This class arose from miscegenation and intermarriage of whites and blacks. On this question see Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918).

¹⁷ Tillinghast, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-121.

¹⁸ *E. g.*, see note 66.

order to become farmers.¹⁹ This scarcity of artisans made it almost necessary that the planter should put forth every effort to purchase or train slaves who had skill in some handicraft, particularly as he produced staple crops on a large scale, diversified his agriculture, or began to make use of the resources of his land, whether it produced forests, animals, minerals, or other things that could be profitably transformed into goods of greater value. If at the same time there was a shortage of manufactured goods from abroad, or the price was excessively high, or the planter had no funds for their purchase, or was in debt, these were additional and pressing reasons for the use of slaves in plantation manufactures. In other words, eighteenth-century plantation economy called for more careful use of all the resources available, both for greater profit as well as to avoid bankruptcy. If, still further, there were facilities for training the slave in a trade and all or many of the above reasons were operating, a planter would almost certainly make the effort. We may note that there was the opportunity to select from large numbers, and some would be available for training because of natural aptitude, or inherited tendencies. The indentured white servant artisan, as well as the free artisan, was always a possible source of instruction. Young negro slaves could be apprenticed by masters to free white artisans to learn particular trades. They were purchased by artisans or those with skill in some handicraft, for the purpose of teaching them. Besides, slaves who had acquired skill could be used to instruct other slaves. Finally, masters could let or hire out young negroes to persons who would employ them in labor which would increase their intelligence and skill, or, if capable, masters could instruct slaves themselves.²⁰

Let us now consider the early evidence for the actual employment of slaves in industries other than those purely agricultural up to about 1740. By 1649, one man, at least, had discovered that it was possible, practical, and profitable to train slaves to be artisans and to perform simple manufacturing processes. Thus the author of *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649) declares that

Worthy Captaine Matthews, an old Planter of above thirty yeers standing, one of the Counsell, and a most deserving Common-wealths-man, I may not omit to let you know this Gentlemans industry. He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sowes yeerly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps Weavers, and

¹⁹ Their short period of indenture and the fact that they were likely to run away, were two objections. See notes 10 and 24.

²⁰ For illustrations of methods of training the slave, see Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, p. 38, and notes 25, 29, 51, 55, 56.

hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty Negroe servants, brings them up to Trades in his house. He yeerly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley, etc. The Wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell; kills store of Beeves, and sells them to victuall the ships when they come thither: hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine great store, and Poltery . . .²¹

Here we have, in this remarkable document, an illustration of four tendencies, important and characteristic movements of the eighteenth century; first, diversified farming; secondly, diversified industry—provisioning and tanning; thirdly, manufacturing linen cloth and shoes; and fourthly, the training of negro slaves as artisans and skilled workmen. In short Captain Matthews was a farmer, a rancher, a manufacturer, and a merchant. He ran a plantation and a factory at the same time. The inventory of Robert Beverley, sr., shows that he had a negro carpenter valued at thirty pounds. John Carter, jr., owned a negro cooper, and Ralph Wormeley a negro cooper and carpenter, each valued at thirty-five pounds sterling.²² It is said that the county records of Virginia of the seventeenth century, inventories and wills in particular, reveal the presence of many negro mechanics, especially carpenters and coopers, and negro women who had been taught to take part in domestic manufactures.²³ The only other important source for artisans was the white, indentured servant mechanic. But when his term of service expired, usually in four or five years, another would have to be purchased in England. This constantly recurring necessity for supplying the place of white mechanics led the planters to have some of their slaves instructed in the trades, even in the seventeenth century.²⁴

Owing to the rapid diversification of farming and of occupations after 1705, there was a corresponding increase in the variety of artisans. The increase in the number and variety of slave artisans may be judged from the statement of Hugh Jones in 1724, who said that "a good Negro" was "sometimes worth three (nay four) Score Pounds Sterling, if he be a Tradesman". He also says that negroes were taught to be "Sawyers, Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers,

²¹ *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), p. 15.

²² Bruce, *op. cit.*, II. 405.

²³ *Ibid.*, II. 405, 471. Note also that Thomas Cocke (d. 1696), left by will a flour-mill and two tanneries, and mentioned by name one of his tanners, whom he bequeathed to his son James. Another mechanic at the mill was left "with all his tools" to his son Stephen. *Virginia Magazine of History*, III. 407-408.

²⁴ Bruce, *op. cit.*, II. 405. For similar practice of training slaves as artisans in the West Indies, see F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763*, pp. 58-60.

etc., and though for the most Part they be none of the aptest or nicest, yet they are by Nature cut out for hard Labour and Fatigue, and will perform tolerably well".²⁵ The frequent reference to negro artisans in the wills and inventories of the early eighteenth century is further evidence of the increase of this class. For example, note the will and inventory of Robert ("King") Carter, 1732. He bequeathed, among other slaves, "George the Cooper", and a negro boy who was being taught a trade by this cooper. His inventory mentions seven negro carpenters and three negro sawyers.²⁶ Richard Chapman writes in 1739 that he had a "couple of Young Slaves who are Carpenters and Coopers, who are just beginning to be of Great use to me". He then orders of his agent abroad axes, saws, coopers' tools, etc.²⁷

It is desirable to study next the early development of these same tendencies in South Carolina, and then treat the general development of these two colonies together, from 1740 to the Revolution.

In South Carolina the use of the slave in non-agricultural occupations and the effort to train him as an artisan centred first on utilizing the resources of the forests. In a description of South Carolina published in 1761, the author states that slaves could be employed in the unused part of the year when "they will have some Time to spare for sawing Lumber and making Hogsheads, and other Staves, to supply the Sugar Colonies".²⁸ The bounties paid by England for the production of naval stores—masts, spars, and especially tar, pitch, and turpentine—would give great opportunity for the employment of slaves in this industry. Sawyers, carpenters, and coopers would be needed in large numbers to supply plantation needs—lumber, for buildings and repairs, for staves, hoops, and headings, and for rice barrels.²⁹ Staves, etc., were profitable for export to the

²⁵ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 38–39. For a similar statement of conditions in North Carolina, see letter of the S. P. G. missionary Rev. John Urmstone, July 7, 1711, in F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (1858), II. 215. See also John Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina* (1731, repr.), p. 275.

²⁶ His will in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, V. 412, and inventory, *ibid.*, VI. 368.

²⁷ *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, XXI, 93.

²⁸ In B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II. 204.

²⁹ "Last November I sent a fine young Fellow a Cooper to your Ladyship's Plantation to make Rice Barrels and teach two of your People that Business." Habersham to the Countess of Huntingdon, April 19, 1775. *Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VI. 242; extract in Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, II. 44. An account of produce exported in less than one year, from Charleston, November 1, 1751, to October 16, 1752, shows that it involved the production of 110,462 hogsheads, tierces, and barrels to hold the rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, beef, and pork sent out. From November 1, 1753, to November 1, 1754, 110,714 barrels were

West Indies to be made into barrels for sugar and molasses; and lumber products of all kinds, planks, boards, etc.

In the files of the *South Carolina Gazettes*, 1732 to 1776, we find evidence of slaves trained in and practising at least twenty-eight different trades specifically so named.³⁰ Of woodworkers there were seven varieties; viz., sawyers, squarers, coopers, house-carpenters, ship-carpenters or shipwrights, cabinet-makers, and wheelwrights. Of leather-workers, there were tanners, curriers, and shoemakers. Of cloth-workers there were spinners, carders, weavers, knitters, needleworkers or seamstresses, and tailors. Of those engaged in the building trades, there were brick-moulders and brickmakers, bricklayers, lime-makers, plasterers, whitewashers, painters or glaziers, caulkers, blacksmiths, and even such a trade as that of a silversmith was represented. There were also miscellaneous occupations more or less connected with the production and distribution of non-agricultural goods. There were slaves who were navigators, pilots, boatmen, porters, etc. In the above statement no account is made of the use of the slave in occupations involving the partial transformation of raw materials into forms that involve rough or primary manufacturing operations, such as preparing rice, indigo, hemp, flax, and raw silk for export, the grinding of grain, packing of meat products, and other similar occupations, where slaves performed work not agricultural. The manufacturing industries carried on may be inferred from the trades represented, and these included manufacture of lumber, planks and boards, of staves, hoops and headings, hogsheads, and barrels; the making of buildings, ships, and boats of all kinds, and of furniture, wheeled vehicles, leather, shoes, cloth, clothing, socks, bricks, lime, domestic utensils and implements.

The mechanical skill or knowledge possessed by the negro slave needed for the export of similar products—*i. e.*, a production of 221,176 barrels in a little less than three years. But in addition, in this last period, there were exported 168,121 staves. The number of sawyers, carpenters, and coopers needed to produce this one type of article was quite considerable, and it is evident that a large portion must have been produced by negro slaves, artisans with a knowledge of the above trades. We may note in passing that there were also exported, in this last year mentioned, 952,880 shingles, and 780,776 feet of scantling, plank, and boards, some of which it is likely were produced by negro slaves. See *S. C. Gaz.*, October 16, 1752, November 7, 1754.

³⁰ This by no means exhausts the trades followed by negro slaves in this period. For example there were shingle-makers in Georgia. *Georgia Gazette*, February 16, 1774. And in Virginia, iron-workers, including "finers, hammermen and colliers". *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 6, 1767. Rev. John Urmstone of North Carolina speaks of "tallow Chandlers", "soap makers, starch-makers and dyers". Hawks, *Hist. of N. C.*, II. 215.

artisans was applied, and the production of manufactured goods accomplished, with slaves holding a variety of relationships with the person who for the moment profited by their labor. At least four distinct relationships were common. In the first place most artisan slaves of course applied their skill or produced goods when owned and kept as slaves by any free white or colored man or woman who wished to profit by such skill. Such an individual might be a rice or indigo producer, a planter, a farmer, a man or woman engaged in any of the trades or manufacturing industries mentioned above, or any other free person. Secondly, a slave might apply his knowledge or produce goods when apprenticed to some person. Thirdly, he might be hired out to some person by his owner by the day, month, or year, in town or country, for a stipulated amount. Fourthly, he might be allowed industrial freedom by his owner, or the privilege of working when and where he could find employment at his trade, either with or without previous agreement with the owner by the person employing such a slave. The condition on which the slave was allowed such freedom was that of turning over to the owner, at stated intervals, all or an agreed portion of the wages earned. A slave hired out or allowed freedom to work might be very profitable, since the return from the labor was practically all profit—a condition not possible when he was kept on the plantation and supported by the owner. Slaves might also be employed in considerable numbers by an individual or a group of persons who were producing goods in quantities. Such slaves might be owned, held as apprentices, or hired for the purpose.³¹

We may also note that five stages of production are represented in this industrial development of South Carolina, viz., first, plantation manufactures for home consumption; secondly, plantation manufactures for the purpose of disposing of a surplus within the colony; thirdly, plantation manufactures for export (the last two were known respectively as the domestic-commercial, and commercial stages); fourthly, the stage in which individual artisans or others owned or hired slaves and employed them for the purpose of selling the whole of their product, or the whole of their time and skill, for a price specified; and fifthly, the shop and factory stage of producing manufactured goods wholly by slave labor with the purpose of disposing of the whole surplus.

Evidence of the first stage, home or plantation manufactures, is best illustrated by the advertisements offering at public sale, often at auction, large lots of slaves, usually in connection with the sale

³¹ Illustrations of these relationships follow.

of a complete plantation, with lands, houses, equipment, stock, etc. Eighteen such notices, at least, are found in the *South Carolina Gazettes* before the Revolution, over half of them between 1760 and 1776. The total number of slaves in each case varied from about ten to seventy, the indefinite word "parcel" being used a number of times. In all these cases there is mention of the fact that some of the slaves are artisans, tradesmen, or skilled workers in some occupation. As the exact number of slaves of this character is seldom given, it is difficult to estimate the proportion having special skill. A typical advertisement reads as follows: "About Fifty Valuable Slaves, among which are sundry tradesmen, such as Bricklayers, Carpenters, Coopers, Sawyers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Curriers and Boat-men."³² Another states that there would be sold "A Parcel of Slaves belonging to the estate of Mrs. Mary Frost, deceased, consisting of sawyers, mowers, a very good caulker, a tanner, a compleat tight cooper, a sawyer, squarer and rough carpenter".³³ One woman was a "washer, ironer and spinner". In another lot of twenty, mention is made of sawyers, a jobbing carpenter, and butcher, "and most of the fellows acquainted with lime making".³⁴

Advertisements offering for sale one or more artisan slaves are numerous, especially ship-carpenters and coopers.³⁵ Likewise there are numerous advertisements of persons who wished to purchase slaves skilled in some trade, such as house-carpenters, ship-carpenters, cabinet-makers, and blacksmiths.³⁶ Henry Laurens seems to have been in the business of supplying skilled negro artisans for the trade, for he advertises, in 1765, for two carpenters, two coopers, three pairs of sawyers, besides other workers, for field use and for indigo production.³⁷ Another striking example indicative of the supply of slave artisans is an offer in one advertisement to sell "five negro men, two of them tanners and three shoemakers".³⁸

³² *S. C. Gaz.*, January 28, 1751.

³³ *S. C. Gaz. and Country Journal* (supp.), April 26, 1768.

³⁴ *S. C. Gaz.*, August 22, 1768.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1732, March 21, 1743.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, September 22, 1746, April 19, 1760, December 10, 1773.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1765.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1768. A kind of advertisement which appears very frequently refers to runaway negro slaves, and many of this class were artisans. For example, as early as 1733, we find anxious masters seeking the following runaways: three negro sawyers, hired for work in Georgia; a mustee wench, who could spin, card, and do needlework; and two sawyers, for whose return a reward of £20 was offered for each one, an indication of the value of these men to the owner. Numerous examples of this sort could be given, involving the more common trades, *e. g.*, a shoemaker and carpenter, a carpenter and cooper, and a ship-carpenter. *S. C. Gaz.*, April 7, 1743, June 2, 1733, July 28, 1733, August 29, 1743, January 23, 1746, February 24, 1746.

The practice of hiring out skilled workers must have been profitable, judging from the frequency of such advertisements. If such a man could be hired out, so that the cost of his upkeep would be met by the person who employed him, and a sum of money—say, ten pounds³⁹—be paid besides for his work for one year, that would be a very profitable investment, the interest on a thousand dollars for a year at five per cent. with practically no expense to the owner. We know that the practice was in existence from an early date. For example, a master offered to hire out a bricklayer and plasterer, by the month, quarter, or more or less time, in town or country.⁴⁰ Another offered a negro blacksmith by the month or year;⁴¹ another a bricklayer and a carpenter, both “good workmen to be hired by the month or year”.⁴² The practice of allowing slaves industrial freedom, if the wages earned were given to the master, gave such artisans the opportunity to retain all or a part of the money they earned, and to work “clandestinely”—a common phrase of the owner when he forewarned every one not to employ or hire his slave without previous agreement with the owner. Thus in one case two negro carpenters,⁴³ and in another a bricklayer were claimed by the owner.⁴⁴ Another negro carpenter worked “clandestinely” about the town and defrauded his master of “several sums of money”.⁴⁵ So also complaint was made that a ship-carpenter and a whitewasher converted wages to their own use.⁴⁶

Such an institution as the factory also existed in the pre-Revolutionary period. By this is not meant the factory system as developed later, but a building where goods were made by manual labor, usually requiring more equipment, several skilled workers of the same trade, and some division of labor, more than would be the case on the plantation or in the one-man shop. There were a number of such establishments in operation before the Revolution, which exhibited these features to a greater or less degree. In some of these institutions we find that the labor force consisted principally of negro slave artisans. From one standpoint, of course, many of the very large plantations, before the Revolution, were shops or factories, in the sense that they often manufactured goods in quantities,

³⁹ Landon Carter hired two negro sawyers (1776) for a year at ten pounds each. *Diary in William and Mary Col. Or. Hist. Mag.*, XV. 17.

⁴⁰ *S. C. Gaz.*, July 23, 1737.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1755.

⁴² *Ibid.*, March 8, 1770.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1732.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1732.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, August 6, 1741.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1737, December 25, 1740.

had special buildings for the purpose, and made use of a number of workmen skilled in some one trade. Captain Matthews of Virginia, 1649, has already been referred to. The carpenter's or cooper's shop, where thousands of staves, hoops, headings, hogsheads, tierces, or barrels were manufactured, containers for tobacco and rice, represents a stage in advance of household production, the making of a few articles in the family kitchen. When such articles were made in quantities for shipment to the West Indies, they might with good reason be classified as goods manufactured in the shop or small factory.

Let us consider next the tanning and leather industries and the making of shoes. We may note in passing that there were exported from Charleston, in 1748, 10,356 pounds of tanned leather.⁴⁷ We find, in 1764, that two "valuable" negro men, trained as tanners and shoemakers, were offered for sale, "who can make any sort of men's and coarse women's shoes; either of them can make two pair of negro shoes a day".⁴⁸ If this statement is true it is evident that these two slaves might produce twelve pairs of shoes a week, forty-eight a month, or five hundred and seventy-six pairs in a year. If we cut this production a third or more, we still have a considerable output for a small shop or factory, with two workmen only, and it is easy to see why it might pay to manufacture shoes of this type rather than purchase them in England. Two years later, 1768, we find that John Matthews proposed to give up his shoemaking business, and to sell two or three negro shoemakers—"Said negroes have done all my business for nine years past, and are at least equal to any negroes of the trade in this province; the eldest of them only 22 years old."⁴⁹

With the approach of the Revolution, we find that small factories were established for the manufacture of cloth. Washington had such an establishment in 1767-1768, in which a variety of cloth—woollen, cotton, linen, etc.—was woven, both for his own use and for others. By the account for 1768 it appears that the weavers were one white woman, whom he hired for the purpose, and five "Negroe Girls", presumably his own slaves. In this "factory" there were spun and woven in the year 1768 for Washington's own use, 815 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards of linen and 1355 $\frac{1}{2}$ yards of woollen linsey, cot-

⁴⁷ Carroll, *Hist. Coll. S. C.*, II. 238.

⁴⁸ *S. C. Gaz.*, January 14, 1764.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1768. Two months later we find that Richard Downes will sell a negro shoemaker who "has been intrusted with the Care of a Shoemaker's Shop, without any Assistance from a White Man, for several years". *Ibid.*, May 24, 1768.

ton, etc.⁵⁰ We find also that the "Manufacturing Society in Williamsburg" advertised in 1777 for weavers and "5 or 6 likely negro lads from 15 to 20, and as many girls from 12 to 15", with a note added to the effect that "Negro girls are received as apprentices".⁵¹ There are also references to factories for weaving cloth, in which negro slaves were employed as weavers, in Maryland. Charles Carroll of Carrollton manufactured on his plantation coarse woollens and linen, woven in part by negro slaves.⁵² We find also that Robert Carter had a similar weaving establishment at Nominy Hall. A document, dated 1782, shows that Carter had six negro weavers, boys of from thirteen to nineteen, and four negro winders, three of them girls of from fourteen to sixteen, and "Kate", of sixty-five years, all under the management of Daniel Sullivan, weaver, "at the Woolen and Linen *Factory* at Aires, belonging to Robert Carter, Esq. of Westm'd County".⁵³

In South Carolina also negro slaves were employed in cloth-making. It is stated that the overproduction of rice in 1743, or the failure to market it because of war, "put the people [of South Carolina] upon trying to employ their negroes on sundry new manufactures of linen, woollen, etc., which they were before accustomed to take from Great Britain", but just at this time indigo planting became profitable and it defeated their interest.⁵⁴ A remarkable proposition to teach slaves the art of linen, woollen, and cotton cloth manufacture occurred in 1766. The author of the advertisement says that he will teach slaves the raising of hemp and flax, "and the Spinning of both; he will take the Cotton, Flax and Hemp, from the Seed; and the Wool from the Sheep's Back and Compleat the whole". He had laid his scheme before the "Printer" and adds the following important bit of information: "The Above Person has Credentials from Pennsylvania and Virginia, where he has taught two Factories of this kind since the year 1749."⁵⁵

Several questions are suggested by the data presented. First, is the evidence trustworthy? We may agree that without doubt slaves were trained to the trades, and worked at their calling. The evidence gives some general notion of the practice or proportion of slaves so trained, and to a slight extent indications of their efficiency. It is desirable, however, to check the newspapers from other sources,

⁵⁰ Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, II. 325.

⁵¹ *William and Mary Col. Qr. Hist. Mag.*, XI. 95.

⁵² Clark, *Hist. of Manufactures in U. S.*, p. 191.

⁵³ Phillips, *op. cit.*, II. 314-315.

⁵⁴ D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III. 260.

⁵⁵ *S. C. Gaz. and Country Journal* (supp.), May 20, 1766.

because of the well-known tendency of those that have goods for sale to overstate their value and quality, especially in newspaper advertisements. Fortunately we have additional sources of information not open to this objection. It is well known that one of the most persistent inquiries of the Lords of Trade was that one which called for data on the kind and extent of manufacturing going on in the colonies. There were certainly good reasons for the royal governors to make reports which would underestimate the amount of manufacturing and to convey the impression that England had nothing to fear from the growth of manufacturing industries in the colonies. Two very interesting reports are available which give some notion of the extent of the practice of training slaves as artisans and their contribution to the production of manufactured goods. Governor Glen of South Carolina made a report of this kind in 1751.⁵⁶ He stated that there were forty thousand negroes in the province, which if valued as "New Negroes from Africa are now sold" would be worth £20 sterling per head; but this valuation did not satisfy him, considering that many of them were

Natives of Carolina who have no Notion of liberty . . . have been brought up among White People, and by White People have been made, at least many of them, useful Mechanicks, as Coopers, Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Wheelwrights, and other Trades, and that the rest can all speak our Language, for we imported none during the War, I say when it is Considered that these are pleased with their Masters, contented with their Condition, reconciled to Servitude, seasoned to the Country, and expert at the different kinds of Labour in which they are employed, it must appear difficult if not impracticable to ascertain their intrinsick Value. I know a Gentleman who refuses five Hundred Guineas for three of his Slaves, and therefore there is no guessing at the Value of strong seasoned handy Slaves, by the prices of weak Raw New Negroes.

We may note also that Lieutenant Governor Fauquier of Virginia reported to the Board of Trade in December, 1766, as follows:

But to give your Lordships a true knowledge of this matter [manufactures in Virginia] it is necessary I should add that every gentleman of much property in land and negroes have some of their own negroes bred up in the trade of blacksmiths, and make axes, hoes, ploughshares, and such kind of coarse work for the use of their plantations.⁵⁷

Another convincing source of information is the fact that in South Carolina both free white laborers and the general assembly were greatly disturbed at the rapid development of the number of

⁵⁶ MS. Transcripts for South Carolina from Public Record Office, vol. XXIV., 1750-1751, pp. 315-316.

⁵⁷ *William and Mary Col. Qr. Hist. Mag.*, XXI. 169-170.

negro artisans, and respected their skill to the extent at least that they made vigorous complaint of the competition between white and slave artisans. For example, the South Carolina Commons Journal of 1744⁵⁸ contains an interesting petition of one Andrew Ruck, a shipwright, on behalf of himself and several other shipwrights. He complains that negro slaves worked in Charleston and other places near the same town, at the shipwright's trade, and were "chiefly employed in mending, repairing, and caulking of ships, other vessels and boats"; that as a result white shipwrights could meet with little or no work, were reduced to poverty, and would be obliged to leave the province if not relieved; that such a practice would discourage white shipwrights from settling in the province; and therefore the petitioners asked that relief be granted by the assembly. This petition was referred to a committee who reported that five other ship-carpenters had sent in a petition denouncing Andrew Ruck and others, and declaring that there was no lack of work; that because of scarcity of white shipwrights slaves had to do the work; that the remonstrants were themselves, by trade, ship-carpenters, and through diligence and savings had purchased several negro slaves, and had with great care and pains trained these slaves to be useful to them in the exercise of their trade, "and to be necessary for the support of them and their families when by age or infirmity they became incapable of labor". The committee reported that the number of negroes hired out, "without a proportion of white men to do the business of ship-wright or ship-carpenter, is a discouragement to white men of that business", advised a bill limiting the number of negro shipwrights, and suggested an inquiry to ascertain the wages of this class of white and negro artisans. A report of another committee in 1744,⁵⁹ appointed to suggest effectual measures for increasing the number of white persons in the province, complained that one hindrance to such increase was that "a great number of negroes are brought up to and daily employed in Mechanic Trades both in Town and Country", and proposed that the negro act be amended by introducing a clause to prohibit "the bringing up of Negroes and other Slaves to Mechanic Trades in which white persons are usually employed". But the interest of many persons who were profiting from this practice prevented the passage of such a bill. There was an attempt to limit the practice by a local ordinance of Charleston in 1751. This order declared "that no Inhabitant of Charlestown shall be permitted to

⁵⁸ MS. Commons Journal of S. C., January 25, 1743/4, pp. 144-145.

⁵⁹ MS. Trans. S. C., vol. XXI., 1743-1744, pp. 332-334.

keep more than two male Slaves, to work out for Hire, as Porters, Labourers, Fishermen or Handicraftsmen".⁶⁰

A third source of information respecting the value of the slave artisan and the growing effect of his competition with white labor, is the evidence contained in laws passed to prevent competition. Laws were enacted in South Carolina in 1712 and 1740 restricting the right of the master in hiring out his slaves unless the latter were under some person's care. It was also stipulated that the owner should receive all the wages earned by the slave.⁶¹ A by-law of the trustees of Georgia, in 1750, forbade any artificer, except coopers, to take negroes as apprentices, or planters to lend or to let out their slaves "to be employed otherwise than in manuring and cultivating their Plantations in the Country".⁶² Later, in 1782, Virginia forbade masters to hire out their slaves and receive the pay.⁶³

Miscellaneous evidence of the value and efficiency of slave artisans is the testimony of Hugh Jones, in 1724, already quoted.⁶⁴ Governor Dinwiddie wrote in 1754 as follows: "I shall look out for Negro Coopers tho' I fear Success as the Owners of such do not care to part with them, but shall do my Endeavour. If you can purchase or hire, I shall be very well pleased."⁶⁵ A Virginia advertisement of a lottery, 1767, for disposing of lands and slaves, announced prizes of negro slave artisans with values, and certificates of the same, given by two men who appraised them. One was a "fine sawyer and clapboard carpenter" with his wife and child, valued at £180; another "was as good a sawyer as any in the colony, and understands clapboard work", valued at £100; a third, "A very fine Mulatto woman . . . [who] understands all kind of needle work," valued at £100; and a fourth, a mulatto woman who was a "very good mantua maker", valued at £100, including her child.⁶⁶ On the other hand, there is some testimony to the effect that slave artisans were not efficient. Washington gives us an unfavorable impression of his negro sawyers and carpenters in 1760.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ *S. C. Gaz.*, May 6, 1751.

⁶¹ Cooper, *Statutes of S. C.*, VII. 363, 407-408.

⁶² *Colonial Records of Georgia*, ed. Candler, I. 58.

⁶³ Henning, *Statutes of Va.*, XI. 59.

⁶⁴ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. See also notes 25, 38.

⁶⁵ *Va. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Dinwiddie Papers, I. 421.

⁶⁶ *Va. Gaz.* (Purdie and Dixon), September 3, 1767.

⁶⁷ *Washington's Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 147. Some advertisements indicate the artisan's degree of skill, in the opinion of the owner at least, or the amount of special training that he had obtained. For example there were offered for sale "Four negro men sawyers that can whet, set and lay Timbers". Another offer mentions "two compleat Bricklayers—whose abilities in workmanship are inferior

But whatever the shortcomings of the slave artisans, the weight of evidence shows that there was a great increase in numbers; that they were of much greater value than untrained slaves; that they were much sought after; that they did compete with free white labor, especially in the towns; and finally that they were the most important agency in the rise of plantation manufactures. It is certain also that the negro slave artisan was an important agency in the commercial development of the southern colonies, first, in relation to the necessary manufactures connected with the export of tobacco, rice, and naval stores, the making of staves, hogsheads, and barrels; secondly, in the manufacture of staves and lumber and other forest products for export; thirdly, in the tanning industries, the making of leather for home consumption and for export. He was also a not inconsiderable factor in offsetting the evils of the English commercial system, in helping the planters to diversify farming and occupations, and in helping them to solve the most pressing problem of trade with England—that of avoiding almost certain debt and perhaps bankruptcy. By raising products more valuable than tobacco and manufacturing at home many articles resulting from the new sources of raw material, and by utilizing the natural resources, the tendency to get more and more heavily in debt to English merchants was lessened. Indeed it is hard to see how the eighteenth-century plantation could have survived if the negro slave had not made his important contributions as an artisan, in the building and other trades, calling for skill in transforming raw materials into manufactured articles. The self-sufficiency of the southern colonies, made necessary by the Revolution, was more successful than it could have been if the negro slave artisan had not been developing for generations before. We may also believe that the relation of the negro slave to the later history of the plantation régime in the southern colonies, in its industrial as well as its agricultural aspect, was greatly influenced by the industrial training the slave received before the Revolution. Finally, we may conclude

to none in this province, of their complexion, being brought up by a person well experienced in that business". More convincing of the possible skill of the negro slave is a "want advertisement": "Wanted in the Country immediately, on Hire by the Month or Year or job, two Negro Carpenters That can frame a Barn of any Dimensions or Plantation Out-Building on Sills". Negro artisans who had served a regular apprenticeship were of course likely to have the most skill in their trade. One such was offered for sale with this description, viz., a negro carpenter who had served seven years to one of the "Compleatest House-joiners in the Province". *S. C. Gaz.*, February 1, 1734/35, September 7, 1769, July 9, 1772; *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, February 7, 1770.

that the evidence given of the industrial training of the negro slave is important in estimating the development of his intelligence and his capacity for the acquisition of mechanical skill. The industrial discipline which the slave received in the pre-Revolutionary period both prepared the way for his freedom, and no doubt lessened the shock when it came, and laid the foundation for his later status in a modern industrial and agricultural society.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

DOCUMENTS

Henry Adams and Garibaldi, 1860

IN the spring of 1860 Henry Adams, then twenty-two years of age, travelled southward through Italy. The reader of the *Education of Henry Adams* will certainly remember his May in Rome. The narrative proceeds (p. 93):

He went on to Naples, and there, in the hot June, heard rumors that Garibaldi and his thousand were about to attack Palermo. Calling on the American Minister, Chandler of Pennsylvania, he was kindly treated, not for his merit, but for his name, and Mr. Chandler amiably consented to send him to the seat of war as bearer of despatches to Captain Palmer of the American sloop of war *Iroquois*. Young Adams seized the chance, and went to Palermo in a government transport filled with fleas, commanded by a charming Prince Caracciolo.

He told all about it to the *Boston Courier*, where the narrative probably exists to this day, unless the files of the *Courier* have wholly perished.

The files of the *Boston Courier* have not wholly perished, though few copies survive. Of the seven Italian letters from Adams (to his brother Charles) printed there, the last two, and the only two that have any considerable historical interest, are those which are reprinted below, from the *Courier* of July 10 and July 13 respectively.

Readers of Mr. George M. Trevelyan's delightful volumes do not need to be told that there is no lack of material for the history of Garibaldi in Palermo, and the youthful Adams's letters add little of positive fact; yet we believe that many readers will be glad to see these sketches of a hero, viewed "at the moment of his greatest achievement and most splendid action" with the most penetrating of American eyes. Adams has described the interview in the *Education*, but that passage sets forth an old man's reflections upon what a young man saw. The letters printed below are plainly the writing of a very young man—but that young man was Henry Adams.

I.

PALERMO, June 9, 1860.

AT Naples we knew next to nothing about the state of things at Palermo, and there was a delicious uncertainty about having one's head knocked off or losing some of one's legs, that was gloriously exciting. Here from my room, looking out over the harbor and the bare old Monte Pellegrino, it all seems easy and simple enough, and quite a matter of

everyday life, but in Naples the prospect was like looking down the crater of Vesuvius. There on the morning of the 5th, I had to fly about from Department to Department, and never could have taken the first step towards getting here, if it had not been for the kindness of my friends, who pushed me along, and worked like beavers for me. After six hours of driving about in a sun that positively singed me, I got it all straight, and was put on board the steamer *Capri*, bound to Palermo, bearer of despatches to Capt. Palmer of the *Iroquois* and the American Consul.¹

The *Capri* was originally one of the Neapolitan line of steamers that run from Naples to Marseilles, but is now taken by Government to carry supplies to the garrison at Palermo.² We took two brigs in tow, one of them laden with nothing but water. You can form an idea of the management of affairs from that one fact, that even the water for the troops had to be brought from Naples.

Three long hours we had to wait for the Captain, who was at Portici,³ getting despatches from the King. Unluckily, the King forgot him, and went to dinner, so he had to wait till dinner was over. When he did come aboard, he was as jolly a little fellow as I ever saw, flying about and chatting all the time like a whirligig. He spoke very fair English, too, and as we had the whole ship to ourselves, it was as comfortable as any one could desire.

The weather was exquisite and the sea calm, and as the sun set, we steamed slowly down the bay of Naples with the two vessels in tow. Towards ten o'clock, when I went on deck to take a last look before going to bed, the moon was rising and I could see the island of Capri still on our left, and away behind us the great fiery blotch on the side of Vesuvius.

As we came along into sight of Palermo we heard the reports and saw flashes and smoke of a quick cannonading. I watched it with a feeling of decided discomfort. The idea of being shot, occurred to me with new and unpleasant force. The Captain however consoled me with the assurance that Garibaldi had no cannon, and that this was probably an admiral's salute from the war-ships in the harbor. So we drank a bottle of beer together and told the anxious old gunner that he might have those four precious six-pounders of his unshotted. It was nine o'clock at night when we entered the harbor and passing a number of great ships of war, we came to anchor near the British admiral and there we lay all night.

The Captain's brother came to take supper with us and give us the latest news, which all parties seemed indifferent to; so when we had finished eating, we sat on deck smoking and talking and listening to a band which was playing waltzes on board the *Hannibal*.⁴ There was

¹ Commander James S. Palmer, who afterward won great distinction, commanding the *Iroquois* under Farragut, at the passage of Vicksburg. The consul was Henry H. Barstow.

² The *Capri* had taken part in the firing on Marsala after the landing of the Thousand there on May 11, and later, May 28-29, had brought reinforcements from Naples to Palermo. Rear-Adm. H. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Hearts of Oak*, p. 198; *London Times*, May 18, June 8.

³ Five miles from Naples, on the slopes of Vesuvius.

⁴ The flag-ship of the British squadron under Sir Rodney Mundy (Rodney's grandson).

just moon enough to show how silent and calm and black everything was, just as if no Garibaldi were within a thousand miles.

The next morning, the 7th, I went on board our war steamer, the *Iroquois*, and presented the papers I was charged with, and from here to an American merchant vessel, to find our Consul. I found him bearing bravely up, though he had been some three weeks penned up with several other families, on this temporary boarding house, living from hand to mouth.⁵ The deck as I saw it was paved to some depth with dogs, chickens, pigs, fleas, babies, trunks and other articles. His spirits were good, however, under all this weight of trials, and he was preparing to return to-day to his house on shore. The English, by the way, were luckier than the Americans during the troubles, for their line-of-battle ship the *Hannibal* was turned into a hotel and baby-house, price nine shillings a day, bed and board. We have no large ships in the Mediterranean now, so paid famine prices for accommodations on board the merchant vessels. Now, however, all was quiet again, and the day I arrived the whole of the refugees were striking for shore.

I took a boat and landed. Numbers of men and boys, nearly all armed and looking very disreputable, were lounging and talking on the quay and round the Porta Felice.⁶ Here and there a red shirt showed itself. They make a very good uniform—rowdy but pugnacious; and now that Garibaldi has made them immortal, all young Sicily is putting them on, and swelling about in them almost as vulgarly, though more excusably, than New York firemen.

Of course you know the whole story of the campaign by this time, and as I am not writing a history of events, but only an account of a flying visit to the city, there is no use in my repeating what everybody has heard. But just to show you how I found affairs, I will note a few of the dates again.

At about three o'clock, the morning of Sunday, May 27th, Garibaldi dismounted from his horse at the Porta Termini,⁷ and coolly puffed away at his cigarette while he urged on his fifteen hundred men into the city. All Palermo rose at once. The street fighting and barricading lasted all that day, and that night Garibaldi slept, if he slept at all, in the Senatorial Palace,⁸ the very heart of the city, directly cutting in between the royal palace at one end of the straight main street, the Toledo, and the harbor and the castle at the other end, and isolating the royal troops in several separate positions. This was a real Garibaldian move, which ought to have cost him his life and the Sicilians their cause; but as it did not, it put the whole game in his hands. The next day and Tuesday, the barricading and bombarding continued; a good deal of property was destroyed and a good many old people, women and children were killed;—but Garibaldi was the stronger for every bomb that fell. On Wednesday the 30th, the Governor⁹ yielded to a cessation of arms,

⁵ But Consul Barstow, as his correspondence in the archives of the State Department shows, had witnessed from his own house the entrance of Garibaldi's forces into the city on the morning of May 27.

⁶ The chief entrance into the city from the water-side, at the foot of the Toledo (now Corso Vittorio Emanuele).

⁷ Now the Porta Garibaldi, at the south side of the city.

⁸ The Pretorio, or Palazzo Municipale.

⁹ General Ferdinando Lanza.

which, on Saturday, was changed into a capitulation and evacuation of the city; a most ludicrously disgraceful proceeding, for which the King would, I think, be justified in blowing the General's brains out with his own royal revolver.

So you see already more than a week had passed since the grand fight, when on the morning of the 7th we watched from the *Iroquois* the long line of Neapolitan troops wind along round the city, with drums beating and colors flying, to their temporary quarters at the Mole. Two hours afterward, when I went on shore, the whole city, except the Castle, was fairly evacuated, and his Majesty's twenty-three thousand troops had shown themselves worthy of their reputation.

So, when I arrived, the lively part of the campaign was over. The shops were still shut and the city still in arms, but there was no more fighting, nor was it likely there would be any more in Palermo. Of course the first explorations were towards the main street, the Toledo, which the Royal troops could have raked up and down—from one end from the palace, and at the other from their frigates in the harbor. There were barricades at every five or six rods, higher than my head, and mostly cannon-proof.¹⁰ Swarms of people were hurrying about, but no one was doing any work that I saw, except a few Piedmontese on guard at important points. Almost every one had a gun on his shoulder, and the peasants who had come down from the interior in crowds looked about as dirty, as lazy, and as degraded as the best conservative could wish. They were sleeping in the squares, or lounging in groups round the guard-houses, their guns in their hands, and in costumes very suggestive of brigands and cut-throats. It was a strange collection of arms that the insurgents had. There were guns of every shape and length, from the short, fat blunderbuss, suggestive of stage-coaches and highway robberies two centuries ago, up to long-barreled, thin affairs, such as the Arabs might have shot with when Mahomet was a small boy. There were plenty of Neapolitan muskets about, too, which deserters had brought, or cowards had thrown away to run better. All the townspeople seemed to have a rage for cutlasses and dirks, which were half the time tied over their shoulders with twine. Among other armed individuals there was a priest in his black robes, rushing about day after day, with a gun in his hand. A large average of the arms were too old and rusty to be dangerous to any one but the owner. Providence seemed particularly kind to the city, for though every one was carrying his gun loaded and capped and sometimes at full cock, and jamming against the stone barricades in the crowds at the narrow passages, and gesticulating as only these Sicilians and Neapolitans can gesticulate, we heard of no one case of an accident, though it is hardly possible but that there must have been a few. Still to do the Sicilians justice, for all their laziness and brutish look and dirt, it was a peaceable, good-natured crowd, and I have seen in all only one drunken man, and no fighting nor insolence. Perhaps it might not be so well behaved if Garibaldi was not dictator.

I passed barricade after barricade till I came to the Senatorial palace, where the headquarters of the insurgents are. This is not directly on the Toledo, but a little to one side. Before it, there is a small square,

¹⁰ In one of Consul Barstow's despatches, at the Department of State, he has inserted a printed map of Palermo on which he has marked in ink the positions of all the barricades, and of the Neapolitan cannon.

and what the naval officers call the improper fountain, improper because there is half Lempriere's Classical Dictionary on it, but a copious insufficiency of costume. There I found a still greater confusion and chaos, and crowds of desperately patriotic Sicilians were sleeping, eating, chattering and howling under the windows of the General-in-Chief. I stopped a minute here to look at fire-cannon of all ages and sizes, mounted on wagon-wheels and looking like the very essence of revolution, rusty, dirty and dangerous to the men that used them. These were new arrivals under Colonel Orsini, for Garibaldi had none in the fight. It is curious how the cannon make their appearance in the city. I met to-day, the 9th, with a splendid new barricade towards the castle, and in it two heavy iron cannon apparently ready for action at any instant for there was a strong guard of red shirts there, to say nothing of a crowd of armed ragamuffins. Garibaldi must have a dozen now, at the very least, and some are good little field-pieces. They say that these are old cannon buried in 1849, and now dug up again.

A little way above the head-quarters, the other great street of Palermo¹¹ crosses the Toledo at right angles, and from this spot one can look out of four gates at four quarters of the compass. Can you imagine a General with two thousand foreign troops and twenty-one thousand native troops who would lose a city like this? Still a little way further and I met a high barricade with two heavy cannon, which commanded the Toledo straight up to the royal palace and the city gate. Some red shirts were on guard there, armed half with muskets and half with rough pikes. Just beyond this I met another guard of Piedmontese who stopped me and turned me back by "Excellency's orders." As they apologized and were deeply pained, as they declared, to have to do it, I felt rather flattered than otherwise, and turning back took the first side street to the left. There is no use describing the looks of the thing, for by this time you probably know more about it than I do myself. It was now comparatively respectable to what it had been, and the dead bodies and disgusting sights had all been cleared away. After a long detour and a very indefinite idea of my whereabouts, I made my way through all the particularly nasty lanes and alleys I could find, back to the Toledo. For dirt Palermo is a city equalled by few. I do not know whether I ran any danger of being robbed; indeed it hardly occurred to me that it was possible. I never dreamed of going armed, was all alone, and looked I suppose a good deal as if I had just stepped out of the Strand in London, so far as dress went, but no one spoke to me or interfered with me in any way. Possibly Garibaldi may have exercised some influence on the robbers and rascals, for he has them shot as they are taken, and the people occasionally amuse themselves by kicking and stoning them to death. I believe about a dozen have kicked their heels at heaven already by the Dictator's orders.

After fairly seeing it all, I came to the conclusion in the first place that Garibaldi was all he was ever said to be. He and his Piedmontese are the whole movement; the rest is not enough to stand by itself now. Put a weaker hand than his here, and see how long these wild brigands would keep order and hold together. I do not pretend to judge of a country where I have only been three days, but my own belief is that Sicily is a bad lot, and it will take many years to make her a good one.

¹¹ The Via Maqueda.

In the second place, let people say what they will, it is utterly inconceivable to me how any sane general, with twenty-three thousand troops, cannon, fortified positions, ships of war, and uncontrolled powers, could have the brazen face to surrender the city.¹² Disaffection in the troops does not account for it. You can depend upon it, that no honest general could submit to such a disgrace as that and live after it. It is one of those things which I could never have believed, and which in any country but Naples would be impossible.

Dreadfully hot and tired, I eat some ice cream and came back to the hotel. Here one's time is agreeably divided between hunting for fleas and watching the fleet in the harbor, which is always firing salutes and making a most hideous noise with them. Almost every nation has its flag here. People are a good deal surprised that we have only one war steamer, and that a small one. We ought to have some line-of-battle ships round Sicily and Naples now.

At dinner we had quite a famous party. The celebrated Colonel Türr¹³ sat at the head of the table, next to him the correspondent of the *London Times*, then another of Garibaldi's Colonels, then the correspondent of the *London Illustrated News*, then I think Colonel Orsini, and so on. Brixio¹⁴ is also in the same hotel, and a number of other celebrities.

That same afternoon at six o'clock, I was taken to see the Dictator. The party was five in all, officers and civilians, and the visit was informal; indeed, Garibaldi seems to discourage all formality, and though he has just now all the power of an Emperor, he will not even adopt the state of a General. Europeans are fond of calling him the Washington of Italy, principally because they know nothing about Washington. Catch Washington invading a foreign kingdom on his own hook, in a fireman's shirt! You might as well call Tom Sayers,¹⁵ Sir Charles Grandison.

We walked up the Toledo and found the little square before the palace¹⁶ even rowdier than usual. A band of musicians had been raked together, and they were marching about and making a great noise, and looking very dirty and ragged, with a most varied collection of instru-

¹² But Lanza was seventy-two, deaf, infirm, and his viceroyalty had only begun on May 17. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, p. 266.

¹³ Col. Stefano Türr, first aide-de-camp to Garibaldi. Trevelyan, p. 213. The correspondent of the *London Times* was also a Hungarian of 1849, Gen. Ferdinand Eber, who had written for the *Times* from the Crimea, and was afterward for many years its correspondent in Vienna. Atkins, *Sir William Howard Russell*, I. 67; Dasent, *John Thadeus Delane*, I. 223. He had arrived May 24, from which date his letters to the *Times* are important sources of our knowledge. Along with his functions as war correspondent, he sought and obtained command under Garibaldi, and led the column which marched on Catania. Mundy, *H. M. S. Hannibal at Palermo and Naples*, p. 103; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, pp. 66-67. The correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* was the artist Frank Vizetelly.

¹⁴ Col. Nino Bixio is meant.

¹⁵ The most famous of prize-fights, Sayers *vs.* Heenan, had just been fought, April 17.

¹⁶ Still the Palazzo Municipale. Garibaldi did not remove to the royal palace till June 12.

ments. Of course the louder they played, the louder the people howled *viva Italia*, and the more chaotic the crowd became. The effect was quite striking, except that it was rather laughable.

We did not stop to look at this long, for the crowd made way to the uniforms, and the sentries at the steps presented arms as we passed. It was nearly the same scene inside the palace as outside. One saw everywhere the head-quarters of revolution pure and simple. On the staircase and in the ante-rooms there was a chaos broken loose, of civilians, peasants, priests, servants, sentries, deserters from the royal army, red-shirts, and the blue-shirts, too, of Orsini's artillery, and all apparently perfectly at home. We had no time to look carefully, however, but passed straight on, every one showing us the greatest respect, until finally the third door opened, and there we were, in the presence of a hero.

Garibaldi had apparently just finished his dinner, and was sitting at a corner window talking with four or five visitors, gentlemen and ladies of Palermo. He rose as we came in, and came forward shaking hands with each of the party as we were introduced. He had his plain red shirt on, precisely like a fireman, and no mark of authority. His manner is, as you know of course, very kind and off-hand, without being vulgar or demagogic. He talked with each of us, and talked perfectly naturally; no stump oratory and no sham. Just as an instance of his manner, there was one little action of his that struck me. I was seated next him, and as the head of our party remarked that I had come all the way from Naples in order to see him, he turned round and took my hand, thanking me as if I had done him a favor. This is the way he draws people. He talked mostly in French, for his English is not very good.¹⁷ As for what he said, it is of no particular interest to any one, at least as far as it was said to me. The others can report the conversation if they think it worth while to report what was not meant to be reported.

But this was only half the scene. At a round table in the middle of the room, a party of six or eight men were taking dinner. These were real heroes of romance. Two or three had the red shirts on; others were in civil costume; one had a dirty, faded, hussar jacket on; one was a priest in his black robes. They were eating and drinking without regard to us, and as if they were hungry. Especially the priest was punishing his dinner. He is a fine fellow, this priest, a slave to Garibaldi and a glorious specimen of the church militant. I have met him several times, rushing about the streets with a great black cross in his hands. He has a strange, restless face, all passion and impulse.¹⁸ The others were Garibaldi's famous captains—a fine set of heads, full of energy and action.

Here I was at last, then, face to face with one of the great events of our day. It was all perfect; there was Palermo, the insurgent Sicilian city, with its barricades, and its ruined streets with all the marks of war. There was that armed and howling mob in the square below, and the music of the national hymn, and the five revolutionary cannon.

¹⁷ "The Dictator stated that he was sufficiently acquainted with the English language to comprehend it when either read or spoken slowly." Mundy, *H. M. S. Hannibal*, p. 127.

¹⁸ Fra Giovanni Pantaleo, who had joined the expedition at Salemi; picture in Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, p. 66.

There were the guerilla captains who had risked their lives and fortunes for something that the worst envy could not call selfish. And there was the great Dictator, who, when your and my little hopes and ambitions shall have lain in our graves a few centuries with us, will still be honored as a hero, and perhaps half worshipped—who knows!—for a God.

And yet Heaven knows why he, of all men, has been selected for immortality. I, for one, think that Cavour is much the greater man of the two; but practically the future Italy will probably adore Garibaldi's memory, and only respect Cavour's.

As he sat there laughing and chattering and wagging his red grey beard, and puffing away at his cigar, it seemed to me that one might feel for him all the respect and admiration that his best friends ask, and yet at the same time enter a protest against fate.

As we came away he shook hands with us again, and took leave of us with the greatest kindness. As we made our way through the crowd across the square, we stopped a minute to take a last look at him. He was leaning on the railing of the balcony before his window, quietly smoking his cigar, and watching the restless, yelling crowd below. He seemed hardly to be conscious of the noise and confusion, and looked in his red shirt like the very essence and genius of revolution, as he is.

We walked up the Toledo to see the part which I had been refused admittance to, in the morning. The uniforms opened the way for us everywhere, so that we examined the whole ground at our leisure. I suppose you know all about it, so I shall not waste my time by describing it. Only take care of believing all that the English reporters say; not that they tell lies, but that they are artistic in their work; in other words, they throw a glare of light on their own point of view, and leave the rest of the picture all the darker. The Neapolitans are about the most contemptible nation I ever happened on, and this bombardment was a piece with their character,—but as for a fight between Neapolitans and Sicilians, it seems to me that it is just about nip-and-tuck between the two. Putting principles out of the question, the only sympathy I can feel with any party is with the Piedmontese. The Sicilian common people are famous ever since the Sicilian Vespers, and especially in the cholera troubles of 1837, for being the most brutal and savage crowd known in modern Europe.

So ended my first day in Palermo. The next morning there was still more wandering about the streets. The amount of red, white and green colors displayed is quite astonishing. Every one has a cockade,—or almost every one, except perhaps some of the foreigners. Placards are beginning to make their appearance, just as before the annexation, in the Romagna and Tuscany. "We choose Victor Emanuel the II. for our King." Garibaldi is bound to force that through, if he can, but I think his work here will be of the hardest. However, you are as good a judge of that as we are.

We had quite a funny little "looting" expedition that afternoon, up to the Royal Palace. Some English officers from the *Hannibal* and an American from the *Iroquois*, with some civilians, nine of us in all, went off to walk, and as the only walk is up the Toledo, we brought up finally in the palace. The Neapolitan troops had evacuated it the day before, and it was now held by a guard of fourteen Piedmontese. We had the run of the whole place except the state rooms, and of course made any amount of noise, and satisfied our curiosity, by going everywhere and

examining everything. Of course, a building which has had several thousand Neapolitan troops quartered in it for some months keeps little enough of its good looks, and still less of its objects of value, even if there ever were any there, which I doubt. The rooms were full of boxes, beds, scraps of uniforms and soldiers' accoutrements, fragments of manuscripts, books about religion and war, indiscriminate dirt and fleas. It was perhaps as dirty a hole as I ever saw, even in Palermo. Still, plunder is plunder, or "loot," as the Englishmen called it, and the party loaded itself with old woolen epaulets, braid, books, handcuffs, and so on, as mementoes. In the stables we found an army of hungry rats and a dead horse. In the guard-house, a wretched man who was to be shot within twelve hours for an attempt at assassination; this was a sight that I could have spared, for the people had pretty much made the shooting unnecessary. When we came out again on the square we had a grand flea-hunt, for the beasts were all over us by dozens, and they were the biggest and hungriest specimens yet discovered. The *Illustrated News* correspondent, who was one of the party, is to make a sketch representing us dancing about and diving at each other's pantaloons.¹⁹ The officers' white duck showed the game beautifully, but our woolen ones only gave them a shelter, and the consequence is that I am never free nor quiet, for my clothes bagged the most and concealed them the best.

Loaded with the plunder we marched back again, the grinning red-shirts presenting arms to us everywhere. Only one of us could speak Italian, but no one cared for that, and a crowd of the natives had something or other to say to us, good-natured and even liberal. One old brigand whose portrait has already figured in the *News*,²⁰ insisted on paying for our ices and treating us to Maraschino all round, which was very generous indeed, but the stuff was enough to make one sick, even though it were taken to Garibaldi's health. After it we marched down to the harbor with the romantic old bandit and his gun, in the middle of us.

I had now been two days in the city and had only one object more to detain me here. It is always better and pleasanter to look at more than one side of a question, and I was curious to see how it went with the royal troops, and as I had brought with me from Naples a letter to an officer of the Swiss legion, I did not care to leave the city without presenting it. So, towards evening to-day I walked round the harbor to the quarters of the royal army, perhaps half an hour from the hotel. They still have their barracks and are packed away in a great prison, a cloister and so forth. Three lines of guards stand across the streets towards the city, but I passed without question, and so did every one also, as far as I could see. The troops were just forming for the *rappel* as I crossed the great parade ground, so I delivered my letter to the officer, who was already at the head of his command, and sat down myself before the guard-house to watch the performances. The troops came on the ground with their music and all their equipments, looking as fresh and as effective as any troops I ever saw. There seemed to be no end to the numbers. They poured in, thousands after thousands, and

¹⁹ The inquisitive reader will find many interesting sketches of scenes in the Sicilian revolution, by Vizetelly, in the *Illustrated London News* for June and July, 1860, but not this.

²⁰ La Masa, no doubt.

packed the whole great space. I do not think I ever saw so many troops together before; there must have been hard on twenty thousand on the spot, all well-armed, well dressed and apparently well-drilled.

As they were forming around the square a small guard came in on one side, passing me, and had in charge an old gray-mustachiod Swiss, either drunk or a deserter, or both, who seemed terribly excited, and was talking in a half scream. The Major looked very grave, and disappeared as they brought the man in, but he kept on his screaming as they locked him up, and I could distinguish an endless repetition of "Do with me what you will. Life and death are all one now." Poor old fellow, I wonder whether they shot him. The King is in a bad way when his Swiss desert, for whatever faults the Swiss may have, they have proved themselves faithful, at least.

After about half an hour the troops were marched off again, and my friend came back to me and took me into his quarters. It is a queer place now, this city, for strange sights and scenes. Here was a battalion of foreign troops quartered in a Franciscan monastery, and the cloisters were all alive with busy, chattering German soldiers.²¹ We went up the staircase and into my friend's room, a monk's cell, furnished with half-a-dozen chairs, on which a torn and dirty mattress was laid, a table on which there were some lemons and oranges, and a lamp. A couple of glasses of lemonade were ordered, and we sat down and sipped it, and smoked and talked.

It was a strange place for a chance traveller to hit on, and I must say the general effect was gloomy to a degree. The evening was heavy and dull, with the clouds hanging low on the mountains, and as the little white-washed cell got darker and darker, and the hive of soldiers down in the cloisters grew more and more indistinct, while the officer was telling his story, full of bitterness and discontent, I really sympathized with him, and felt almost as gloomy as he.

Of course, one ought to hate a mercenary soldier, and especially one of the King of Naples. Very likely I should have hated him if he had been coarse and brutal, but as he was very handsome, young and well-bred, in fact quite an extraordinary gentlemanly fellow, the thing was different. His ideas were just about what I had supposed they would be. He and his division had arrived on the second day of the fighting, and had not even been in fire. He had personally nothing to brag of and nothing to be ashamed at. But he declared solemnly, as his own belief and that of the whole corps, that the King had been betrayed; that the city might easily have been held; and that though the greater part of the Neapolitan troops were cowards rather than traitors, there were still excellent regiments among them who would have been more than strong enough under a capable general. The feeling among these troops was that they were all sold out, and the commanding officer of the foreign legion had felt so strongly about it, that when ordered just before the armistice not to stir a step nor to fire a gun, he had gone to the Commander-in-Chief and with tears in his eyes, offered him his sword, protesting against taking any share in such a burning disgrace. The bombardment was just as bad as all the rest of the performance—as

²¹ On the new so-called "Bavarian", but more properly Austrian, recruits to the army of Francis II., taking partly the place of his Swiss auxiliaries, see Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, p. 138.

cowardly as it was ill-judged. The soldiers had been badly treated, and were deserting in crowds; and even the Swiss and Germans were disgusted with the want of faith kept with them, in not fulfilling the terms of enlistment, and were deserting like the rest. He asked me what people said in the city about Garibaldi's plans, and the immediate prospect, and I replied that no one knew anything except the General himself. "Well," said he, "I will tell you the universal belief among us. It is that the embarkation of our corps is to be purposely delayed until there is a rising in Naples, so that we may not be there to put it down. You will see we shall not get back to Naples till it is all over there." Do not suppose that I believe all this myself. I only want to show you what the condition of the royal army is. Yet he said that even now, demoralized as the troops were, there were still enough good ones left, with the help of the eighteen hundred Swiss, to hold their position, and drive Garibaldi out of the city, in spite of barricades and all. Indeed, he did not seem to believe much in the Sicilians or their barricades, and called the Piedmontese the only real force that could do any fighting—speaking of them and their General as brave men and honorable enemies.

It was dark when I came away, and he came with me to the shore. to see me on board a boat. We had literally to force our way through the thousands of Neapolitan soldiers who were wandering about, chattering and laughing and playing. We shook hands on parting, and I wished him happily out of the whole affair.

"Yes," said he, "I think indeed the whole matter is now nearly ended; at least for us; and I am not sorry. I am tired both of the people and the service."

A tolerably mournful conclusion of ten years' duty, and a gloomy yielding up of a long struggle against fate. But we liberals may thank God if the battle ends so easily.

H. B. A.²²

II.

NAPLES, June 15, 1860.

My last letter, dated from Palermo, the 9th, announced that I should come off as soon as I could. It grew stupid there to one who was only a looker-on and not in the secret course of things. There was little or no society, and still less variety of amusements. Barricades are interesting at first, but one gets very soon angry that they are not taken down. It provoked me to see some fifty thousand men roaming about with guns in their hands, which nine-tenths of them would not dare use against an enemy, unless from behind a wall, and all the time the aqueducts were cut, and no one thought of repairing them, and the communication from street to street was as good as wholly interrupted. Of course, this was all right enough; and it was not to be expected that respectability should get the upper hand again so soon; but I speak naturally as a traveller, not as an insurgent.

From my window I used to watch the ships every day, and the dirty little boys on the quay who were making targets of the marble statues

²² Henry Brooks Adams. At a later time, Adams dropped his middle name—wherefore his *North American* article of 1867 on the story of Pocahontas is occasionally attributed to Herbert B. Adams, then a boy of sixteen!

of their kings. Bomba's²³ head was already stoned back again into a rough block of marble, and he had lost all his fingers at the time I left. This was the only wanton destruction I saw, and, under the circumstances, it speaks well for the Sicilians.

Besides, I felt sure that the first act of the melodrama was over, and that the second would not have Palermo for its scene. The most that could be hoped for was a popular vote on the question of annexation to Piedmont, and they seemed to be preparing for this when I was there. But the very idea of this rather hurt my feelings. It is, to be sure, a great compliment to the strength and life of Americanism, that Napoleon and Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi think it necessary to go back to our foundation principle as the source of their authority; but do you know, to my mind these European popular elections have a little too much demonstration in them; they are a sort of continual squatter sovereignty, and very like a satire on our theories. I do not pretend to be a philosopher, but I do know that if I were a conservative I should wish nothing better than these elections for an argument against and a sarcasm on popular governments in their whole length and breadth. It is a sword with two very sharp edges, this, and is apt to cut the wrong way as well as the right.

The *Capri* was still in the harbor on the morning of the 10th, and I took a boat and went off to her. The little captain was flying about in a crowd of officers, busy as could be, but shook hands with me as if I were his dearest friend and we had been separated for years. He was to leave for Naples that same afternoon, and would be most boundlessly delighted to have the pleasure of my company. Perhaps you will appreciate this Italian profusion of politeness better, if I tell you that the captain is a prince, and belongs to an old and famous Neapolitan family.²⁴

We were to leave at three o'clock. At four I came on board. Everything was in an Italian confusion. Everybody was screaming and gesticulating, or else lounging and sleeping. Some hundreds of soldiers with their wives, children and baggage, as well as some horses, were being embarked, and of course the scene was much like a pitched battle. On the shore among the soldiers there were a number of the famous policemen, the *sbirri*, whom the Sicilians have such a love for. These men must feel happy, very; for if they were accidentally caught, the Sicilian mob is not gentle, and they might find themselves skinned alive; or going through some other process of the kind. An officer of the *Iroquois* told me that only the day before I got here, he had seen one of these fellows lying in the middle, his head cut off and put between his legs, and a cigar stuck in his mouth.²⁵ Whether he deserved his punishment or not, of course we cannot know. But as a matter of pure curiosity I would really like to know how many of the men who served him up in that elegant way would have been policemen themselves if they had been offered money enough for it. There is, to be sure, a great deal that is admirable in this Sicilian revolution, but a great deal, too, that reminds one very much of a servile insurrection. Where is the Sicilian nobility and the gentlemen who ought to take the lead in a movement like this? or is there a single Sicilian competent to sustain

²³ Ferdinand II., the late king.

²⁴ He was a Prince Caracciolo; see the introduction, above.

²⁵ Vizetelly tells the same story, *Illustrated London News*, June 23.

Garibaldi or take his place? If not, of course it is the fault of the government they have been under so long, who have crushed out all development; but what sort of a people it must be, if a foreigner, with an army of foreigners, supported by "Native Chiefs" and their clans, make the only great force of the whole movement. One cannot always control his ideas and prejudices. I can never forget, in thinking of Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, that under the Roman government these countries were the great slave-provinces of the empire, and there seems to be a taint of degradation in the people ever since. It is not good stock.

It was past six o'clock before we got off and left Palermo and Sicily behind us. The first cabin was not at all full. A few officers of different ages, and a girl, the daughter of one of them, were all who sat down to supper with us. On deck it was different. The men were wedged together there, and every inch was covered. Among the soldiers were some few Germans, and I talked some time with one of them, a good-natured Viennese, who had served fourteen years in the Austrian army, and altogether had had quite a glorious career: Hungary in '48 and '49; Magenta and Solferino in '59; and now at Palermo. That is a curiously happy list for any one who seeks the bubble reputation. He told me all the story of his wrongs; how they had promised him thirty dollars bonus; cooked meals twice a day, and generally the life of a prince; and how on coming here he had found himself most outrageously sold; never received a cent of his money; lived like a dog, and for ten days since he landed at Palermo had eaten nothing but hard biscuits and raw pork. He was very good natured under his troubles, though, abusing Naples and the Neapolitans terribly, but seeming to think that nothing in the way of bad management had ever been known in his dear Austria. "They did not do things so there," he thought; and I did not try to convince him that they had done things much better. He was on the sick list, down with fever, and returning to Naples with some other sick and wounded. He said there had been a great many desertions in his battalion, which is new and not wholly formed yet. Indeed, I think he seemed, if anything, rather sorry that he had not deserted too; and though he scolded loud enough at Neapolitan cowardice, I do not think he seemed any more eager to storm the barricades than his betters had been. Such men as these are nothing to supply the place of the old Swiss regiments. His great hope now was that the report might be true, of the determined disbanding and dismissal of the whole corps, so that he might get back to his dear Vienna. Indeed, whether he stays or not, his military spirit is for the time gone. And so it must be with the whole army—all demoralized.

The captain was amusing as usual at supper. We drank the King's health with a proviso for his improvement, and discussed the political affairs largely. Every one is disgusted, or says he is. Half the army says it is rank treason that did the business; the other half says it was incompetence. I believe myself that if those generals had been fighting for themselves instead of their King, they would have done much more than they have done; in other words, as royal generals they deserve to lose their heads. As men, their behavior may have been highly praiseworthy, perhaps; though it is at least a question, whether a man does well in accepting his ruler's favors and rewards, and then betraying him. To us Americans, all these Italian troubles reduce themselves simply to a single process, by which one more of the civilized races is forming

itself on the ground that we have always stood on, and taking up as its creed the same list of ideas that we have always declared to be the heart and soul of modern civilization. Feeling sure of the result, as we must, we can afford to be a little cooler than other people, and being so strongly prejudiced, we can almost be impartial. So about the King, I feel more pity than pleasure at his troubles. I never heard anything bad of him, except that he is stupid and governed by bad influence; but people who ought to know, have told me that he was a very good sort of a man, as men go. It is the fashion to abuse him, just as it is the fashion to abuse the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; but you would probably find that these are all good men enough, just as good and very likely a great deal better than you or *I*, or the writers in the *London Times*, who tear a passion to rags so splendidly. We, who are so far ahead on the winning side, can afford to try to be fair to the losers. The King of Naples is probably one of the few men in the Kingdom who has done nothing that he ought to be hung for.

It was curious to see, that night, how people can sleep. At about midnight, after finishing supper and smoking, and while every one was looking up their berths, I went forward to see how the soldiers managed to get along. They were lying all over the deck, tumbled down anywhere, and all snoring like hogs. They lay so thick and it was so dark that I trod on three or four who were in the way, but they did not mind it, and when the engineer, who was passing, kicked them out of the passage, they dragged themselves a few inches on one side, with a groan, but never woke up.

I was not so lucky. Recollecting my last night on board this boat, nothing could persuade me to go down below again, and so I appropriated a sofa in the upper cabin and with gloves on my hands to keep off the fleas, passed the night as well as might be, but little sleep enough came near me.

The next morning all was still, bright and clear. The poor soldiers' wives on deck looked very unhappy, and some, who had fine dark eyes, and pretty olive complexioned faces, looked so pale and patiently sad that they might have made beautiful studies for Magdalens and Madonnas. Certainly sea-sickness is one of the trials of life which brings us all down soonest to our common humanity; these women seemed absolutely refined by it, and their husbands and friends were as careful and gentle towards them as if they were all a set of refined and educated heroes and lovers.

We were crossing the bay of Naples at eight o'clock, and it seemed as though we were coming home, it all looked so pretty and natural. Thanks to the captain's politeness, we, passengers, were put on shore at once, and were not stopped long by the police, whose great curiosity was to know how it all looked in Sicily. Our information made them look all sorts of colors, as we had no particular motive to soften the story.

So my excursion to Palermo ended. Nothing could have been easier or more successful. It is something to have seen the raw elements at work, though one is no element oneself, and though before making a demi-god of Garibaldi one had better wait until it is fairly settled what he is going to make of all this, and whether he is not going to do more harm than good by the whirlwind that he is riding; still, a life has not been wholly uninteresting, even if the only event in it were to have talked

with one of the most extraordinary of living men on the scene of his greatest success.

Naples is much as ever. It is the gayest and liveliest place in Italy. The Chiaja²⁶ is swarming with carriages every afternoon, and the common people lounge about, useless to gods and men, but happy as life is long. Everything is military, but no one now believes in the army, and I have sometimes been dreadfully tempted to whisper "Garibaldi" and "Palermo" in the ears of some of these uniformed rascals, just to see what they would do. I do not believe they have self-respect enough to feel insulted. There have been rumors enough of intended demonstrations, but nothing has happened, and it is better so. They cannot do anything, without Garibaldi, and had better not try. There is a great deal of anxiety here; endless rumors of constitutions, insurrections, demonstrations and so forth, and just now the two vessels said to have been captured under American colors, are making a good deal of uneasiness in our part of the city.²⁷

This letter is duller than usual. You will excuse it, for it is the last. I've tried to show you Italy as I've seen it, and now I have finished it all. It would be interesting to stay this struggle out here, but it will take a long time, and, after all, the essential points of interest for us Americans are now tolerably secure. Recollect that Garibaldi and the Italians are after two separate objects; one is a Free Italy, and the other is a United Italy. These are two separate things, and though we all sympathize with their struggles for the first, we can afford to hold our own opinions as to the value of the last. That is purely a question of Italian politics, and interests us only as identically the same struggle now going on since fifty years in Germany, interests us; that is, as a minor question of local importance. Of course many people wont agree with this statement of the case, but I am contented to follow on this question the lead of Napoleon the Third. If you prefer to hold to Garibaldi, we can agree to differ amicably.

H. B. A.

²⁶ Via de Chiaia, a principal street.

²⁷ On June 11 the *Fulminante*, Neapolitan war-vessel, had come into Gaëta with two prizes, the small steamer *Utile*, Sardinian but first reported to be American, and the sailing-vessel *Charles and Jane*, of Bath, Maine. She had captured them on their way from Genoa to Cagliari, whence no doubt they were to proceed to Sicily, for the *Charles and Jane* had seven or eight hundred Garibaldians on board. *Times*, June 22, 26, Naples correspondence; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, p. 49. The despatches of the American minister, Joseph R. Chandler, in State Dept., Two Sicilies, vol. III., are for a time full of the "outrage", but the ending of the kingdom of Naples presently ended the dispute.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

The Freedom of the Seas. By LOUISE FARGO BROWN. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. xvi, 262. \$2.00.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the eclipse of number 2 of the Fourteen Points, the phrase "freedom of the seas" continues to make its appeal. The timeliness of the present volume is diminished somewhat by the excision of the subject from the covenant of the proposed League of Nations. As neutrality, we are told upon the highest authority, will no longer fit into the general scheme of things, why discuss the freedom of the seas? Which is one way, of course, of looking at it—as a mere chapter in the law, or policy, of neutrality. To take this point of view is by no means to see the whole, as the author of this interesting volume has clearly shown. Indeed the phrase has been used as a means to combat exclusive sovereignty over the seas, to dispute fishing-rights, to break down monopolistic self-sufficiency, to extinguish the slave-trade, and even to protect it, all in time of peace, and generally to challenge sea-power in time of war.

The author frankly states that her narrative is based upon an "attempt to discover what the phrase has meant in the past". She shows that since Grotius used *Mare Liberum* (which of course did not mean the freedom of the seas in any modern sense) the phrase has been protean in allusion. The varying content has had some trace, some suggestion, of a common factor of a juristic kind—the "good customs of the sea", or the law of nature, or justice, or even humanity, according to the standards or policies of the moment.

Miss Brown's book is distinctively historical and not legal or theoretical in character. A bibliographical commentary shows the main sources from which the narrative was drawn, a really valuable sketch of the literature of the subject. One might suggest that Mahan's writings should have been included, while Stephen's *War in Disguise* and Bowles's *Sea Law and Sea Power* are but earlier and later chapters of continuous British commentary. Even if the book be professedly popular, an index might have been added.

Beginning with the well-known Antonine rescript as a text, the author traces the rise and fall of sea-sovereignty, passing into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the modified conception that the struggle for sea-freedom was essentially a struggle for freedom of commerce. On the one hand, with British sea-power there was developed "a field of responsibility for policing the seas until it comprehended all the waters

of the globe". Upon the other hand were the interests of commercial nations "more concerned with their prosperity when at peace than with their advantage when at war". Both made for the freedom of the seas in time of peace, for both sought a régime of law upon the sea. In time of war all was changed. Sea-power asserted the legality of the *Consolato*. Land-power challenged it. Those states, strong neither on land nor at sea, hoping to be neutrals more often than belligerents, sought first to modify the rigorous rule of ownership, and its extensions, by treaty stipulations, and later by an appeal to the law of nature. The contests of commercial interests and the influence of these upon the practices of maritime capture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are well described. The bearings of the law of nature and of the spirit of enlightenment are insufficiently noticed. The connection between the doctrine of sea-freedom and that of territorial waters, as developed by Bynkershoek, is not indicated. With the short-lived Franco-British treaty of 1786, the century-old commercial antagonism upon the seas gave promise of abatement. The wars which so quickly followed contorted, and gave a radically different connotation to, the phrase freedom of the seas. Barère sought to use it to curb British sea-power in terms which have been recently familiar. The attempt to revive the claims of the Armed Neutrality of 1780, had they proved successful, would only have assisted in the establishment of the Continental System. Pickering realized in 1797 that European land-power unchecked by British sea-power would be intolerable, a conclusion long deferred, or resisted, by his recent successors in office. The nineteenth century sought to establish the freedom of the seas by a series of conventions, the last of which, the Declaration of London, is the chief relic of a fatuous optimism. The law of the sea of yesterday, in the judgment of the author, has been a failure (with which conclusion one may legitimately disagree), and she asks, "is it not time to tear up the poor fabric and rear a better law upon a better basis?" This question is sought to be answered in the concluding chapter. "The only possible solution . . . is international control of the seas through a league of nations." Admitting that in time of peace the seas are free, "As long as war on land is recognized, peace cannot arbitrarily be enforced on portions of the sea any more than upon the sea as a whole without producing inequalities that nations find intolerable". Therefore international control of the seas through a league of nations must be predicated upon the extinction of warfare upon land; something which the most devoted advocates of the league do not now claim for it. The alternative is "future contention for that so-called sea freedom which really means sea power". These predictions do not seem profound, though in the present situation one guess is possibly as good as another. They do not add much to the value of the book. To trace the various meanings of the phrase from the period of discoveries, through trade rivalries and contests of sea-power, through the idealism of the nineteenth century to the shipwreck

of the Great War, was an excellent idea, and in the form presented by the present volume, it is well done.

J. S. REEVES.

Democratic Ideals and Reality: a Study in the Politics of Reconstruction. By H. J. MACKINDER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919. Pp. xi, 266. \$2.00.)

MR. MACKINDER is a man of distinction. He has been director of the London School of Economics. He is a member of Parliament. He has written *Britain and the British Seas*. But, up to the present, the most significant fact in his career has been the publication, in the *Geographical Journal* for 1904, of his address on "The Geographical Pivot of History": Since then, everyone interested in the larger aspects of history or human geography has waited impatiently for the book in which he would present his views in their definitive form. The book is now before us, somewhat disguised under the title of *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, somewhat obscured by being made to serve as the basis for "a study in the politics of reconstruction", but a very remarkable contribution, nevertheless, to political thought.

The book is, essentially, a study in the strategy of empire, and the author's thesis, reduced to its most obvious terms, is that whatever power controls the area of the Russian empire must eventually control the world. His own statement is, perhaps, less immediately intelligible: "Who rules East Europe", he says, "commands the Heartland: Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island: Who rules the World-Island commands the World" (p. 186). By "World-Island" is meant the entire Old World land-mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By "Heartland", Mr. Mackinder, it must be confessed, means somewhat different things at different times; but, primarily, it signifies the central area of Eurasia, in which the rivers flow either to inland seas, like the Caspian and Aral, or into the Arctic Ocean.

This area has been of the utmost importance in history, and is destined to a still greater future. The marginal powers of the past, like Greece and Rome, have been overthrown by attack from the rear. The Russian dominions, based upon the impenetrable Arctic, cannot be attacked from the rear, and hence constitute an ultimate seat of power. An organized empire, entrenched in this area, in command of interior lines of communication, would be free to strike at will at any point between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

In chapters III. and IV., Mr. Mackinder considers this area, first, from "the seaman's" and, second, from "the landman's point of view". Chapter V., the Rivalry of Empires, is a study of the influence of Russia in European politics during the nineteenth century; the key to the whole situation in East Europe, Mr. Mackinder thinks, is the German claim to dominance over the Slav (p. 155). The recent war arose from the revolt

of the Slavs against the Germans (p. 170). West Europe must necessarily be opposed to whatever power attempts to organize the resources of East Europe and the Heartland (p. 171). Hence, to arrive at a condition of stability, there must be set up a "middle tier" of really independent states between Germany and Russia (p. 212).

In chapters VI. and VII., the author sets up certain principles making for "the freedom of nations", and "the freedom of men". There must be no nation strong enough to have any chance against the general will of humanity (p. 207); no nation may be allowed to practise commercial penetration (p. 219); every nation must be assured equality of opportunity for national development. In discussing the freedom of men, Mr. Mackinder shows himself a disciple of Le Play. If nations are to last, their organization must be based dominantly on local communities within them, and not on nation-wide interests (p. 228). Local communities must have as complete and balanced a life of their own as is compatible with the life of the nation itself (p. 231).

Mr. Mackinder has produced a book which is of signal interest and importance to all students of history and of politics. It is, therefore, with deep regret that the reviewer must admit that he has not fulfilled the promise of his address of 1904. Instead of developing the ideas there presented, and so making a permanent contribution to knowledge, he has elected to employ his materials in support of a political philosophy that appears to be out of harmony with the most hopeful tendencies of our times.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Histoire de Lorraine (Duché de Lorraine, Duché de Bar, Trois-Évêchés). Par ROBERT PARISOT, Professeur d'Histoire de l'Est de la France à l'Université de Nancy. Volume I. *Des Origines à 1552*. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1919. Pp. xiv, 520. 9 fr.)

THE region here in view is, in the large, that lying between the Vosges on the east, the Ardennes and kindred heights on the north, the Argonne to the west, and on the south the forest band stretching from Argonne to Vosges—approximately what the Romans included in their Belgica Prima, and the Church in its archdiocese of Trèves. In a stricter or more specific way, it is the region where settled the three Belgian peoples Mediomatrici, Leuci, and Verduni; where the Church built its dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; where in feudal times arose numerous sovereignties, but outstandingly the duchy of Upper Lorraine, the duchy of Bar, and the Three Bishoprics; where since the Revolution have been the four departments of the Meurthe, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Vosges.

Toward knowing the history of this region fittingly, a great deal has been done; but thus far without attaining a satisfactory general synthesis. The material now includes, it has been estimated, some fifteen thousand titles. Those who would know, without long delving by themselves, the roads followed in the work and the principal things done, may consult the magistral survey thereof contributed by Pfister to the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* in 1911 and 1912. A good many general syntheses have indeed been attempted, but they have been concerned either with some one of the states—for example Calmet in the eighteenth century, and Digot in the nineteenth, on the duchy of Lorraine—or with less than the full course of the story—witness Kaufmann omitting everything preceding Carolingian times. And none of them would stand the full light of either the method or the knowledge of this generation. The time seemed at hand to try a synthesis that would at once apply to the whole region, extend from prehistoric times to to-day, and be abreast of present scholarship. This is what Monsieur Parisot has essayed.

As special equipment for the undertaking, he has whatever advantage may come from nativity and residence in the region, but chiefly a long experience both as student and as teacher of the subject. Born at Nancy in 1860, he arrived in 1898 at publishing a thesis in which *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens* (843-923) was so capably treated that that part of the subject may be said to be finished. The Institut accorded it the coveted Grand Prix Gobert. Since then he has done various lesser studies, acted as professor of the history of eastern France in the University of Nancy, and made ready the work now before us. The real date of this first volume should be 1914 or 1915, the manuscript having been sent to the printer shortly before the outbreak of the war.

Monsieur Parisot regards as the governing factor for dividing or periodizing his subject the successive changes in the case or relations of the region with reference to neighboring peoples or countries. For each period he sets forth the results of a carefully wrought questionnaire, covering in succession the general course of events; social organization, and political and administrative institutions; material and economic life, and diversions; education, literature, and arts; religion, the Church, and morals. The whole attained is closely reasoned, just, clearly jointed, and expressed directly and simply. It bears throughout the stamp of high competence. With it we are in the way of having for Lorraine the sort of treatment Monsieur Pirenne has been giving us for Belgium—a general synthesis by a single mind, with the numerous units entering into the story not treated one after the other but the entire lot of people viewed together, in all aspects and in their successive general relations.

E. W. Dow.

Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243-1482. Edited for the Selden Society by I. S. LEADAM and J. F. BALDWIN. [Publications of the Selden Society, vol. XXVI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1918. Pp. cxvii, 156.)

THOUGH the king's council has been a perennial theme of historical study since the time of Fortescue, the present volume is the first attempt to present a representative collection of cases. The council was not a court of record, and it maintained no system of preserving records of litigation. Occasional records of cases appear on the chancery rolls, and among the manuscript collections in the Public Record Office are preserved some petitions to the council. If such a petition chances to be endorsed, it gives a record, often the only record, of the case. The difficulty of recovering these cases lies in the fact that there is no one place in which they may certainly be found. It is significant that Mr. Leadam was first stimulated to begin the search for conciliar cases by finding four such cases among the files of the Star Chamber proceedings. At the time of his death he had transcribed and edited eight of the cases in the present volume. Professor Baldwin then took up the work and carried it to completion. It is no small achievement that the editors have been able to draw, from material so unpromising, a collection of cases which are important not alone for the history of the council but for the history of English law as well.

The cases, thirty-nine in number, cover a period of 250 years. They have been chosen to represent the various aspects of the work of the council, and the effort of the editors has been to select cases which have a special bearing upon some larger problem. As the council was no mere court and drew no sharp distinction between its legislative and judicial functions, the presentation of cases which relate to statutes and matters of public policy is warranted. It is this which gives interest to the *Bishop of Sabina v. Bedewynde* (p. 18) which led to the Statute of Provisors; and *Taylor v. Rochester* (p. 2) which gives an interesting glimpse of the judicial scandal of the reign of Edward I. Other cases relate to subjects so diverse as disseizin, the outbreak of the London mercers against the Lombards, the office of the escheator, the claims of a papal provisor, misconduct by sheriffs, the Bedford riot, etc. *Esturmay v. Courtenay* (p. 77) is an early case of maintenance before the council, the forerunner of the type in the court of Star Chamber. Through these petitions in fact may be seen the gradual growth of the council's jurisdiction which was acquired through custom and acquiescence before the statute of 3 Henry VII. It is somewhat disappointing to find few cases that throw any light upon the relation of the council and chancery.

In the history of private law great interest attaches to the influence of the council upon the development of equitable doctrines. Professor Baldwin has given pertinent warning of the danger of stating prematurely the separate formation of the court of chancery. He shows very

clearly that the council did not receive criminal in preference to civil cases, and that even after the chancellor acquired a certain independence the attendance of the council in "equitable" cases was regarded as necessary. Likewise he has properly called attention to the Petition of the Hansards (p. 76) which gives the earliest recorded decree upon a petition to the chancellor, the decree being by the council. The institutional connection between the two courts is clear enough, but that the council gave expression to equitable principles is not plainly demonstrated. One suspects that the editor has not quite realized the legal situation in some of the cases. For example *Hogonana v. A Friar Austin* (p. 85) is cited as an example of "trusteeship in goods and chattels". Now the petitioner made no effort to enforce a trust, and quite properly; for there was none. What did in fact exist was either an obligation to account or a bailment. The same criticism applies to the treatment of *Norton v. Colyngborne* (p. 115). The appearance of cases before the council for which in theory the common law provided a remedy has little significance in the history of equity. On the other hand *Fouquire v. Nicole* (p. 118) deserves more comment than it receives. An important phrase is omitted in the translation, and the editor appears to have misconceived the nature of the cause of action. Moreover the use in the petitions of such expressions as "droit et raison" (p. 83), "resoun et bon faye" (p. 86, 95), "comme reson demande" (p. 97), "contra droit et raison et la promess" (p. 119) affords a clue which might have been followed with interesting results.

The editor has written an interesting and valuable introduction in which he has treated the jurisdiction of the council, its procedure, and its relation to other courts. This is followed by a detailed consideration of the principal cases. Our only criticism of the method of procedure is that there is an inclination to regard a case as an opportunity for an historical excursus, and that the notes give an immense amount of minute information which has little or no bearing upon legal questions. In view of the purpose for which the Selden Society was established, there may be some question whether it would not have been better to give a larger number of cases less elaborately edited. But the work as a whole possesses an enduring value and bears tribute to the learning and industry of the editor.

WILLARD BARBOUR.

Parliament and the Taxpayer. By E. H. DAVENPORT. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. HERBERT SAMUEL. (London: Skeffington and Son. 1918. Pp. 256. 6 sh.)

THE writing of a book on the subject of Parliament and the taxpayer from early times to the present day is a pretty large order to accomplish within the scope of 50,000 words. Such a task, so narrowly confined, leads to certain dogmatic methods of presentation that leave the reader somewhat in a quandary about the proof. The author might have as-

sisted the reader by references to the historical material that would support the conclusions, but practically no foot-notes grace the bottom of the pages to carry the reader into the material. The book has two pages of bibliography, divided into primary, state papers, and secondary authorities.

These criticisms, however, must not be taken too seriously, for the book is a real book, and stimulates the reader to make some interesting queries as to the wisdom of giving financial matters a much larger place in the teaching of history in our schools and colleges. This, however, is not the purpose of the author, who uses the historical material as a starting-point in the discussion of the practical problems of government expenditure. The thesis of the book is stated in a sentence found on page 74: "The truth became evident that control of revenue was useless without control of expenditure." With this in mind, the author develops a well-defined and clear historical sketch of the efforts of Parliament to secure control over government expenditure, followed by a significant analysis of the difficulties of such control in present Parliaments.

In developing the discussion, the history of England is divided into three divisions, the Pre-Revolution Control, the Post-Revolution Control, Modern Control and the Reform of Modern Control. It is pointed out that the gains in control during the Lancastrian period were set aside during the Tudor period, and defied in the Stuart reigns. Nevertheless there was a distinct gain, resulting in the establishment of a responsible executive. To accomplish this, Parliament used control of expenditure as a means to an end, to make the executive responsible to the legislature. The Revolution brought about a positive reconstruction of the public financial system, which established a real distinction between the personal revenues and expenditure of the king and those of the state.

The beginning of the national debt forced the maintenance of the distinction. The civil list had its start in the same period. An annual supply by Parliament made it possible to anticipate expenditure more accurately. In these gains the House of Commons lost interest after the Revolution of 1688, and Parliament did not really see that the prerogatives of the crown were taken over by the cabinet. The Whig Parliaments allowed the advances made to go by the board, and let the forms of parliamentary control be forgotten "in the *laissez faire* of an aristocracy". Now and then progress was made, as in the establishment of the consolidated fund of 1787. "The Age of Gladstone restored the forms of Parliamentary control, and indeed elaborated and perfected them: but instead of restoring the spirit, it killed it." Gladstone focussed the attention of Parliament on the formal regularity of expenditure rather than on the magnitude of expenditure. The House even now is handicapped by its own rules, and its inability to secure intelligible financial information. The incentive of a personal dispute between king and Parliament was gone, but the rules of delay set up by Parliament to protect itself against the king continued to interfere and delay financial

control by Parliament. "Yet although the modern House of Commons has the remedy for its grievances in its own hands, it still wastes its financial time in discussion on procedure arising out of fifteenth-century needs." It appears then from the author's viewpoint, and much to the surprise of the ardent admirers of the English budget system on this side of the water, that

If the whole financial system in Parliament is out of keeping with modern needs and conditions, it is not to be expected that members of Parliament will pursue with any enthusiasm the science of national economy. The dead weight of historical procedure does not encourage live financial criticism. The House of Commons cannot set about the control of the popular expenditure in the same way that it set about the control of unpopular monarchs.

In 1902 a select committee was appointed to consider parliamentary expenditure, but sixteen years passed without any progress until the appointment of the select committee of 1917-1918. This committee has done notable work in carefully examining parliamentary procedure and the expenditure of departments. Upon its reports there rests the possibility of some reforms in modern control of finance. With this hope in mind, the book closes with a discussion of ideal control. Through this it is hoped to secure, in President Taft's words, economy and efficiency, saving and saving for a purpose. While the way is plain through the process of ideals of economy for proper information, delegation of powers to permanent committees and sufficient information, yet "the will of the politician is uncertain. Nothing will be achieved until the House of Commons acquires a financial conscience; and it will never acquire a financial conscience as long as, on the one hand, it fears the Whips more than *2d.* on the Income Tax, and on the other hand, the public accounts do not plainly represent the truth."

FRANK L. McVEY.

Albania, Past and Present. By CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI. With an Introduction by CHARLES D. HAZEN, Professor of Modern History, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xxii, 255. \$2.25.)

THIS book belongs to a type with which every student of Balkan affairs is thoroughly familiar and which combines special pleading for one of the Balkan groups with a close, first-hand, and relatively comprehensive knowledge of the geographic, historical, political, and economic facts appertaining to that group. The type may therefore be described as characterized by a certain amount of genuine information more or less artfully manipulated in the interest of a political programme. For that programme, nationalist and ultra-nationalist in scope, the Balkan author would enlist the reader's sympathy in the ultimate hope of persuading him to give his active support to the cause for which the book

stands. Propaganda therefore, such as in the prevailing travail of the world seems to be the only sort of product which a Balkan historian, or for that matter the historian of any section of the earth whatever, is capable of turning out.

Since history of this kind is all that ever comes to us out of the Balkan storm-centre, there was no reason why Mr. Chekrezi, an Albanian, should not have been moved to plead the cause of his people, especially as they have proved themselves woefully inferior to their Balkan rivals as noisy demonstrators at the bar of the world's opinion. Of course no one in his senses will conclude that this reticence was the effect of a superior modesty. The Albanians have been silent for the simple reason that they have dwelt in the almost inconceivable darkness which antedates the modern instruments of publicity. This oldest people of the peninsula has never had either a literature or a system of schools; until just the other day it has not even boasted an alphabet or a printed book. Illiterate, stalwart mountaineers, very handy with the rifle, the Albanians have never failed to command the respect of both friends and enemies, but, ignorant of everything beyond the narrow range of their hills, they trod contentedly in the footsteps of their fathers until they were as completely out of touch with the advancing civilization of Europe as the tribes of the African jungle. The author indicates the causes but hardly explains with anything like scientific adequacy the unfortunate stagnation of his countrymen. As a pleader rather than a historian he is much more interested in the remedial measures which under the stimulus of the nationalist impulse have recently been carried through and which, in his opinion, must in the near future raise the Albanian people to the educational level of its Balkan rivals. At least two-thirds of the book is concerned with the events of the last few years and incidentally with an accumulation of evidence that the fateful petrification of Albania has yielded to the modern spirit of change. In its passion to survive, Albania has learned that it must acquire the mental outlook and employ the economic tools and spiritual weapons of its neighbors. It must become European, as Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania became European a generation or two before Albania started. In a word, the Albanians desire to constitute a modern independent nation, and appeal to the moral sense of the world in support of their purpose. Unfortunately, that moral sense is hard to locate, especially when it is in conflict with victorious neighbors—in this case with the territorial plans of the Serbs, the Greeks, and the Italians. The author, who finished his book just before the congress of Paris came together, probably knows by now that the Albania of the future has for its shield and buckler its own indomitable spirit and nothing else besides.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Preussen und Deutschland in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Historische und Politische Aufsätze. Von FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1918. Pp. vi, 552.)

PROFESSOR MEINECKE is not only a brilliant member of the University of Freiburg i. B. and for a quarter of a century editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, he is also the author of a number of excellent works dealing with modern German history. These include the life of Field-marshal von Boyen, a volume on Radowitz and the German Revolution, a general survey of the period of the German uprising, 1795 to 1815, and above all his stimulating *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, in which he discusses principally the relations of the Prussian national state with the German culture-state. It is these works which he has in mind when he writes in the preface to the present volume:

Essays and addresses which accompany the larger works of an historian, when collected, must of themselves round into a whole in which the themes of the larger works are variously preluded or summarized, but also substantially supplemented and followed out in directions which the strict coherence of a larger presentation did not permit.

Of the twenty-six titles in this volume twelve appeared originally in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and most of the rest have been published in more or less popular magazines or in collective works. Only two of the papers, and these inconsiderable, are here printed for the first time. Nevertheless the volume has a very decided value. The style is fresh, crisp, and vivacious, and the presentation in short compass of these "summaries and supplements" is a boon to the reader who is not a specialist in the field of the author's studies.

It is in the first three of the five groups into which the contents are divided that we find most of the echoes of the "larger works"—in group I., on the general history of Prussia and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; group II., on the period of the uprising and the restoration; and group III., on the period of Frederick William IV. and the young Bismarck.

In the first essay, entitled "Preussen und Deutschland in 19. Jahrhundert", Meinecke states the German problem of 1866-1867 as summed up in the proposition: "A federal state with two great powers in the federation is impossible." But behind this he finds as the "central problem" which engrossed the attention of the men of 1848-1849, the following: "Is a federal state with *one* great power in the federation possible, and under what stipulations is it possible if the remaining members of the federation and non-Prussian Germany are not to be stifled and oppressed by the too great weight of the most powerful state?" Paralleling this was the counter-query of Prussia, as to whether *her* claim to the protection of her historical individuality and personality as a state would be respected. Rapidly and brilliantly Meinecke sketches the views

of Stein, Gneisenau, Boyen, Paul Pfizer, the brothers Gagern, Arnims, Stockmar, F. Naumann, and others, and indicates by his procedure—as he does elsewhere—that he considers that the history of opinion is often as vital as the record of things done.

On the other hand, in group IV. of the series—on German history-writing and investigation—Meinecke clearly indicates that he has little use for the “social psychic” of Lamprecht, of whom he says (“*Die Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und die Modernen Bedürfnisse*”, p. 464) that the historical profession must hold Lamprecht to be “a fanatic, a destroyer and spoiler of true history”. He adds that “the horizon gray of his abstract giant creations wearies one”, and that he is “already becoming more praised than read”.

In the essay in this same group entitled “*Zur Beurteilung Rankes*” (pp. 366–367), he sets forth this sound view of the terms in which history is to be interpreted:

The notion of “mass movement” and “collective forces” with which we are accustomed to work is indeed philosophically necessary in order to portray the great unities which arise from the confluence of countless single forces; but looked at closely it is seen to be only an abbreviation which summarily expresses the source of these unities, and therefore leads easily to misuse in application. The inner core of all historical life is and remains the “living life of the individual”, if one interprets the word of Ranke in the sense of modern experiences . . .

namely, as including also the subconscious sphere of obscure instinctive movements of the will and emotions.

The fifth group, entitled “*Aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges*”, includes two essays and an address, with the titles respectively, “*Kultur, Machtpolitik, und Militarismus*”, “*Bismarck und das Neue Deutschland*”, and “*Die Deutsche Freiheit*”. These contributions are very interesting, not only because of the light which they throw on the attitude toward the war of intellectual circles in southwest Germany, but also because of their criticism of such doctrines as that of the “two Germanies” made use of by our Allied propagandists. Herr Meinecke perhaps has as little to reproach himself with in the way of deviation from sound historician-ship as any of his colleagues in Germany or the Allied countries; but naturally these three papers stand on a different plane from the others in the volume. In his preface he says of this group that he has left the papers almost unaltered, “since each can be justified only in view of the time in which it arose”; and he adds: “We have all lived so rapidly that each has grown out of and beyond what he thought and felt in the beginning of the war or in the spring of 1915. After the war we shall have to submit all the steps of this development to a national self-examination, but even then we shall repudiate nothing which we have experienced hotly and genuinely in this monstrous time.”

The general effect of the volume is to remove somewhat that distrust of German historical scholarship, founded upon the prostitution of it by

Treitschke—of whom, indeed, Meinecke says: "The newer history-writing follows not in Treitschke's footsteps, but in those of Ranke, and . . . strives with conviction after Ranke's impartiality and objectivity as regards other nations, and corrects step by step the errors of portraiture and exaggeration of Treitschke's historical pictures."

SAMUEL B. HARDING.

The German Empire, 1867-1914, and the Unity Movement. By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xviii, 496; x, 535. \$5.00.)

MR. DAWSON, who has been interpreting German social and economic problems for thirty years, turns in this book to political history. Distinguished by a patient study of the sources, a sincere desire to be fair, and a complete absence of chauvinism, the work is the best account of the origin and development of the German Empire. Its value lies not only in the admirable narrative, which is thoroughly readable, but in the author's understanding of the German mind and his ability to discuss problems as they appealed to Germans. This does not mean that he has written an apology for Germany, for he is a patriotic Englishman; but he has produced a solid history and not propaganda.

The creation of the German Empire was the central fact of the nineteenth century. In the earlier chapters, Mr. Dawson pictures the movement for "unity through liberty", which envisaged a national German state resting on a democratic and parliamentary government, and traces its fortunes through the Frankfort Parliament, which he describes as "a failure more heroic and honourable than many brilliant successes" (I. vii). The Zollverein was perhaps the chief unifying force, but it is well to emphasize the reality of the Liberal movement in pre-Bismarckian Germany.

Naturally Bismarck is the central figure of the story, and two-thirds of the book is devoted to his career. The greatness of the man, intellectually and politically, is portrayed on every page, but Mr. Dawson persistently records the successive set-backs of liberalism with each new victory of might over right. The Act of Indemnity passed by the Prussian Diet in 1866 was the surrender not of the government, but of the Liberals, who "sealed the fate of their party and cause for over half a century" (I. 260). To what extent Bismarck was the evil genius of German political life—"In none of his known utterances will be found the slightest trace of sympathy with the political aspirations of the masses of the people" (II. 224)—is shown by the detailed account of party politics from 1871 to 1914. Liberalism was submerged by class warfare, for every party, except the Centre, became the preserve of a class. The government bought the Conservatives and National Liberals by a high tariff; and the advocacy of a more democratic system by the Socialists, for their own ends, only strengthened the reactionaries.

In foreign affairs Bismarck was the great realist. "He wished to make Germany strong and great, but only in order that she might be able to realize herself, live her own life freely and do her own work in the world without menace, and not that she might assert an arbitrary superiority over other nations, still less impose her will upon them" (II. 255). Hence, after 1871, his policy was peace, and his successors, Caprivi and Hohenlohe, clung to his traditions. The success of this policy is measured in expanding trade and in the high regard for Germany among the nations of the world till the beginning of this century. Yet there was a fatal legacy:

The German nation saw, and sees, its Iron Chancellor only as the great unifier at home, never as the disuniter abroad; as the gainer of new territories, never as the spoliator of neighbouring states. It does not remember, in short, that much that he did for Germany was done at the expense of other countries, and that in settling the question of German unity he unsettled other questions, which have never since ceased to be a source of international disquiet and danger (II. 267).

Moreover, "by the spirit and methods which he introduced into political life, Bismarck did much to pervert the moral sense of his countrymen and to lower the standard of public right in Europe" (II. 265).

Hence, perhaps, the "new course" of William II. and Admiral Tirpitz, upon whom Mr. Dawson places the responsibility for the catastrophe of 1914:

there grew up in the room of the old Bismarckian autocracy a far more mischievous personal régime of the Emperor, expressing itself in forms and measures which are contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the constitution. All initiative was taken from the Government; everywhere the Sovereign stood forth as the real director of public policy (II. 341).

Surrounding himself with flatterers who encouraged him in his vaulting ambitions, he prevented Bethmann-Hollweg, a man of peace, from coming to terms with Britain on the naval question, and allowed full play to the sinister genius of Tirpitz, a procedure the more dangerous because

Germany was eager for power and prestige abroad, yet troubled little to consider how these might most wisely be obtained; she sought empire, and in seeking it gave the impression that she expected to enrich herself at the expense of other nations; in both of these quests her ruler and statesmen were wanting as much in discrimination as in patience (II. 459).

It may be, as Mr. Dawson contends, and he is competent to judge, that "the idea that the people of Germany as a whole, or even in large part, were . . . bent on war is a legend [that] may be dismissed"; that "only a few responsible leaders of public opinion or men of political and social influence took seriously the intemperate oratory of the military party, still less of the Pan-Germanists" (II. 483). But whereas, "in the early years of the Empire it was difficult to pass Army Bills, even when

Bismarck was their advocate, with Moltke always in reserve, while to naval bills the Diet would not listen at all . . . latterly bills of both kinds were to be had almost for the asking, and since 1907 neither the Clericals nor the Radicals dared to raise a voice in serious protest" (II. 378).

The book ends with the War of 1914, which was due in part, so Mr. Dawson thinks, to "the growing disposition of the Berlin foreign office to defer to Austria and go her way", and the "complete control over the statesmen of Berlin" asserted by Aehrenthal and Berchtold (II. 516). The treatment of Anglo-German relations is singularly dispassionate, it being conceded that "in the colonial controversies of 1884 and 1885 England put herself in the wrong" (II. 213). Also:

Nothing that is known of the inner history of the Triple Entente . . . can be held to justify even the assumption that its purpose was to harass, thwart, and ultimately to isolate Germany. This, however, was the belief entertained in that country, and it cannot be reasonably denied that there were facts and appearances which must have made the belief easy for a suspicious government and a nervous nation (II. 480).

The naval rivalry "was not a question of right or wrong, but merely of different views of national interest" (II. 497).

One wishes that the author had discussed more fully the question of the Prussianization of Germany, and how far the fear of Socialism contributed to the decision for war. The relation of economic progress to political problems, however, is well analyzed, and there is an adequate account of imperial legislation and the disaffected provinces. There were not forty-one states in the Confederation of 1815 (I. 12), nor was Signor "Gioletti" Italian "foreign secretary" in 1913 (II. 517). Occasionally the date of some foreign incident is wrongly given. Mr. Dawson has evidently not seen the article of M. Goriainov in this *Review* (January, 1918) on the Russo-German reinsurance treaty, or he would not have written that "the terms of the treaty have never been published" (II. 527).

The author has not lost confidence in the German people. Writing in December, 1918, he says:

it is justifiable to believe that, under whatever form of government the nation may choose to live henceforth (for the choice, for the first time in its history, is in its own power), the Empire will continue; nay, more, that it will be strengthened in the end rather than weakened, by renovation and adaptation to the imperious demands of a new, and, let us hope, a brighter era of European and world civilization (II. 524).

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT. •

Germany, 1815-1890. By Sir ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD. Volume III., 1871-1890. (Cambridge: University Press. 1918. Pp. xvi, 437. \$3.75.)

THIS volume concludes Sir Adolphus Ward's three-volume survey of German history since 1815. The title is misleading in its modest limits, for of two so-called supplementary chapters occupying half the volume, the first covers the social and intellectual life from 1850 to 1900 and the second (of over ninety pages) deals with the reign of William II. to 1908. The volume then really concludes with the Second Hague Conference. Sir Adolphus holds that at about this point the forces in Germany making for international peace and good relations definitely lost the battle to the party of militarism and aggression. The judgment could have been fortified by carrying the account to 1911, but there is no stopping point between 1911 and 1914 and I hold with the author that the years 1907-1908 are the real turning-point from the standpoint of present values and interest.

The author's treatment has grown better and somewhat clearer in the successive volumes. This is due, not so much to his method, as to the simplification of the subject-matter by the overwhelming dominance of Prussia and Bismarck since 1871. The score of German states, princelets, and innumerable petty provincial statesmen who mobbed the unresisting pages of the first volume are now kept in reasonable subordination in the political history of unified Germany.

It is a colorless political survey of the Bismarck period that is here presented. Its strength lies in its dispassionate treatment of these twenty years. The encyclopedic method of the early volumes yields an advantage here when men like Bennigsen, Miquel, Delbrück, and Lasker are at least located in the political and party history of the two decades. None of them, not even the founder of modern Germany, really marches across a single page. If one of them even starts he turns back dismayed at all the parentheses and dashes he will have to hurdle. Particularly good are the accounts of the beginnings of German rule in Alsace and of the *Kulturkampf*. The accounts of the war-scare of 1875 and Bismarck's quarrel with Harry von Arnim are interesting even if confused, but are given space out of proportion to their importance in such a compressed narrative.

The whole work should be treated as a reference-work to be used with the index. This is especially true of the 125 pages on social and intellectual life, packed full with names, important and unimportant. The last chapter, on William II. to 1908, is a good survey from which the discriminating reader can select the points of future friction and international misunderstanding, particularly if he knows something of the industrial and commercial development of Germany, here wholly neglected.

Minor errors seem mostly the result of hasty editing; e.g., Italian not

French troops entered Rome, September 20, 1870 (p. 44). Von Mühler was an unpopular not a popular minister (p. 47). Fueter's excellent work on historiography and the two volumes of Vogt and Koch on German literary history were evidently not used in connection with chapter VI., and are missing from the bibliography, which is only a supplement to those in the preceding volumes.

English historical writing on this period done even in the midst of war may point with pride to the excellent tone of this work, but among recent works the equally dispassionate life of Bismarck by Robertson and the two volumes on German history since 1867 by Dawson are much more satisfying than the volume under review.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Modern Germany, its Rise, Growth, Downfall, and Future. By J.

ELLIS BARKER. Sixth edition. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. ix, 496. \$6.00.)

It is difficult to recall an English author who devoted himself more assiduously to anti-German propaganda before the war than Mr. J. Ellis Barker; there are few whose work was more useful in rousing the intellectuals in England to a sense of real danger. The importance of Mr. Barker's contributions was somewhat overshadowed by his Conservative affiliations during a Liberal régime but they are not likely to be denied by students of opinion during the war. As one of those friendly to Mr. Barker's general thesis and to many of his convictions, I should find myself in a quandary were it not for the fact that the question upon which I am to pass is the immediate value to the professional historian of the sixth edition, rewritten and enlarged, of Mr. Barker's best-known book. It may not also be beyond the point to touch upon the probability that the book may possess the elements of as valuable a judgment on the present situation in Germany as a contemporary author, as avowedly hostile to Germany, is able to attain.

The groundwork of the book was a number of articles contributed originally by Mr. Barker to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, and the additions to the book are certain of the articles written by Mr. Barker since its original publication, including some three or four written during the war. Without having made any elaborate examination, it does not seem to me that the material content of the book is as substantially changed as the publisher's announcement declares. Mr. Barker's own foreword is much more modest. The last two chapters on the future of Germany and Austria are the only portions which are really fresh and which contain Mr. Barker's latest convictions. They suffer inevitably from the fact that they were written immediately after the armistice. Mr. Barker feels that Germany is thoroughly exhausted by the war and that an immediate renewal of the issue is out of the question. He even thinks it probable that "by her attack in 1914, Germany has destroyed

not only the Empire but the future of the German race". If Germany should remain united, "it will be utterly ruined economically", but, as it seemed to him likely that the nation would divide into several parts, it would be doubly ruined. Mr. Barker concedes to the German advocates the point that, if economic and political conditions should remain on an ante-bellum basis, Germany would by 1950 possess in man-power and economic resources an overwhelming superiority to France and perhaps to Great Britain as well, but he felt in November, 1918, that the war was practically certain to limit Germany in territory and resources, resulting in an industrial stagnation which would retard the growth of population, and thus, by the transfer of industries to countries more favorably situated, actually to produce by 1950 a condition which would make the white population of Great Britain, and even France, larger than that of Germany. He saw "a democratic, impoverished, and sobered Germany".

The soundness of the historical portions of the book is certainly open to considerable argument. His proposition that the policy and character of "Prusso-Germany" "changed completely" under William II. is not one which the majority of students are likely to accept. The majority of books written before and during the war have been chiefly concerned with showing the identity of procedure during the reign of William II. and that of his predecessors, and, even though Pan-Germanism may not have been full-fledged in 1888, it was in existence and the main features of German constitutional life and economic procedure already thoroughly in being. There is again no constructive fact more important than Mr. Barker's opinion that the ante-bellum government in Germany was opposed "by the great bulk of the Electorate". This leads straight to the conclusion that the new government is genuinely democratic, representative of the people, and probably trustworthy, and gives real point to Mr. Barker's statement "that a new Germany is arising".

It is again very definitely stated (p. 311) that one-third of the German people were Socialists and also members of the Social-Democratic party. One of the commonest propositions of the political scientist has been the fact that the Social-Democratic party drew its chief strength from the elements of liberal and radical political and constitutional reform rather than from the Socialists properly so called. If we accept the estimates of the Socialists themselves as to their number, we shall not count any third of the German population. Mr. Barker also juggles with names when he declares that Germany "lacked a powerful liberal party", for pretty nearly any German, whatever his political stripe, would instantly reply that the largest and most flourishing German party before the war was a liberal party, *the* liberal party, the Social-Democrats themselves.

These facts are so essential to any judgment or conclusion about the last fifty years of German history that it is hardly likely that those who will quarrel with Mr. Barker about them as I do will approve of his

general historical propositions or agree that his facts and figures warrant his conclusions. I make myself no great pretensions to a knowledge of German history, but when Mr. Barker declares as a general proposition that the King of Prussia had during the nineteenth century more power than Napoleon I., he seems to me to show very little knowledge about the actual operation of constitutional machinery in Germany and still less about Napoleon. It seems to me to be conceded that the government in Germany was in the hands of a group of men who ruled partly through the imperial prerogative, partly through the Prussian legislative and administrative machinery, but chiefly through the Bundesrat. We learn also from Mr. Barker that modern Germany was the creation of the Hohenzollerns. One may query what he proposes to do with the generally accepted historical tenets about Stein, Maassen, and Bismarck. A not too extensive familiarity with Bismarck's correspondence would tend to show that his work was done despite a good deal of opposition on the part of the Hohenzollerns, and the least knowledge about Stein's life would prove that the great difficulty encountered in 1808 was the opposition of the crown. But when we find that Germany itself was merely "an enlarged Prussia", it seems clear that Mr. Barker's prime source of information on German history has been the Pan-Germanists and that he has read them with a rather hasty glance. Surely the history of Germany before 1870 will scarcely lead to the conclusion that Germany is merely an enlarged Prussia. The history of the German states since 1870 and their hostility to Prussia is scarcely consistent with Mr. Barker's larger proposition. It is a pity that a man who had so much to say that was true and who succeeded on the whole in saying a good deal so well should not have contented himself with his main proposition.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Impressions of the Kaiser. By DAVID JAYNE HILL, former American Ambassador to Germany. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1918. Pp. 368. \$2.00.)

THE work has a "selling title" which does not do justice to its contents. It will prove a disappointment to the reader who expects from the former ambassador to Germany an informal record of personal and diplomatic experiences, such as have given to the pages of Gerard, Whitlock, and Morgenthau a raciness not always consonant with traditional ideas of diplomatic discretion and dignity. In Dr. Hill's work the personal element is hesitatingly introduced and in no way affects the serious and scholarly tone of the book, which is in the main a review of German foreign policy under William II., with an attempt to define the Kaiser's responsibility for the growth and expression of the war spirit among the German people. In some chapters, indeed, like those dealing with German relations to Great Britain in 1912 (ch. VIII.) and British efforts for peace, retraced in the light of Lichnowsky's memorandum (ch. IX.),

the figure of William quite vanishes into the background; and of the illustrative documents introduced at the end, at least one-half are quotations from official books and other sources to prove Germany's responsibility for the war.

In general, Dr. Hill's work suffers from this attempt to do two things: to set forth the character of William and fix his responsibility for the course of events in Germany and to trace the rise of the Great War as the necessary development of German foreign policy. For the student of history, the reaction of the author on the surroundings and events of the beginning of his ambassadorship in 1908-1909 (chs. IV., V.) will constitute the chief value of the book. His personal recollections of the Kaiser, the haughty temper of the Berlin foreign office regarding the arbitration treaty of 1908, the move of the Frankfort bankers to do a good stroke of business in defunct railroad securities (p. 102)—all reproduce the tense atmosphere of imperial Germany in the prosperous days which prepared its downfall.

On the other hand, the author's attempt to establish the responsibility of the Kaiser for the trend of German thought which culminated in the war reflects, perhaps unavoidably, the temper of the critical months of 1918 in which it was written. Viewed in the strictly "judicial spirit" which Dr. Hill claims for himself at the outset, he certainly convicts William, out of his own mouth and by well-authenticated acts, of egotism, love of theatrical display, an inordinate fondness for the show of power, a tendency to regard himself as the chosen instrument of God, and a firm reliance upon the sword. As to the other interesting question whether, through the skillful exercise of the imperial power, the Kaiser "wove into one solid fabric all the threads of German self-interest" (p. 53) and whether "a different kind of an emperor would have produced a different Germany" (p. 310), here the author presents a well-reasoned discussion, but his treatment of the evidence is that of an attorney for the prosecution and not of an historian. It is the lawyer and not the historian who presents statements damaging to the accused with no other source than "it is reported" (pp. 69, 174), or "it is said" (p. 173), or who tells a striking story of the purchase and destruction of an American magazine issue without the slightest mention of authority therefor (p. 115). The historian will demand a sterner attitude toward such sources as Bernstein's edition of the *Willy-Nicky Correspondence* (cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV. 48, note) or of stories quoted as facts from Guillard's *L'Allemagne Nouvelle et ses Historiens* (p. 36) or Shaw's *William of Germany* (p. 64). He will ask for further evidence than that cited that William after 1905 "endeavored to form a close relation with Great Britain, in order to prevent an *entente* with France" (p. 83), or that the Emperor's attitude toward war is that it is a "great game" (p. 173). It is the lawyer and not the historian who could make the remarkable deduction from the ex-Kaiser's quoted expressions after the

assassination of Franz Ferdinand that plans had been formed between the emperor and the Austrian heir and that those plans, not having been published, must have been warlike plans (p. 239)! Finally it is the lawyer, not the historian, who in summing up overlooks such facts favorable to the accused as Italy's joint opposition with Austro-Germany to Serbian access to the Adriatic (p. 214), or who in reviewing Janushkewitch's testimony at the Soukhomlinov trial (pp. 287, 288), fails to state that the tsar's order to suspend mobilization was ignored by the Russian general staff.

ROBERT H. FIFE, jr.

The Cradle of the War: the Near East and Pan-Germanism. By H. CHARLES WOODS, F.R.G.S., Lecturer before the Lowell Institute, 1917-1918. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. xix, 360. \$2.50.)

THE foundation of Mr. Woods's useful commentary on recent conditions in the Near East consists in a dozen years of purposeful travel, of experience as a correspondent in peace-time and war-time, of careful study, of conversations on the ground, and of acceptable writing. After a preliminary sketch of recent Balkan history, he surveys rapidly the parts played by Serbia, Montenegro, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, and the Albanians during the war up to July, 1918. He then takes up in some detail a group of situations which have been objects of his special study: the military highways of the Balkans, the Dardanelles campaign, the operations near Salonica, and the Bagdad railway project. He concludes with a chapter in which he discusses the "Mittel-Europa" scheme, the "true basis of a permanent Balkan peace", and the disposition of the Turkish territories after the war.

The general attitude of Mr. Woods is that of most persons who know all parts of the Balkan Peninsula equally well, and who therefore see in a well-balanced recognition of the wishes of the people of the different areas the only hope that Southeastern Europe will cease periodically to produce world-crises and wars. Fierce partizans of any one of the peoples concerned cannot but be disappointed at his judicial attitude. Serbian and Greek propagandists in particular, who insist that the basis of settlement should rest largely upon each people's position on the winning or the losing side at the end of the war, cannot agree with his desire to do ethnic and economic justice to the Bulgarians and Albanians. Nevertheless his is that fundamental Anglo-Saxon impartiality, which may at times be disregarded temporarily amid the passions of war and the wrestlings of diplomacy, but which remains the basis of the success of the English-speaking peoples, not only in ideal leadership but also in far-sighted practical statesmanship.

One thread of purpose which runs throughout the book is to demonstrate that by reason of the "Pan-German" policy of keeping trouble

stirred up in the Balkans for the sake of increasing Teutonic power, the hope of future peace demands the defeat of this policy and the erection of a barrier against its resumption. Since his book was written, this question appears to have been settled definitively by the break-up of Austria. A second purpose of Mr. Woods is to show that a type of settlement which would revise the treaty of Bucharest of 1913 in the direction of better conformity with the principle of nationality can alone promise relatively permanent peace in the Balkans. Since unfortunately the peace conference of 1919 has seen fit to revise this treaty somewhat in the other direction, a word as to Mr. Woods's recommendations is in order. He would have had the cession of 1913 in the Dobruja restored by Rumania to Bulgaria, except for Silistria; he would have arranged an impartial ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Macedonia, and a redistribution of that territory according to their wishes; he would not have cut Bulgaria off from the Aegean Sea, but would have widened her outlet to that sea by the inclusion of Kavala; he would have provided protection for the Jews of Salonica; he would have enlarged Albania a little at the south and given it Ipek, Diakova, and Prisrend as necessary market-towns at the north. He would have compensated Rumania and Serbia for unwilling alien elements withdrawn from their rule, by granting to each the addition of its kinsmen in other directions; as for Greece, he saw neither in her equivocal part during the war nor in the actual ethnic situation any justification for a considerable enlargement of her territory.

In regard to Turkey, his convictions are not so clear, except that he would throw open the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations, and shatter the German control of the Bagdad railway.

Wide knowledge has preserved Mr. Woods from incorporating many errors of fact. The King of the Hejaz was not in possession of Medina in July, 1918. The map of the military highways of the Balkan Peninsula needs some revision, now that more is known about the improvement of roads and the building of railroads during the war. The other maps and the illustrations are satisfactory.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Der Weltkrieg: Vorläufige Orientierung von einem Schweizerischen Standpunkt aus. Von S. ZURLINDEN. Zweiter Band. (Zürich: Orell Füssli. 1918. Pp. xxvi, 725.)

THE scale upon which Herr Zurlinden intends to complete his work on the World War is indicated by the fact that the present volume, the second, ends with the year 1908, the account of the beginning of the conflict being reserved for the fourth volume. The whole history is to be comprised in six volumes, those already published containing more than seven hundred large octavo pages each, with much fine print.

It is obvious that a work of this character, the labor of one man, must

of necessity be of the nature of a compilation. In substance it is a veritable encyclopedia of European history since the Congress of Vienna. When it is finished and provided with a general index, it will be a valuable work of reference, perhaps the most comprehensive single repository covering the period from 1815 to the end of the Great War. Until the general index is furnished, however—for there is none in the separate volumes—it will be a constant exasperation to those who consult these bulky tomes to realize that so many important details are somewhere in these pages and so difficult to locate.

As an encyclopedia, aside from its provoking concealment of really rich contents, this work when completed will be of value in every reference library. New and interesting details gathered from a great variety of sources are here woven together in a consecutive narrative, sometimes overburdened with digressions, but meticulous in the effort to omit nothing which the reader might wish to know on the subject. The notes at the end of the volume present a useful bibliographical annex and indicate wide and careful research in contemporary writings little known to American readers.

The present volume, with the subtitle "The Historical Basis of the World War" (first half) begins with the fall of Napoleon I., the first chapter being "After the Congress of Vienna", followed by "In the Time of the Crimean War", "Bismarck's Wars of Conquest", "Bismarck's Peace", "Triple Alliance and Entente", "The Colonial Era", and "The Eastern Question".

Writing, as he says, from a Swiss point of view, Zurlinden measures every doctrine and every event by the standards of democracy. Bismarck is naturally his *bête noire*, and to him more than to any other he ascribes the perversion of the German mind and responsibility for the German spirit of military aggression. "No one", he affirms, "has so brutally as this man of blood and iron yielded himself to a policy of pure might and force, no one has used it more unscrupulously. . . . The wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870 are Bismarck's personal work."

The writer does not confine himself to assertions. He enters analytically into the causes and procedure of each conflict, and with an unanswerable array of evidence—some of it not to be found in English writings—he traces the hand of Bismarck in preparing the wars which he had planned for the domination of Prussia. So persistent and irresistible was Bismarck's power of will that Kaiser William I. uttered the helpless sigh, "It is difficult to be emperor under such a Chancellor!"

The story of the annexation of the Danish provinces is told with much circumstantiality. "I had all the world against me", declared Bismarck, "the Crown Prince and Crown Princess on account of relationship, the King, I know not for what reason, Austria, the small German States, and England, through jealousy. Even the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein", referring to the German population there, "would not hear of annexation".

New side-lights are thrown on the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain. Although Bismarck was not the first to suggest it, he gave it his earnest support, and when it was virtually rejected in Prussia secretly promoted it for the purpose of irritating France. At a dinner party given in Berlin on March 15, 1870, by Prince Karl Anton, father of the candidate Prince Leopold, at which King William, the Crown Prince Friedrich and many ministers were present, including Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, the subject was seriously considered; and all, except the Crown Prince Friedrich, were favorable to the project. The latter expressed a warning that it was a dangerous step to take. Minister Delbrück asked Moltke, "If Napoleon were to take offense, are we prepared?" To which Moltke replied with a confident affirmative. King William concluded that he would neither order nor forbid the acceptance, and the next day Prince Leopold decided that he would not pursue the matter further; but Bismarck, to whom the Prussian minister at Madrid had admitted that the popularity of the candidature in Spain was slight and the election uncertain, nevertheless continued negotiations with the Spanish deputy Salazar. So secret were the communications, that besides the ordinary cipher, Bismarck used a special key, in which King William and Karl Anton figured as "banquiers", the transaction as a "loan", and Leopold as "compagnon de voyage". Moreover the chancellor kept in Spain three special agents, the cool intriguer Theodor von Bernhardt, Lothar Bucher, his "right hand", and a certain Major von Versen, known as the "tolle Versen". As a prelude to the Ems telegram, this is not without interest.

The chapter on "Bismarck's Peace"—for Bismarck was on many occasions a peacemaker—brings out with clearness his conception of war as an instrument of diplomacy. As Prince von Bülow has said: "Bismarck regarded it as his task to prevent the implication of Europe from Moscow to the Pyrenees and from the North Sea to Palermo in a war whose consequences no man could foresee and after the ending of which, as he then expressed it, one might hardly know why he engaged in it. Prince Bismarck", he continues, "regarded the prevention of a coalition-war against us as his greatest service in foreign politics, and to the end of his official life incessantly strove to avoid such a calamity".

One of the purposes of the writer of this history appears to be, to show how, when the imperial power Bismarck created fell into the keeping of less capable guardians, the political conceptions at the base of his system of statecraft inevitably led to the destruction of all his work; for, as he quotes Baumgarten as saying, Bismarck had an infinitely developed feeling for the state, but no feeling for the people. For him the people, society, the mass of mankind, were not really living things.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

The Grand Fleet, 1914-1916: its Creation, Development and Work.

By Admiral Viscount JELLICOE of Scapa, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O.
(New York: George H. Doran Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 510.
\$6.00.)

To the casual reader, doubtless, the most interesting part of this book is the account of the battle of Jutland, between the British Grand Fleet and the German High Sea Fleet, that took place on May 31, 1916, off the west coast of Denmark.

To the thoughtful man however, to the man solicitous for the future history of his own country, the most interesting part is the part that shows the relative efficiencies of the two contending navies, the causes which produced them, and the lessons for the future which they bear. The fact was generally known that the British navy was greater in the number of its vessels and its men; but which was the more efficient navy was a thing unknown. We knew that the British navy surpassed in quantity, but did not know which navy surpassed in quality.

By the battle of Jutland the German fleet was driven off the sea, and compelled to seek the safety of its bases behind the fortress of Heligoland and the mine fields of the German coast.

But the important question still remains, which fleet was the better in quality; which fleet had been the better prepared to fulfill the duty to discharge which the nation had maintained it; which navy had shown the greater amount of strategic wisdom in the preparation of its personnel and material for the day of battle?

This is the paramount question which this book answers, and which it answers in unmistakable language, though not in direct terms. Its importance rests on the fact that, no matter how much money any nation may spend on its navy, no matter how many ships and men it may maintain, no matter what the cost of those ships and men, the nation is vitally interested in securing the system by which the greatest possible fighting value shall be attained. For the fighting value which a fleet finally shows in battle is merely a demonstration of the excellence of its design and preparation; its actual performance in battle is merely the result of the training of its personnel and the quality of its material.

Of the two factors, personnel and material, it need hardly be pointed out that the personnel (including the planners, the ordnance officers, the constructors, engineers, etc.) is immeasurably the more important; one reason being that the personnel designs, constructs, and operates the material. For this reason, the possession of the best material proves the existence of the best personnel.

In the case of the British and the German navies, the question as to which had been the better designed and prepared, and was therefore the more efficient, has a peculiar interest from the fact that the two navies had been conducted under two clearly different systems; the German having been designed and prepared under the general staff system, which

had made the German army the most efficient in the world; while the British had been designed and prepared under the admiralty board system, under which it had been conducted (with suitable changes from time to time) for several centuries. It is to be noted here that some of the changes in the admiralty system had been toward a general staff, and had been brought about by reason of the obvious success of the Germans with their system. The main difference between the systems lay in the fact that the German embodied a separate planning division under the direct control of the chief of staff, who had no administrative duties, and whose sole task was to plan on a large scale, leaving to other parts of the organization the task of carrying out these plans. The analogy may be pointed out between so conducting a navy and say, producing a book—the author supplying the plan, and the publishers printing the book. In the British admiralty, the duties of the first sea lord were partly in administration and partly in planning; in the German navy, the duties of the chief of staff were merely to plan. Which was the better system?

Jellicoe's book does not state that the German was the better, but it does state that the German material was the better; and it does state that he himself made a radical and sweeping change in the administration of the British Grand Fleet, *after* war had been declared and *after* he had assumed command!

Having been brought up for half a century to regard the British navy as the highest development of organized human power since the days of Rome (with the possible exception of the German army), I have to admit a feeling of astonishment on reading on page 41 of Jellicoe's book that, on taking command, he doubled his staff; that he found it necessary to take such a momentous step at that late day. What becomes of all our ideals of preparedness, when we find that that state of affairs existed in the British navy?

In leading up to his account of the battle of Jutland, Admiral Jellicoe analyzes and describes very clearly the differences in "armament, protection and displacement" of the battleships and battle-cruisers of the two navies, and shows that the German vessels were distinctly superior in both weight and quality of side armor and deck armor, as well as in submerged torpedo tubes; and that the British were superior in heavy turret guns, while the Germans carried heavier guns in the secondary battery; that the German boilers were more economical for their weight; that the German shells were fitted with "a delay-action fuse which, combined with a highly efficient armour-piercing projectile, ensured the burst of shell taking place *inside* the armour of British ships instead of *outside*, or whilst passing through the armour, which was the case with British shells of that date fired against the thick German armour".

He also shows that the German ships were more skillfully constructed to resist torpedo hits, and that "the result was that, although it is known that many German capital ships were mined and torpedoed during the

war, including several at the Jutland battle, the Germans have not so far admitted that any were sunk, except the pre-dreadnought battleship *Pommern*, and the battle cruiser *Lutzow*". . . while, "on the other hand, British capital ships, mined or torpedoed, rarely survived". He also states that the Germans had expended more on gunnery and torpedo practices; "that German submarines possessed a radius of action and sea-keeping qualities considerably greater than those of our submarines"; that "the Germans possessed an excellent practice ground in Kiel Bay, with every appliance for carrying out gunnery exercises". . . and that "We were not in so fortunate a position. There had been no recent opportunity for carrying out gunnery and torpedo exercises and practices"; and he indicates a number of reasons for suspecting not only that the skill of the Germans at gunnery and torpedo practices was greater than that of the British, but that the torpedoes themselves were better. He also shows that the optical devices of the Germans for finding the range, etc., were more scientific and practical. In speaking of the night action, one sentence reads,

The use of star shell, at that time unfamiliar to us, was of the greatest use to them in locating our destroyers without revealing their own positions; and, secondly, their searchlights were not only more powerful (much more so than ours), but their method of controlling them and bringing guns and searchlights rapidly on to any vessel sighted was excellent. It also appeared that some system of director-firing was fitted to the guns of their secondary armament.

A brief review like this is inadequate to the task of giving more than the gist of Jellicoe's book. To me the gist is the proof that, despite the fact that the battle of Jutland was a victory for the British, the German navy was the better, and was vanquished merely because it was the smaller.

A fact like this, super-important as it is to us, is super-important only in so far as it may lead us to see the reason why Germany secured a better navy than Great Britain. The reason, of course, is that Germany followed the better system (the general staff system) whereby the planning for the whole conduct of the navy was in the hands—and brains—of experts specially trained for the task.

Great Britain has now virtually adopted this system.

BRADLEY A. FISKE.

Der Weltkrieg in seiner Einwirkung auf das Deutsche Volk. Herausgegeben von MAX SCHWARTE. * (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1918. Pp. viii, 513.)

THE spirit of the work is that of March, 1918, when Germany still appeared "militarily in an unconquerable position on land and sea" (p. 98). The editor and his twenty-five collaborators include corps and divisional commanders, vice-admirals, professors, *Oberbürgermeister*, *Re-*

gierungsräte, and *Landräte*, all of them *Kaisertreue* of Conservative or National Liberal faith. The military and political chapters bear the names of men like Freytag-Loringhoven, Schiemann, and Blankenburg, to whom August 1, 1914, is a "landmark of stupendous grandeur" in the rise of the German people; and even the article on the "army of workers at home" is not from the pen of a Socialist, but from that of the Christian Socialist Johann Giesberts. Nevertheless, there are apparent here and there much war-weariness and premonitions of political disaster when peace shall bring the soldiers home, while not a few passages sound like whistling for courage.

The work opens with an interesting discussion by the Heidelberg theologian Ernst Troeltsch of the character of the war, which he develops out of a "European family struggle", resulting from the new arrangement of 1860-1870, into a world-conflict, whose "planetary character" he ascribes to the nationalization of economic forces (*Durchstaatlichung der Wirtschaft*) which has grown out of national customs policies and the intense rivalry for the remaining sources of raw materials. Following a series of articles reviewing the military lessons derived from trench warfare and the use of high-power artillery and from the mobilization of man-power at home, a third section traces the political effects of the struggle in an advance toward liberalism in parliamentary life and in the reshaping of international relations. A fourth series of papers then outlines the war-time organization of agriculture, manufacturing, trade, and finance, with a résumé of the various devices to evade the blockade in the struggle to replace the twenty-five per cent. of food-stuffs, which was Germany's pre-war importation, and the fight of the scientists for raw materials through the extraction of nitrogen from the air, the substitution of nettles for cotton, of the various products of the marsh "cat-tail" (typha) for jute, of iron and zinc for copper, and half a hundred other substitutes and replacements. Other chapters picture in sombre colors the moral and physical hardships of women and their mass invasion of industry, and still others describe, quite superficially, the influence of the war on public health, on legal administration, religion, art, and letters.

In the nature of things, the work offers little that is new in detail, but much that is enlightening in the point of view. Such, for instance, is Blankenburg's account of the struggle of old liberalism, in the Reichstag and without, against the forces which were undermining the monarchy. Schiemann's well-supported inference that in May and June, 1915, Sweden was close to joining the Central Powers (p. 143) is of interest, as is his brutal rejection of Bethmann-Hollweg's "confession of sin" with regard to Belgium. The value of the book lies in the collective impression it makes and the composite picture it offers of Germany on the eve of the last great offensive. In 500 pages, now superficially, now with painstaking care, here with rhetorical pathos and there in the hard accents of the economist and statistician, there unfold before

us all of the material and moral forces of a nation at bay and of a political system on trial for its life—the technical accomplishment of the soldier, the hasty exploitation of limited raw materials by the chemist and the physicist, the drab misery of the working classes, the patient, unrewarded labor of women. The resultant impression is that of intense popular energy, still concentrated and co-ordinated under the old leadership.

ROBERT H. FIFE, jr.

German Social Democracy during the War. By EDWYN BEVAN.
(New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. x, 280.
\$2.50.)

MR. BEVAN, writing in the spring of 1918, had access, as an Englishman, to files of German newspapers and to many significant Socialist pamphlets which at that time were denied to most American scholars by the British military censors. Consequently he was enabled to do what could not be done on this side of the water—to prepare from primary sources a history of German Social Democracy during the war. This he has done thoroughly, dispassionately, and interestingly, from the August days of 1914 to the dismissal of Michaelis in October, 1917.

The story is not surprising to anyone familiar with the general tendencies of the Social Democratic party in Germany on the eve of the Great War. or with the various schools of thought among its leading members. The German Socialists had fully prepared themselves to be duped by the Kaiser's government, and when the Great War actually broke they succumbed easily and at first unanimously. Germany must protect herself, they said, against the oncoming savage Russians; and in ignorance of the true situation in Belgium they rallied to the banners of the Hohenzollerns, the Junkers, and the bourgeoisie, proclaimed that Germany was fighting a war of pure self-defense such as was sanctioned by Socialist principles, and on August 4, 1914, voted as a unit the first war-credits demanded by Bethmann-Hollweg. Subsequently they were disillusioned, but the process was slow and halting. It took time for members to convince themselves, by a study of the diplomatic correspondence and the crafty conduct of the government, that Germany and Austria were the aggressors; it required real courage, moreover, to act upon such a conviction in the midst of the war-psychology of the whole German people and in the face of the traditional solidarity and discipline of their own party. With the exception of Liebknecht, who voted against the second war-credits in December, 1914, and Rühle, who joined Liebknecht in March, 1915, the Reichstag dissenters long confined their opposition to the party caucus; on the floor of the Reichstag they either voted with the majority or absented themselves when votes were taken. It was not until December, 1915, that other votes were actually cast against war-credits, and not until March, 1916, that Haase read a "minority

declaration" in the Reichstag. Thenceforth a split was fully evident, although the independent Social Democratic party was not formally launched until April, 1917. In the main, the new party—the Minority—was more Marxian than Lassallean or Revisionist: it embraced such "revolutionary" Socialists as Haase, Kautsky, Mehring, and Ledebour, although Eduard Bernstein, the apostle of revisionism, adhered to it, perhaps because of his lifelong admiration for England.

The Majority of German Social Democrats, as everyone knows, stuck to their pro-war policy to the end. Nationalists like David, Heine, Noske, and Kolb, imperialists like Cunow and Quessel, trade-union leaders like Legien and Bauer, stalwarts like Ebert, Scheidemann, and Richard Fischer, all became imbued with the patriotic spirit. In the supreme crisis of war they catered to popular emotions. They were followers of the government rather than leaders of a revolution. The Majority Socialists throughout the war were in a painful and difficult position, for they had, as it were, to carry on war simultaneously on three fronts. They had to attack the government as undemocratic in constitution, so far as their object was to procure internal reform, and as ambiguous on the question of peace, so far as they were anxious to bring about a peace on the definite basis of the *status quo*; at the same time they had to defend the government against foreigners, and also against the Minority at home. Against foreigners they had to argue that the German government, in appearance reactionary, was really just as democratic as the British, French, and American governments—or even much more democratic—and had done everything it could do to prove its genuine readiness for peace. Against the Minority, also, they had to insist upon the government's will for peace, in order to show that it was right for Socialists to support it in carrying on a defensive war; but in the matter of democratic reforms they spoke to the Minority as being with them equally determined to secure needed constitutional changes.

At the time when Mr. Bevan wrote, events seemed to indicate that the Minority Socialists were growing rapidly at the expense of the Majority. Figures were presented, in fact, at the congress of the old party at Würzburg in October, 1917, indicating that the number of subscribers to the party press had decreased since March, 1914, by one-half, and that the enrolled members had declined in number from one million to 243,000. If Mr. Bevan brings out a second volume, tracing the history of German Socialism from October, 1917, to the present, he will then have the opportunity to show how the treaty of Brest-Litovsk aided the Majority; how the alliance between the Independents and the Liebknecht extremists, or Spartacans, injured the Minority; and how the Majority, thoroughly nationalized and used to co-operation with bourgeois parties, was able to effect the revolution of November, 1918, with a minimum of violence, and to join with Centrists and Radicals in fashioning a republican constitution and creating the present government of Germany. It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Bevan will conclude this study, for if it

should be one-half as informing and suggestive as the volume already before us, it would speedily take its place as a valuable supplement to an authoritative and really distinguished history of German Social Democracy in the Great War.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

La Révolution Russe. Par CLAUDE ANET. In four volumes. (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1918-1919. Pp. 286; 280; 243; 280. 4.50 fr. each.)

IN these four volumes the author, correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, describes and comments on the actors and acts of the revolutionary drama as he saw it played from March, 1917, to June, 1918, the time when he left Russia. He is well fitted for the rôle of critic because of his long residence in the land of the tsars, his acquaintance with the leading men of the country, his familiarity with the Russian people and character, his understanding of socialism, his wide experience as a journalist, and his ability to judge men. Realizing the importance of the revolution he watched it carefully, gathered its documents, made notes on the conversations held with diplomats, generals, soldiers, and common people. The information thus gathered is put into good literary form and gives both the facts and the atmosphere of the revolution.

Mr. Anet does not belong to that group of men who went to Petrograd with their minds pretty well made up as to what they would see there. He was at the capital when the old régime was overthrown and, being a well-trained newspaper man, followed and recorded every move without allowing his prejudices to get the best of him. "Je regarde et j'enregistre." If he is not neutral (he is too much of a French patriot to be that), neither is he blinded by passion. He does not love the Russian Socialist, least of all the Bolsheviki, but he paints their virtues in the same strong colors as he does their vices. He has some excellent character-sketches of these men—Kerenski, Lenin, and particularly Trotski, whom he regards very highly as an organizer and as a man of action. The honors which were showered on Kerenski as well as the plaudits of the crowds filled that leader with conceit and confidence in his ability to accomplish everything by speeches. He was afraid of responsibility and acted only when a crisis forced him to do so, and then it was too late. Not so the Bolsheviki. They assumed responsibilities gladly; they knew what they wanted and how to get it. "Regardons les maximalistes. Ils ont des qualités. Ils agissent, prennent leurs responsabilités, ordonnent et savent se faire obéir." Lenin is a fanatic, a man of one idea; but "Trotski est plus souple, plus ondoyant, d'une culture plus large mais d'une orthodoxie moins sûre. On peut concevoir Trotski au service d'une autre cause. Lenine fait corps avec le socialisme intégrale." Lenin and Trotski are the two great men that the revolution has produced. Alongside of Trotski, Kerenski is "une femmelette

bavarde et hystérique qui ne sait que sauter à la corde . . . et prononcer des paroles sonores, vide de sens et jamais suivies d'actes". The way in which Trotski pulled off the *coup d'état* of November 7 fills the author with admiration. "Pas un accroc, pas une bavure, le gouvernement est renversé sans avoir eu le temps de faire 'Ouf'." Trotski is not a dreamer; "il voit clair, il ne se trompe pas . . . il n'y a rien de vague et de rêveur dans son regard".

Considerable space is devoted to the relations of the Soviet government with the Allies and their representatives. As to the part played by the United States during these trying times, Mr. Anet has this to say: "Quand l'ambassadeur [of the United States] disait blanc, l'attaché militaire disait noir, et un extraordinaire colonel Robbins, chef de la Croix Rouge, personne quasi-officiel, disait rouge, rouge sang."

Scattered here and there through the volumes are chapters dealing with the economic and social life during the revolution, with the suffering of the people as a whole, and with the humiliation of the army officers and the bourgeoisie as a class. "Il ne faut pas juger la Révolution russe sur ce qu'elle dit. Il faut voir ce qu'elle a fait. Il y a un abîme entre les mots et les actes." At times, especially in the last volume, the least satisfactory of the four, the author becomes somewhat ironic and expresses opinions about the Russians that one is loth to accept. But whether one agrees with his opinions or not, they are always intelligent. Taking it as a whole Anet's *Russian Revolution* is the best book on the subject that has come into the hands of the reviewer. It is the book for the historian.

F. A. GOLDER.

Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. By HENRY MORGENTHAU, formerly American Ambassador to Turkey. (Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 407. \$2.)

MR. MORGENTHAU has written one of the outstanding books of the four years of the Great War. Placed in a position where under the rules of diplomatic confidence he learned the thoughts and plans of the rulers of Turkey and to some extent, through his fellow ambassadors, of the leaders of the great European nations, he found his lips unsealed by the progress of events while his recollections, supported by careful notes, were still freshly in mind. Nine-tenths of his book is first-hand material, well selected and admirably stated. The pen-portraits of Enver, Talaat, and Wangenheim are masterpieces of vivid expression, as on a smaller scale are those of Bedri, Jemal, Pallavicini, Kühlmann, and others. The main lines of Turkish and German policy during the first year and a half of the war are set forth with great clearness and evidenced by indisputable facts. Especially noteworthy are the episodes of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, the naval attack on the Dardanelles, and the deportation and massacre of the Armenians. Making all due allowance for the collaboration of Mr. Burton J. Hendrick and others, Mr. Morgenthau re-

veals himself as a biographical and historical observer and narrator of a very high order. He furthermore contributes a number of large generalizations which will probably stand the test of time in the history of the Near East: as that Turkey was fundamentally brought into the Great War on the German side through fear of Russia, English support having disappeared after the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907; that the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, by the part they played in the final Turkish decision, probably exercised more influence than any other two ships in history; that the Turks, after the repulse of the Allies at the Dardanelles in March, 1915, were for the first time in generations able to act freely, and so to attempt the destruction of their Armenian subjects; that Bulgaria might until September, 1915, have been brought into the war on the Allied side, had her "unredeemed" territory in Macedonia been secured for her; that the closing of the Dardanelles and the keeping of them closed, by German intrigue, Turkish resistance, Allied hesitancy, and the overrunning of Serbia, led to the collapse of Russia, the prolongation of the war, and the ultimate participation of the United States.

Mr. Morgenthau is not always as happy in narrating past events as in describing what he himself saw. The account given of the early Ottoman history (pp. 276-281) contains some statements which can be characterized only as fantastic: such as that the Turk of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries swept as a "wild horde . . . from the plains of Central Asia and, like a whirlwind, overwhelmed the nations of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor; it conquered Egypt, Arabia", etc.; that "these old Turks . . . had no alphabet and no art of writing; no books, no poets, no art, and no architecture"; that they reduced Mesopotamia to a desert "in a few years"; and that Turkey never was "an independent sovereignty" (p. 112).

Mr. Morgenthau also leans toward the common error of overemphasizing the importance of the field which he himself knows, as when he calls Turkey "the foundation of the Kaiser's whole political and military structure" (p. 1, English edition). Nor is it credible that Austrian and German statesmen could have expected in 1912 that Turkey would annihilate the forces of Serbia and destroy her as a nation.

But errors are remarkably few, while positive contributions of great value are many; especially valuable is the light obtained through the confidences of Wangenheim upon the German ideas on the terms of peace at different junctures (pp. 92, 175 ff., 389); the many observations on the Dardanelles campaign; and the detailed story of the Armenian deportation and massacres, with the attitude toward these of the Turkish and German statesmen in Constantinople.

The illustrations are numerous and well selected. The specially prepared maps are helpful; that on page 270, however, does not show correctly the territory ceded by Turkey to Bulgaria in 1915, since it omits the strips on the left bank of the Maritza.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Reconstruction and National Life. By CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Grinnell College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xi, 193. \$1.60.)

THE title of this book creates a misconception as to its contents. The author refers not to American national life, as one naturally assumes, but to the national life of France, Germany, Russia, and Great Britain.

His concern is with the phase of reconstruction which is to follow the making of the treaties, the delimitation of boundaries, and the inauguration of the League of Nations. "The more subtle and far-reaching phase of reconstruction", he says, "is that implied in self-determination, the problem imposed on each people of facing its own issues, reconsidering its own aims and lines of advance." The foundation for this reconstruction he seeks in the history of the four nations considered, especially their history during the nineteenth century. Where others have been searching for "the roots of the war" Mr. Lavell now searches for the roots of peace.

Taking four great historical phenomena, nationality, European expansion, democracy, and the industrial revolution, as ideas controlling the grouping of facts, he inquires into the tendencies which the French Revolution set in motion in France, discovers that German national life has two springs, the older idealistic and in essence non-Prussian, the newer Prussian and materialistic. In Russian history he finds the people usually under the control of forces too great for them, before which "they drift to storm or safety, to tragedy or happiness, with little will of their own". The British Empire, a creation mainly of the last 150 years, in the author's view reveals Britain's fundamental loyalty to the idea of freedom.

The book is an excursion in the domain of culture-history and has both the merits and the defects of its qualities. It is well written; its generalized statements imply a firm grasp on the homelier facts of European history; the author's conclusions usually give the impression of being authenticated by much preliminary research. Yet, on the other hand, the reader is apt to lay the volume down, after reading it, with a baffling sense of having been delighted and edified without being set forward perceptibly on his journey of inquiry. It is indeed comforting to be told by a careful student of her history that the Germany of the future is no more apt to resemble the "Germany of Bismarck than the Germany of Goethe" (p. 59), and we may be quite ready to accept the view that much of the old idealism persists and may perhaps now regain currency. But our hope of such a revival of the spiritual in German life would be strengthened more by specific evidences of its perdurance as a militant albeit unsuccessful force in German politics in recent times than by references to Germany's pre-eminent achievements before 1850 in "the fields of philosophy, literature, music, philology, history". This does not answer one's natural inquiry: Is the democracy likely to

control the life of Germany; how far does this democracy represent the older idealisms; what new and hopeful ideas are apt to play through the organs of social control? A similar want of compulsiveness affects the author's treatment of France, Russia, and Great Britain.

As books, by historians, on present-day problems go, this is an admirable little volume. The above criticism is suggested partly by way of raising the question whether a historian of to-day, when dealing with a contemporary problem, may not properly be as bold as Thucydides was in his day and make his study frankly an essay in contemporaneous history.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Wineland. By H. P. STEENSBY, Ph.D., Professor of Geography at the University of Copenhagen. (Copenhagen: Henrik Koppel. 1918. Pp. 109.)

The Norse Discovery of America. By ANDREW FOSSUM, Ph.D. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1918. Pp. 160.)

HITHERTO we have been accustomed to hear from those who have tried to solve the Wineland problem that this enigmatic land was to be sought somewhere on the Atlantic seaboard. It is therefore somewhat surprising to see two authors come forth in the same year maintaining that it was located, not on the coast, but on the St. Lawrence River. To this conclusion they have come independently of one another and in different ways.

Professor Steensby's treatise appeared first in the publications of the commission for the geographical and geological survey of Greenland (*Meddelelser om Grønland*, LVI.), and was afterwards issued separately. The author accepts Gustav Storm's opinion as to the two principal sources, thus practically discarding the *Grænlandinga þáttir* and depending upon the *Eiríks Saga Rauða* whose description of the directions and localities he considers on the whole reliable and sufficiently clear. He is confident that the problem can be solved and the location of Wineland determined by relying upon common geographical observations. He agrees with earlier writers that Helluland and Markland are to be found in Labrador and adjacent regions; but he says that it must be borne in mind that the Norsemen sailed along the coast whenever that was possible. Thus they followed the eastern coast of Labrador to the Strait of Belle Isle, and then turned west along the southern coast of Labrador into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and there he locates Markland between the strait and Cape Whittle. The low, sandy shore west of this cape, he thinks, fits very well the description of Wonderstrands in the saga. Keelness he has, however, some difficulty in locating, but is inclined to identify it with Pointe aux Vaches just east of the mouth of Saguenay River. There, according to the saga, the coast became indented with fjords, and

the author believes that this refers to the Saguenay and St. Lawrence rivers both of which the Norsemen had taken to be fjords, and the latter, in his opinion, they called Straumfjord, while Hare Island presumably is identical with Straumey where Karlsefni spent two winters. Wineland would then lie further up the river, and at Montmagny the author finds, according to maps, a place which exactly corresponds to the description of Hóp, where the second winter was passed. But it causes him some difficulty to make other incidents of the saga fit into this scheme, especially the voyage of Thórhall Huntsman and Karlsefni's trip in search of him. In order to explain them he tries to show that the explorers, believing that they were in a fjord, extended the name of Wonderstrands to the right bank of the river, and he also suggests some emendations in the text. Like other writers the author, who by the way has written a treatise on the origin of the Eskimo culture, takes it for certain that the Norsemen were unable to distinguish between Indians and Eskimos, comprising both under the name of Skraelings.

Professor Steensby apparently can not read Icelandic, and has therefore depended upon the Danish translation of the saga which accompanied the edition of 1838. This is inexcusable, as he could have secured both Danish and English translations based upon Storm's critical edition of 1891 and Reeves's facsimile edition of 1890 respectively. There are two recensions of the Eric's saga, one in Hauk's Book which the edition of 1838 followed, and the other in a later vellum. Although going back to the same original they do not agree in all details. Professor Steensby has relied upon the former without paying due regard to the latter, which in places is fuller and often probably more correct. According to it Markland and Wonderstrands were separated by water. It also says that the explorers lived during the winter in Straumfjord, that is, on the mainland. Hauk's Book omits this passage, but a careful reading of its text will reveal that it implies their living on the mainland, not on the island. That Hóp was situated only some seventy miles away from Straumey and lying in Straumfjord is entirely incompatible with the saga, which plainly tells us that they left and returned to Straumfjord. Besides, it is highly improbable that the Norsemen should have remained the greater part of a year at Montmagny without discovering that they were on a river. They needed only to go a few miles further up, beyond Isle d'Orléans, to ascertain the true character of the water. It is not likely that they would have neglected this. Nor does the distance between Hare Island and Montmagny make possible the climatic difference of Straumfjord and Hóp, even if we allow for some exaggerations as to that in the saga. Furthermore this location of Wineland would dispose of Leif Ericson as the first discoverer of it. His was not a voyage of exploration. He came accidentally upon it on his way from Norway to Greenland. That he should have sailed far into the estuary of the St. Lawrence is out of the question. Yet the author believes that

the route to Wineland was well known. Here again he is in conflict with the saga, which tells of a disagreement between Karlsefni and Thórhall Huntsman concerning the route to be followed; and that incident is authenticated by the stanzas ascribed to the latter, which doubtless are genuine. Professor Steensby's theory is altogether too much at variance with the saga, and hence his book brings us no nearer to a solution of the problem.

Dr. Fossum professes to accept without reserve the account of these voyages to be found in the sources, placing faith in the accuracy of the *páttr* as well as the saga, although he appears to give a preference to the former. He asserts that the texts have not been studied with sufficient care, and he indicates that he is the only one who has done this, and proposes to correct the generally accepted notions regarding the Old Norse conception of geography. He thinks that Storm was never quite at home in this question or did not know the application of a scientific method; and he talks of "the imaginary geography in the manner of Storm, Bjørnbo and Nansen". The chapter on the northern geography displays, however, the author's superficial knowledge of the subject and his incapacity for critical handling of the sources. He seems to think that everything turns on the question whether or not the Norsemen knew Baffin Land. He does not hesitate to tell us that they had already discovered it at the time of the Wineland voyages, and offhand he identifies old Icelandic geographical names with Baffin Land without giving any plausible reasons for his contentions. Needless to say, he neither corrects anything nor adds anything to a better understanding of the subject. He assumes that there were two Winelands, one on the right bank of the St. Lawrence river between 46° and 47° N., to which Leif, Thorvald, and Freydís went according to the *páttr*, this being the genuine Wineland, while the other to which Karlsefni repaired according to the saga, was on the southeastern coast of Newfoundland. Such a distinction between the Wineland of the *páttr* and that of the saga is absolutely unwarranted and untenable. It is not entirely new, since W. Hovgaard put it forth in his book, but it is due to a misconception of the tradition and the sources. Dr. Fossum thinks, however, that he has found the right explanation. The *páttr*, in his opinion, contains the tradition as preserved in the family of Eric the Red, giving a truthful account of their exploits, while the saga gives the version of Karlsefni, his followers and descendants. Dr. Fossum maintains that there was a strife between these two factions which ultimately developed into a question of national pride between the Greenlanders and the Icelanders. It does not seem to disturb the author that he cannot give a shred of evidence for the existence of this quarrel, nor that his branding of Karlsefni as an impostor is contrary to the *páttr* as well as to all other sources. The book makes hard reading. It is full of repetitions and unproved assumptions, and the Icelandic quotations are very faulty. Throughout the author has confused Snorri Thorbrandsson with Snorri Thorgrims-

son, the renowned chieftain of Helgafell—a bad blunder for a writer who pretends to have studied the sources with care. Most of the illustrations are from photographs taken on the Brown-Harvard expedition to Nachvak in 1900.

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON.

The Red Man's Continent: a Chronicle of Aboriginal America. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. xii, 183.)

VOLUME I. of the *Chronicles*, somewhat tardy in appearance, serves to introduce the reader to the physical features of the New World, especially of North America. The bearing of geographic conditions upon all forms of life is emphasized, and this thesis merges into a concise account of early Indian culture. The whole well-told story bridges the way handily to the white man's America unfolded in the succeeding volumes.

The first chapter, Approaches to America, deals with the problem of man's first habitat, and the coming to the western hemisphere of Indian, European, and negro. The next three chapters cover physiographic features, soil, temperature, rain-fall, and vegetation. In this section of the book the author, primarily a geographer, has an easy mastery of his subject, and a corresponding advantage over many students of early America. The final chapter, the Red Man in America, is derived largely, as the author states in a foot-note, from articles on Indian life in the *Handbook of American Indians* edited by Mr. Hodge.

In every chapter, however, the author contributes generously of his favorite thesis on the relation of geographic features, especially climate, to the evolution of society. Indeed, for such a brief treatise, he seems over-generous in such contributions. He constantly overworks his material in order to generalize, to show connection, to establish hypotheses, especially as to the influence of climate on civilization. His constant use of space to apply, explain, and defend that hypothesis reaches its climax in the concluding summary (pp. 167-172). Here quite half the space is used to explain, defensively, how the ancient Aztecs and Mayas happened to develop such a high type of civilization in what is now such a bad climate.

There are, moreover, notable discrepancies in the author's estimates of the effect of climate upon human progress: *e. g.*, "For this reason it is not improbable that long sojourns at way stations on the cold, Alaskan route from central Asia may have weeded out certain types of minds. Perhaps that is why the Indian, though brave, stoical, and hardy, does not possess the alert, nervous temperament which leads to invention and progress" (pp. 20-21). Yet in a later chapter the author devotes a full page to emphasizing the ingenuity of the Eskimo. And finally, "In view of these clever inventions it seems safe to say that the Eskimo has

remained a nomadic savage not because he lacks inventive skill but partly because the climate deadens his energies and still more because it forbids him to practise agriculture" (p. 126). The net conclusion of the two statements seems to be as follows: Indians in general are stupid and un-inventive because they sojourned for a time in the arctic regions; but those who remained there permanently are especially clever at invention.

The climate-energy hypothesis so much emphasized in Mr. Huntington's former books and articles is stated here and restated throughout the book, but it is everywhere diluted by other hypotheses: respecting pulsations of climate (pp. 123-124, 168-171, *et passim*), respecting heavily matted grass as an obstacle to the progress of agriculture (pp. 151-152, 165-166), respecting lack of tools and horses (pp. 124, 151-152, 168), respecting lack of rain (pp. 141-142, 148-149), respecting lack of proper plants (p. 140), respecting food and transport (pp. 127-128, 134-135, 153-154). All of these considerations are legitimate, indeed absolutely essential. But when they are all added up, and then subtracted from the climate-energy hypothesis, how much of the latter is left? It simply goes the way of all other short-cut hypotheses for explaining civilization. Yet even this insistent climatic dogma may bring a freshness to the general reader, and leave the critical historian provoked to thought.

There are good maps, beautiful illustrations, a very brief bibliography, and a fairly adequate index.

The Spanish Conquerors: a Chronicle of the Dawn of Empire Overseas. By IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN. [Chronicles of America series, vol. II.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1918. Pp. xi, 238.)

Elizabethan Sea-Dogs: a Chronicle of Drake and his Companions. By WILLIAM WOOD. [*Id.*, vol. III.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xi, 252.)

Crusaders of New France: a Chronicle of the Fleur-de-Lis in the Wilderness. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. [*Id.*, vol. IV.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xii, 237.)

Pioneers of the Old South: a Chronicle of English Colonial Beginnings. By MARY JOHNSTON. [*Id.*, vol. V.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. x, 246.)

The Fathers of New England: a Chronicle of the Puritan Commonwealths. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. [*Id.*, vol. VI.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 210.)

Dutch and English on the Hudson: a Chronicle of Colonial New York. By MAUD WILDER GOODWIN. [*Id.*, vol. VII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 243.)

The Quaker Colonies: a Chronicle of the Proprietors of the Delaware. By SYDNEY G. FISHER. [*Id.*, vol. VIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 244.)

Colonial Folkways: a Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. [*Id.*, vol. IX.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 255.)

The Conquest of New France: a Chronicle of the Colonial Wars. By GEORGE M. WRONG. [*Id.*, vol. X.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. x, 246.)

THESE volumes constitute the colonial section of a publication intended "to present the entire history of our country in the living form of a series of short narratives; each having a unity of its own but all articulated and so related that the reader will not only be entertained by the story in each volume but will also be given a real vision of the development of this country from the beginning to the present". A special effort has been made to reach "those of our citizens who are not in the habit of reading history". Unfortunately the cost of the present edition is such as to limit seriously the number of possible purchasers. In the externals of book-making the series makes a pleasing impression. The books are good to look at, comfortable to handle, and easy to read. The illustrations are generally well chosen and well executed. Portraits preponderate, except in the volume on *Colonial Folkways* which has admirably selected illustrations of architecture, household furnishings, and costume. Only three of the nine volumes reproduce contemporary maps; but the maps drawn by Mr. Joerg especially for this series are excellent. Places mentioned in the text are easily found on the maps which are kept clear by omitting unessential names.

The traditional sensibility of the general reader is spared by the almost complete absence of foot-notes. His possible interest in more extended reading is, however, anticipated in the brief bibliographical chapter attached to each volume. One does not expect in such a series many references to material in foreign languages. Somewhat noticeable, however, is the small number of Spanish titles in Richman's *Spanish Conquerors* and of French in Wrong's *Conquest of New France*; Munro's *Crusaders of New France* does list some of the more important French authorities. "Sources" are by no means excluded, not even some rather formidable material. Some of the bibliographical sections, notably those by Andrews, are at once scholarly and practical; others are not so well considered. The only sources listed for the southern colonies after 1624 are Hening's *Statutes*, the Maryland *Archives*, and the North Carolina *Colonial Records*, though the field is rich in contemporary material more likely to appeal to the ordinary reader.

On the more important question, how far editor and authors have succeeded in combining sound historical presentation with "human interest", it is not easy to generalize; but on the whole, the result has

been sufficiently good to make the enterprise distinctly worth while. Wood's volume on the *Elizabethan Sea-dogs* has something of the breeziness and rough vigor of his subject. Richman and Wrong, dealing with subjects which lend themselves readily to dramatic treatment, have made good use of their opportunities. The volumes by Munro and Andrews combine thorough scholarship with a skill in presentation which will perhaps conceal from the average reader the solid research which lies behind some of these chapters.

Space is not available for more than a rapid survey of the individual volumes. Richman's *Spanish Conquerors* seems in the main a sound, well-written summary of our present knowledge; the treatment of controversial topics is generally fair-minded and sensible. The book keeps pretty closely to the field indicated by its title; it is a story of adventure, not a study of Latin-American communities and their relations with the outside world. Yet one feels the need of such a study to counteract the school-book notion of the Spaniard as the villain of the play. Readers of Wood's *Fight for Canada* are prepared for a spirited narrative, in which the student, as well as the general reader, will find some fresh material to interest him on Elizabethan sea-life, shipbuilding, and the organization of maritime enterprises. The treatment of Drake and his contemporaries is frankly sympathetic; the story of England's clash with Spain for trade and empire in the West could of course be told from another angle and with a different distribution of light and shadow. Chapters on the passing of Raleigh and Drake bring the volume to a close in dramatic fashion. From Spanish and English adventurers, the story turns to the beginnings of New France. In Munro's volume, adventure still plays a large part, but the author is fortunately able to give about half his space to a series of excellent chapters on various aspects of French-Canadian society, the church, the seigneurs, the coureurs-de-bois, agriculture, and home life. The American reader of these hundred-odd pages will probably get from them a clearer picture of French-Canadian civilization than he can find anywhere else within the same limits of space. Some of the author's earlier generalizations are debatable, as when he attributes French failure in American colonization primarily to lack of leadership in "her kings and ministers" (p. 6). Taking the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries together, was there any such superiority in the colonial statesmanship of English kings and ministers as to account for the different fortunes of the two colonizing powers?

After these "background" volumes, we have, in the traditional order, narratives of the three sectional groups among the "Old Thirteen"; one volume each on the South and New England, and two allotted to the Middle Colonies. Of these four volumes, that by Mr. Andrews is much the most satisfactory, at least from the point of view of historical scholarship. He knows his New England thoroughly, and his studies of imperial administration and imperial commerce give him a surer hold on

the larger relationships of colonial history than appears in the other three volumes of this group. Remembering the strenuous assaults of the Adams family on the "filiopietistic" historians, one is struck with the cool detachment with which the present chronicler covers the same burning questions. There is, however, a question whether with the passing of prejudice there may not come some loss of insight into the finer and more heroic aspects of the Puritan spirit. In Miss Johnston's volume on *The Pioneers of the South*, we have, in the main, the familiar story pleasantly retold; the narrative of the fall of the Virginia Company, for instance, follows pretty closely the traditional view, without taking sufficient account of recent studies. About a third of this volume which begins with the charter of 1606 and ends with Oglethorpe at Savannah is given to the first ten years of the Jamestown colony. Generally speaking, adventure and picturesque incident leave comparatively little space for an adequate account of institutional development. The Smith-Pocahontas episode is told once more, though without vouching for its historical character.

Mrs. Goodwin brings to her work local historical information and some literary experience outside of the historical field, and she has used both to good advantage, especially in her pictures of social life during the Dutch period. In describing the European background of the New Netherland colony, however, she does not get much beyond a few generalizations from Motley. A writer on colonial New York does not easily escape the spell of Diedrich Knickerbocker, who supplies Mrs. Goodwin with her two frankly imaginative portraits of Hudson and Van Twiller. Naturally in a rapid survey, there are some slips; England's claim based on the Cabot voyages was doubtless used to its full value and beyond, but "apocryphal" is not exactly the word for it. The topics included in the English section of the volume are those which lend themselves best to picturesque treatment—Leisler's rebellion, Kidd and his fellow-pirates, the "negro plots", the Zenger trial, and Sir William Johnson, with comparatively little about religious or political institutions, or about later phases of economic development. The strategic importance of the New York frontier in the days of Peter Schuyler is missed here and not adequately presented in any of the later volumes.

In Fisher's *Quaker Colonies* the space allotted to Pennsylvania is unduly compressed, as compared with the other colonies on the Delaware, though his chapters on West Jersey are very readable. They are written with evident zest, and the historical pilgrim to that region should find the book an excellent companion. As an interpreter of Quaker mysticism and other phases of religious thought, the author seems less successful. In the long enumeration of German sects (p. 42), the Moravians are curiously omitted, the only reference to them being in connection with the massacre of Gnadenhütten. In general, the more eccentric religious groups are somewhat overstressed at the expense of the more numerous, and on the whole more important, Lutheran and Calvinistic

churches. The book is perhaps least satisfactory in its handling of imperial relations; in comparing, for instance, the Pennsylvania charter with that of Maryland, the important clauses in the later document which illustrate the development of imperial control are overlooked. Readers of Sharpless's *Quaker Government* and Root's *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government* will feel that the author has not stated adequately the Quaker problem of adjustment to English and imperial standards. A little surer hold on English constitutional history would have prevented the reference (p. 73) to annual elections and the right of an assembly to control its own adjournments as "standard Anglo-Saxon popular parliamentary rights".

So far the development has been traced by individual colonies, or sectional groups. In Andrews's *Colonial Folkways* the reader is given a more unified treatment of certain aspects of colonial life. The "folkways" dealt with in this volume are those usually associated with the term, social history. The book as it stands is excellent; there is probably no other presentation of the subject which enables the reader to visualize so clearly the American society of the later colonial era. One can only wish that something equally good might be done for those political conditions and movements which cut across provincial boundaries. The pre-Revolutionary series closes appropriately with Wrong's *Conquest of New France*, a good brief survey of Anglo-French competition in America from Frontenac to Montcalm. The Far West receives somewhat more than the conventional amount of attention, and recent studies in this field are used to good effect.

Taken as a whole, the series justifies the effort expended upon it by editor, authors, and publisher. It should help to make national history "more real and vivid" to many "citizens who are not in the habit of reading history". At a number of points, it also offers something worth while for the serious student, whether by the use of fresh material or by a less hackneyed use of old material. For all this we may be grateful.

Yet there are certain recent gains in colonial historiography which are not reflected in these volumes. The reader could hardly get from them an adequate notion of the colonies in their relation to the larger life of the empire of which they formed a part. American colonial history should not, of course, be examined exclusively from the imperial angle; the empire is rather a background to be kept pretty steadily in the consciousness of the observer. It is significant that, in the whole series under consideration, the only definite exposition of the Acts of Trade is in a note at the end of the volume on the southern colonies. Doubtless topics like administration and commercial policy are not easily made alluring to the general reader. Yet this phase of colonial history has some possibilities even from the point of view of dramatic interest. In the Restoration period, for instance, such topics as the conquest of New Netherland, the English occupation of the Hudson and Delaware valleys, the southward movement into the Carolinas, the Navigation

Acts, the chartering of the Hudson's Bay and Royal African companies, would gain rather than lose in interest if brought into relation, not only with each other, but with the whole story of expanding British enterprise which reached out toward the ancient East as well as toward the new West. Much the same thing might be said of colonial commerce, with its wealth of "human", not to say romantic interest.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs. By CLARENCE HENRY HARING, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. Pp. xxviii, 371. \$2.25.)

THE first seven chapters of this book attempt a study of the administration of the trade. The last four present a general account of shipping conditions. An ample bibliographical treatise precedes the study itself. Of especial interest to students of Latin-American institutions is the author's estimate of the value of the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias* as material for a study of this early period.

The first section of the book deals with the origin and early development of the Seville monopoly and describes its administration. One of the important topics treated is the opposition of the Cadiz merchants to the location of the Casa de Contratación in Seville. The part that the Canaries play in this trade is set forth as well. The second chapter traces the development of the Casa as an organization for the administration of this trade. There follows a comparison of the Spanish and Portuguese systems with contrasts as to origins and surrounding circumstances. The functions of the Casa as a commercial and nautical bureau as well as a court of law are noted. The duties of the various officials of the Casa are described in the next chapter which is entitled *Organization vs. Efficiency*. With exception of a reference to the practice of selling offices, there is nothing in this section to justify the implication of inefficiency.

An account of the registry system follows. Its original design was "to make smuggling more difficult and dangerous". It also facilitated the collection of royal imposts, of which the most important were the *avería* and *almojarifazgo*. The nature of these taxes and the method of their collection are explained, and an account of the illicit activities of the foreign interloper follows. Spain's emigration policy is seen to have varied according to the ruler. While no foreigners were allowed in America by Isabella, who restricted emigration to her Castilian and Leonese subjects, Ferdinand allowed all classes of Spaniards to migrate to the colonies, while Charles V. opened the doors of the Americas to non-Spanish subjects. The policy of restriction was restored by Philip, though his will and that of his successors were thwarted often by the

laxity and dishonesty of colonial and customs officials. After 1625, the proximity of other European colonies in the West Indies and in North America made the policy of exclusion more difficult to enforce.

Spain's paternalistic protection afforded to agriculture and industry is discussed under Spanish Monopoly. The American trade-routes are described, and especially those of Buenos Aires, the Philippines, and the Acapulco-Peruvian service. The following just characterization of Spain's colonial system here occurs (p. 153):

Spain did not invent the colonial system. . . . It was imitated later by the Dutch, English, and French. It was the policy then current, and believed to be best for the welfare and independence of the state. Nor did Spain's exclusivism greatly exceed that maintained by the other colonial powers. Her distinction rests upon the fact that she had the opportunity to employ it in a vaster theater than was given to any other nation before the nineteenth century.

The question of the crown's policy towards mining and the output of the mines is only distantly connected with the original subject as suggested by the title of the book. However interesting and useful this information may be, a discussion of the sources of Spain's quicksilver supply is not integrally a part of this thesis (see pp. 158-162), nor is minting (pp. 174-177). The embargo by the crown of large shipments of precious metals, and the ruin resulting to merchants are more pertinent. The Isthmus of Panama as a trade-route to Peru commands attention in the following chapter, together with some description of harbor and shipping facilities at Panama and the fair at Porto Bello. A brief history of the early development of the canal idea is given.

Chapter IX., on galleons and flotas and their routes, elaborates the briefer description of the shipping system essayed in preceding chapters, and adds some informative illustrations of the operations of French, English, and Dutch freebooters from 1537 onward. The work is concluded by an interesting array of data on ships and navigators, estimates of sizes of vessels at different epochs and of provisions and munitions necessary for armadas and ships at different periods. There is also an enlightening discussion of licenses, freight rates, insurance inspections, losses due to over-loading, unseaworthy ships, and poor seamanship.

The book embodies ten interesting appendixes, with statistical tables taken for the most part from the Archive of the Indies. The most valuable of all, appendix X., reproduces the ordinances of the Consulado of Seville on the subject of marine insurance, but there is no indication as to where these regulations may be found.

The method of citation of documents from the Archive of the Indies is faulty, because, in most cases, the date of the document referred to is not given, and frequently only the general archive place-number is given. Verification, under these circumstances, would be very difficult. Indeed, the introductory paragraph on page xv would mislead one to expect a

book written largely on the basis of documents from the above-mentioned archive. There is a striking absence of any attempt to test generalizations by the multiplication of numerous or detailed examples of actual occurrences pertinent to the subject, taken from the abundant material which exists in Spain. Extensive reliance is placed on Veitia Linaje and Antuñez y Acevedo, whose sequence of events and illustrations are followed quite faithfully in places. Fernández Duro is also used.

There is a tendency, perhaps unavoidable, on the part of the author, to return frequently to topics already referred to quite fully in earlier chapters, for fuller discussion, or treatment from a slightly different aspect. Digressions are frequent, material is contained in the body of the book which should be in foot-notes, and transitions are frequently so abrupt that unity is sacrificed; but a coherent and well-balanced treatment of an institutional subject, based on original sources, is difficult to write. Some confusion is certain to arise as a result of the use of the two terms, frequently in the same paragraph, "Casa de Contratación" and "India House", referring to the same institution.

This study is of value because it renders into English, with the author's comments, some portions of the treatises mentioned above. A service has been rendered in the reproduction and use of pertinent parts of the *Documentos Inéditos*. However, the subject of trade and navigation under the Hapsburgs is by no means exhausted for the scholar who would utilize the unpublished and hitherto unused documents which exist abundantly in Spain.

CHAS. H. CUNNINGHAM.

The North West Company. By GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON, Ph.D.
[University of California Publications in History, vol. VII.]
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1918. Pp. xi, 349.
\$3.00.)

THE author of this book was graduated at the University of California about the year 1912; afterward as travelling fellow spent more than a year (during which the Great War broke out) in research work in England and Canada; then returned to the University and received the degree of Ph.D. and prepared for publication by the University the thesis upon which this degree was based; and then immediately entered into active and distinguished service with the Canadian forces in France. Errors and ambiguities and hasty deductions in the text may therefore be readily understood and excused.

This is a book for the use of the scholar and is not of large human interest to the general reader. It contains many data of value to students of the fur-trade periods in Canadian and American history, and as the first publication in the United States under this title its appearance is welcomed. But it cannot be said to present a continuous and connected narrative of the romantic career of the North West Company, which

was the predecessor of the Hudson's Bay Company in exploration and trade over large portions of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca districts in Canada, and down the Mackenzie River and beyond the Rocky Mountains to the northwest coast of America. In this book the narration of events of one year is too often followed by that of events and occurrences of previous years, while too much space is devoted to the activities of individual traders of this and other partnerships and also of rival companies themselves. The ramifications of the various organizations among the fur traders were difficult to trace and are difficult to state with clearness, and cannot be followed easily in this book. The author has also depended too much on secondary sources; for instance, the references to David Thompson, whose field operations were especially notable and of permanent geographical value, are too frequently to Burpee's *Search for the Western Sea*.

But the reader, while confused as to the narrative, will feel that he has been given a considerable amount of valuable information and a wide list of sources from which to glean; for the sources mentioned are numerous even if not always used. The real value of the book then lies in its collection into a single volume of data that have been available only here and there and to a few, not all that exist but a considerable number; and especially in the insight it gives into the documents to be found in the Public Record Office and British Museum and other places of deposit in London and in the various Canadian archives. In this the author has contributed a service.

The book is not the last word upon the subject; the author especially disclaims this, for the reason that he was unable to examine the material in possession of the Hudson's Bay Company at London. But, *inter alia*, his lack of familiarity with the field of operations of the company on both slopes of the Rocky Mountains leaves room for another study.

The book contains good indexes, both general and geographical, and the statistical and documentary matter presented in seventy-three pages of appendixes is well selected. The physical make-up of the volume is excellent.

T. C. E.

The Passing of the Frontier: a Chronicle of the Old West. By EMERSON HOUGH. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXVI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1918. Pp. x, 181.)

The Forty-Niners: a Chronicle of the California Trail and El Dorado. By STEWART EDWARD WHITE. [*Id.*, vol. XXV.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. ix, 273.)

The Day of the Confederacy: a Chronicle of the Embattled South. By NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON. [*Id.*, vol. XXX.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. xi, 214.)

Abraham Lincoln and the Union: a Chronicle of the Embattled North. By NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON. [*Id.*, vol. XXIX.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xiv, 272.)

The Anti-Slavery Crusade: a Chronicle of the Gathering Storm. By JESSE MACY. [*Id.*, vol. XXVIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 245.)

The Cotton Kingdom: a Chronicle of the Old South. By WILLIAM E. DODD. [*Id.*, vol. XXVII.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. x, 161.)

IF one takes up Mr. Hough's book expecting to find a discussion of the frontier in its historical relations he will be disappointed. The book does not attempt to explain nor to account for the frontier. It has nothing to say about the influence of the frontier on American politics. Its light on conditions of life is chiefly incidental. It does not deal with the frontier in any other stage of its existence in America than in the mid-century period and a little later. Thus it is with the Rocky Mountain region and adjacent territory that we are made acquainted.

Making the necessary allowances for the author's right to limit his subject as he chooses, it must be admitted that he has written an interesting book. He is content to deal with the striking phases of frontier life in the Far West. He has chapters on the Range, the Cattle Trails, the Cowboy, the Mines, Pathways of the West, the Indian Wars, the Cattle Kings, and the Homesteader. None of these subjects is broadly treated. For example, the chapter on the cowboy is a vivid portrayal of a picturesque character in early western life. The Indian wars are not described categorically but some of the important battles are described as illustrations of the fighting. The Indian problem is presented from the standpoint of the man of the frontier, and little sympathy is shown for the Indians, even in such an affair as the so-called "Baker's Massacre". More successful, from the standpoint of the discriminating reader, is the chapter on the Cattle Kings, which takes large views of the subject and sums up in clear language the development of the cattle industry on the half-dry plains. The chapter on the homestead system is also good, but it is less coherent. In general Mr. Hough's descriptions are temperamental, sometimes reaching the note that one finds in the more sober descriptions by such writers as Miss Glasgow or James Lane Allen. As a popular description of a narrow but striking phase of our recent history the book is a success.

More didactic and less temperamental is Mr. Stewart Edward White's *The Forty-Niners*, although it treats of another picturesque phase of our history. It contains chapters on the Spanish régime, the arrival of the Americans, early military and civil law, the discovery of gold, the journey by way of Panama, life in the diggings; and there are several on the development of San Francisco, its mushroom prosperity, its chaotic society, and its Vigilantes of 1851 and 1856. The book has good proportions and is not marked by overstatement. It does not overemphasize

the abnormal, as many books on the same subject have done. Probably the average reader will appreciate most the eight chapters treating the development of San Francisco, more than half of the book. The story presented follows Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals* but it is well told and grips the reader. It is notable for the fairness it displays to the malefactors in office in general, although at this late day it would have been better to have dropped the notion that the swaggering adventurer who happened to be born in the South was in any serious sense a representative of "Southern chivalry". It is true the author disclaims the intention of implying that the Southerners concerned were of the best class in the South, but he proceeds to use terms as if he had forgotten his disclaimer. Finally, it must be said that the description of life in San Francisco in the fifties, which the author gives us in chapters XII. and XIII., is very successful. But the book is distinctly a popular book. To the student of history it is only necessary, in order to show to what extent this is true, to say that the discussion of early international boundary adjustments has no reference to the California line of 1819 (p. 20). It will be remarked, also, that the author puts it mildly when he says: "The status of Oregon had long been in doubt. Both England and the United States were inclined to claim priority of occupation" (p. 20).

In *The Day of the Confederacy* Professor Stephenson gives the public its first clear and readable account of the political life of the Confederacy. Beginning with a chapter on the Secession Movement he proceeds to the organization of the Confederate government and passes on to his main subject, the problems that confronted it and the manner in which they were met. The central theme is Jefferson Davis, his personality and his political career between 1861 and 1865. There is no attempt to deal with the military history of the time, and the critical periods of the war of the Confederacy are merely alluded to. The book is well balanced both as to judgment of men and as to the distribution of emphasis. On the whole the author is not favorable to Davis, although he does not show us another Confederate leader who in his opinion would have made a better president. He takes off some of the cloud that historians have usually hung over Rhett, when he describes Rhett's great mental ability. His chapters on the last phases of the Confederacy have especial interest, for they deal with matters that have been little discussed in other histories.

Perhaps Professor Stephenson is a little less successful in his companion volume, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*. Here the task is to paint anew what has often been portrayed. It is done with skill and in attractive literary form. It treats of the period from 1854 to 1865, with the personality of Lincoln for the connecting theme. We miss the sense of discovery with which we read about the struggles of the Confederacy; for in dealing with the politics of the fifties and the perplexities of the war president we are on familiar ground. We note, also, that the narrative becomes more colorful, probably because it is hard to present Lincoln

without becoming eulogistic. It is a difficulty the author does not altogether surmount. On the other hand, a popular series like *The Chronicles of America* is no place for that dispassionate discussion of Lincoln to which thoughtful Americans look forward. It seems to the reviewer that the opponents of the President are too severely dealt with when they are labelled "the vindictives". The term is used cleverly and it serves to heighten the light on Lincoln, by way of contrast; but it is hardly just to men who were convinced that they were right. In the game of politics it is never safe to give all the integrity to one side and all the discredit to the other.

Professor Macy's *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* takes up the fight against slavery at the beginning and follows it through its course until the death of John Brown ushers in the Civil War. It is an orderly narrative, told in a straightforward way, with sympathy and admiration for the Abolitionists. The author pronounces it a "patent falsehood that abolitionists of the North were attempting to impose by force a change in Southern institutions" (p. 141). Perhaps he overestimates the likelihood that the non-slaveholders of the South could have been organized for abolition. Of all Southerners they had least sympathy for the negroes, and they were too undeveloped to find leaders among themselves. When a man of ability appeared among them he quickly became a slave-owner under the operation of economic laws. Professor Macy writes clearly and his narrative will please all who have the anti-slavery point of view. They will find little in it to show them how the opposite side defended their position. It is a Garrisonian book without Garrison's sharp tongue.

Professor Dodd's *The Cotton Kingdom* is a study of the planter. After presenting a brief survey of the position of the South in 1850, it proceeds with chapters on the Rise of the Cotton Magnate, the Social Philosophy of the Cotton Planter, Life and Literature in the Lower South, Religion and Education, and the Planter in Politics. The student who knows something about the conditions in the South before the war will lay the book down with the feeling that it presents the results of much careful research condensed into the space and expressed in the manner suited to a popular work. Especially good are the chapters on the cotton magnates and the philosophy of the planter. The pages in which the progress of pro-slavery philosophy is traced from Professor Dew to Chancellor Harper, John C. Calhoun, George Fitzhugh, and others of the period immediately before the beginning of the war stand out with more than ordinary distinction. The chapter on politics deals with facts that are better known to the ordinary reader, but they are well marshalled. However, in saying that the West and the South elected Jackson in 1828, Professor Dodd seems to overlook the important part played by Pennsylvania and New York in the Jackson movement. The triumph of 1828 was so nearly a popular revolution that it is hard to give the chief amount of credit to any sections or to any other issue than Jackson's personality.

Theodore Roosevelt, an Intimate Biography. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xx, 474. \$5.00.)

MR. THAYER'S long friendship with Colonel Roosevelt has made it possible for him to create in his new biography an air of intimacy and reality. The spirit of Roosevelt impregnates it, and is displayed with the literary skill and rhetorical appreciation that belong to the writer's craftsmanship. Like the biography by another Harvard classmate, Charles G. Washburn, it presents a "friend's outlined portrait" (p. xi), in behalf of which Mr. Thayer maintains that we have "fallen too much into the habit of imagining that only hostile critics tell the truth" (p. xii). It is much more comprehensive than Mr. Washburn's sketch, but is not to be compared in this respect with Mr. J. B. Bishop's work, now under way. In its concluding chapters it is a crusading document as well as a biography.

For most of their lives Mr. Thayer and Colonel Roosevelt belonged to different parties, the former being a stubborn mugwump of 1884, who repudiated party regularity, stuck to the issue of independent reform, voted for Wilson in 1912, and revolted against him in 1916. Their political differences only whetted their friendship, which became more intimate after 1909, and was based upon complete unity after the outbreak of the Great War. As passionate sympathizers with the Allies, and believing early entry to be our duty, they hated and despised the Wilson administration. In the last two chapters it is almost impossible to determine whether Mr. Thayer is writing Colonel Roosevelt's life or his own, so frequent are his adjectives and epithets: "variegated", "sanctimonious", "paroxysms of boldness", "ignoble depths", "jelly-fish nation", "infatuation for President Wilson", "vacillating policy", "war by rhetoric", "timidity and evasion". No reticence conceals the fact that Mr. Thayer belongs to the group that "loathes the Administration" and thinks of it as "this curse upon the country" (p. 385).

The biography is throughout an impressionistic picture rather than a work of scholarship. Mr. Thayer has not used any large amount of manuscript material beyond his own correspondence with Colonel Roosevelt and the papers he handled in writing the life of John Hay. His statements of fact would in some instances have been more accurate had he reread that work more carefully. His assertion that the French Canal Company "was glad to sell" its Panama rights for forty millions (p. 182) might have been stated differently after refreshing his memory of that company's long struggle for nearly three times the amount. There are other errors, or interpretations, that invite comment: Roosevelt was not a member of the National Committee in 1884 (p. 43); the available material hardly justifies a sweeping statement (p. 48) as to the character of James G. Blaine; Andrew Jackson did not coin the phrase "to the victors belong the spoils", and may have been better than a

"good old political freebooter" (p. 86); Roosevelt was not "reappointed" to the Civil Service Commission by Cleveland, since his office had an indeterminate term and needed no reappointment (p. 96); nor was Cleveland President in 1892; the mounted part of the Rough Riders regiment was not at Las Guasimas (p. 125); it was Kettle Hill, not San Juan, that the regiment captured on July 1, 1898 (p. 126); McKinley did not die with his tariff views unrevised and unquestioned (p. 169) but rather with a restatement fresh from his lips in his Buffalo speech of September 5, 1901; if Lord Alverstone's decision on the Alaska boundary was his own, it is misleading to speak as though Roosevelt's "brusque way" terminated the dispute (p. 177); Senator Hanna did not bag "a good many delegates" in 1904, and died not in March, but on February 15 (p. 306, 307); Judge Parker did not explicitly charge blackmail against Mr. Cortelyou (p. 307), but insinuated the opportunity for it; Joseph G. Cannon began his career in Congress in 1873, not 1863 (p. 343); Roosevelt's earnest canvass for Stimson for governor in 1910 is inaptly described as "no active part in politics" (p. 347); the decision to run again, which Colonel Roosevelt talked over with Mr. Thayer and Judge Grant on February 25, 1912 (p. 351), had already been reached, since it is printed with a date line of February 24. It is worth noting that Colonel Roosevelt did not fully share Mr. Thayer's dislike for the Payne-Aldrich tariff (p. 340), since he gave it at least a qualified approval. After the "'Once-a-week-to-Falmouth' order" (p. 430) President Wilson did not wait for the "interchange of two or three more notes", but broke off relations with Germany on February 3, 1917; what occurred on April 6 was the declaration of a state of war.

The character of Colonel Roosevelt is convincingly presented here; but Mr. Thayer adds little to our knowledge of his life.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Fighting Germany's Spies. By FRENCH STROTHER. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 275.)

The German Secret Service in America. By JOHN PRICE JONES and PAUL MERRICK HOLLISTER. (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 340.)

Throttled! The Detection of the German and Anarchist Bomb Plotters. By Inspector THOMAS J. TUNNEY . . . of the New York Police Department, as told to Paul Merrick Hollister. (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company. 1919. Pp. xviii, 277.)

THESE volumes, three variations on the same general theme, were written for the obvious purpose of helping to satisfy wide-spread popular curiosity concerning the methods and practices of German spies in America during the period of the Great War. No one interested in the subject should ignore an earlier book by Mr. John Price Jones (at the time of writing it on the staff of the New York *Sun*), entitled *America En-*

tangled (1917), otherwise known in an English edition as *The German Spy in America*, and introduced by a letter to the author from Theodore Roosevelt and a brief foreword by Roger B. Wood, formerly assistant United States district attorney in New York. To-day, one year since the signing of the armistice, the theme of all these books has lost its hold upon popular attention. Now that the danger has passed, the public is no longer interested in the fate of such scoundrels as Franz von Rintelen or Robert Fay—it is enough to know that they have been punished. When in April, 1918, Mr. Strother first told the story of Werner Horn's trip under the direction of Captain Franz von Papen from New York City to Vanceboro, Maine, for the purpose of blowing up the railway bridge over the St. Croix River (*World's Work*, XXXV. 652-663), he gained the close attention of thousands of readers. The news item which told several days ago of Horn's condemnation by a Canadian court to imprisonment for a term of ten years, aroused hardly a word of comment.

Mr. French Strother's book is based upon a series of seven articles which appeared, very fully illustrated, in the *World's Work*, March-September, 1918. The text of the book, compared to the magazine narrative, has been slightly abbreviated; the illustrations in the book are not so numerous or so well executed. A concluding chapter, Dr. Scheele, Chemical Spy, is new—the story of this remarkable man would easily make a book of fair dimensions. Mr. Strother's articles, it may be recalled, took the place of a series which John R. Rathom, editor of the *Providence Journal*, was to have contributed under the general title *Germany's Plots Exposed*. A single opening article Mr. Rathom printed, "The German Spy System from the Inside" (*World's Work*, February, 1918); the reasons why the projected series stopped abruptly have never been disclosed. Disappointed subscribers, however, soon had reason to be grateful to Mr. Strother's skill as a story-teller. Indeed, on the question of authenticity they were reassured, for the author could say openly that his narrative was based on materials in the confidential files of the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice—a bureau then under the direction of Mr. A. Bruce Bielaski as chief.

Mr. Strother's accounts of such careers as those of Werner Horn, of Captain Max Thierickens (recently deported), of Robert Fay, and of Von Rintelen in his relations to David Lamar, the "Wolf of Wall Street", are discreet but sufficiently detailed to afford any reader an insight into German methods of espionage as directed by high German authorities in Washington or in Berlin. Chapter VII., German Codes and Ciphers, opens the subject of a characteristic and peculiarly difficult series of problems that were partially solved by ingenious experts in the federal service. The facts as to the origin, organization, and workings of the American Protective League have nowhere been so directly or skillfully set forth as in chapter IX.

Mr. Strother's book was written rapidly for the purpose of meeting an editorial emergency and supplying a public demand. While perhaps

more authoritative, it is rather less matured than the Jones-Hollister volume. The latter book rests upon careful use of court records, police reports, and miscellaneous materials of a quasi-official nature. To such sources Mr. Jones and his colleague devoted rather more than a year of study. They show remarkable ability in analyzing various aspects of a troublesome theme. I venture the opinion that in their chapter entitled False Passports (ch. VII., pp. 83-99), they give a statement nearer the truth than does Mr. Strother (ch. I., pp. 2 ff.). The extraordinary story of the so-called Hindu conspiracy—reaching a dramatic climax at the conclusion of the trial in San Francisco in April, 1918—has been admirably summarized (*cf.* Strother, pp. 223 ff.). The Tunney-Hollister book is of distinctly slighter texture than the other two volumes. But one will go far before coming upon a more striking story of skillful detective work than that revealed in chapter III. under the caption Playing with Fire. Chapter VIII. is concerned with the pathetic story of Erich Muentner.

No one of the volumes under consideration is animated by any very serious purpose. They are written in brisk, colloquial style. They all represent strikingly good journalistic methods employed to arouse a public that was slow to anger and, until the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, notably inert. Subtle diplomats at Washington, backed by a ruthless and heartless general staff in Germany, were guilty of attempting to organize a system of espionage, world-wide in extent, for the purpose of dominating civilization. All the writers are inclined to overestimate German cleverness and the functioning of German administration in underhanded designs. The truth appears to have been that Germany worked in this, as in other matters, often at cross-purposes; and that from early in 1915 its well-laid schemes went awry owing to the skill of federal and local police authorities. Much more attention could have been given by all these authors to the remarkable functioning and operation of the federal bureau of investigation, for to that organization more than to any other single factor was the downfall of the German spy system in the United States due. Unlikely as it is that the vast collections of materials now in the custody of the Department of Justice will soon be made public, the story of the bureau of investigation, first organized in June, 1908, should be told by some one in the government service familiar with all its various details. Materials in its files, industriously gathered over the years from 1914 to 1918, would afford the basis for a very remarkable series of books.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806. By BERNARD MOSES. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xx, 440. \$4.00.)

SUGGESTIVE introductory pages in this volume describe the environment of the Spanish colonists in South America. Its first chapter dis-

cusses the relations between the Spaniards and the Indians, indicating that, unlike the English colonists in North America, the Spanish colonists adopted the aborigines as an element in their society. Then the rôles played by the Spaniards, the creoles, and the mestizos are described. The thesis is formulated that the population of Spanish South America was eventually composed of two sharply contrasted groups: 1, a group formed of Spanish officials and other Spaniards who clung to the traditions and customs of their native land; and, 2, a group formed of "the combined classes of creoles, mestizos, and Indians" who formed the basis of a new society that resented Spanish domination. Another chapter considers in a general fashion conditions in Spain's dependencies in South America during the period from 1730 to 1750. Next the author describes the attempt of Spain and Portugal to determine their boundary in America in accordance with the treaty of 1750, and the resulting rebellion in the seven reductions which that treaty transferred to Portugal. A long chapter is devoted to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America by virtue of the decree of Charles III., dated February 27, 1767—a measure which provoked much dissatisfaction in certain sections of Spanish America.

Chapter V. suggests the need for a fourth viceroyalty in Spanish America in the latter part of the eighteenth century, describes the creation of the viceroyalty of La Plata, and tells how the first viceroy at Buenos Aires entered upon the exercise of his duties. Chapter VI. is a well-considered account of the uprising of a descendant of the Inca dynasty, Tupac Amaru, in the viceroyalty of Peru in 1780, and suggests some of the consequences of the insurrection. The following chapter discusses the futile rebellion of the *comuneros* in the viceroyalty of New Granada that took place soon after the uprising of Tupac Amaru. Then Mr. Moses describes certain minor conspiracies against the old régime in the captaincy-general of Chile, notably that led by two Frenchmen, Antonio Gramuset and Antonio Berney. Explaining the reform initiated by the ordinance of intendants in the viceroyalty of La Plata, the author declares that the "power of Spain was declining in America because the governmental organization was inadequate to carry that power to points where its exercise was needed". Possibly the most interesting chapter in the book is that which describes the founding of literary journals in Quito, Lima, and Bogotá in the latter part of the eighteenth century. That chapter also devotes considerable attention to the botanical investigations of José Celestino Mutis in the viceroyalty of New Granada. It describes the dissemination of French revolutionary philosophy in northern South America by the enterprising creole Antonio Nariño, a precursor of Colombian independence. Chapter XI. describes conditions in two colonial capitals, Lima and Santiago, at the end of the eighteenth century, with some attention to social conditions and classes. Conditions in the captaincy-general of Venezuela are briefly considered in another chapter which discusses the abortive revolutionary conspiracy of España

and Gual in 1797. This chapter also considers the projects of Francisco de Miranda for the separation of Spanish America from the motherland and devotes some attention to the ill-starred expedition which, in 1806, he launched from New York City against the coast of Venezuela. Chapter XIII. contains a description of the British capture and the Spanish reconquest of Buenos Aires in 1807-1808. The succeeding chapter presents an account of conditions in the captaincy-general of Chile and the viceroyalty of Peru at the opening of the nineteenth century.

The author's thesis about the political alignment of social groups in South American colonial society will bear further investigation. Comparison and collation show that many pages of *Spain's Declining Power in South America* are identical, or almost identical, with the pages about corresponding topics in his earlier book entitled *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*. A few quotations are omitted from the volume under review, some changes are made in phraseology, and connecting passages are supplied. Yet, after making allowance for alterations, the major part of chapters V., VI., IX., XI., XIII., and some pages in chapter XIV.—nearly one-quarter of *Spain's Declining Power in South America*—has been republished from Mr. Moses's earlier book, without any mention of that fact. Although the author has doubtless studied his subject long, yet the volume under review has no maps; it does not contain a distinct bibliography; and some important titles are not mentioned in the unmethodical foot-notes. His style is clear and, in general, interesting; but the proof-reader has failed to correct divers typographical errors. Professor Moses has performed a useful service to students of Spanish-American history, for his volume brings together, as no other book has done before, a large amount of information concerning events, reforms, and tendencies in Spanish South America during the later decades of Spanish rule—information which is indicative of the widespread discontent that Napoleon's usurpations in the Iberian Peninsula fanned into the Spanish-American Revolution.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

MINOR NOTICES

The State and the Nation. By Edward Jenks. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1919, pp. vii, 312, \$2.00.) In 1900, Mr. Jenks published, in the *Temple Primers* series, *A History of Politics*, which, as he says, met with "an unexpected welcome". The book was planned as a counterpart to Sir Frederick Pollock's *Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics*. The latter, as everyone knows, deals with the history of political theory, and what Mr. Jenks undertook was to give "a brief account of what men have done, not of what they have thought, in that branch of human activity which we call Politics, or the Art of Government". Obviously, the title was ill-chosen; the book might better

have been described as an "Introduction to the Comparative History of Institutions—Political, Social, and Economic".

The merit of the *History of Politics* lay in the point of view which it presented, not in its execution. The treatment was sketchy, rather than condensed; the product of enthusiasm, rather than of knowledge; and it made up in the use of italics for what it lacked in authority. *The State and the Nation* is an expansion of the earlier volume, and holds closely to the tradition of its predecessor. The new title is no more appropriate, and the enlargement to twice the original length implies no serious addition to the author's preparation by research. Mr. Jenks has realized that there is a demand for a statement of the "main lines of social and political evolution", but the twenty years which he has had to revise and enlarge his work have not been utilized in the effort to avail himself of a notable opportunity.

Take, for example, his part I., Primitive Institutions. The ten pages of 1900 have become eleven in 1919. Originally, his authorities for this division consisted of Spencer and Gillen, Fison and Howitt, and L. H. Morgan; the studies of two decades have enabled him to discover Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies* (1882), and Miss Mary Kingsley's *West African Studies* (1899). Again, part II., Patriarchal Institutions, has been expanded from fifty-seven pages to eighty-two. In this, the only new sources quoted are the Old Testament and Miss Mary Kingsley; in the earlier form he had relied mainly on Seeböhm and Fustel, and twenty years have allowed a single chance allusion to Vinogradoff to escape his mind. This is typical of the book—to refer Mr. Jenks to the authorities he has overlooked would be to give a list of everything he should have consulted.

Notwithstanding all this, the book deserves attention. It stands as a first rough sketch of a work that is urgently needed at the present time. For this work, however, we cannot look to the ineradicable amateurism of the English; we shall have to wait, I presume, for one to be "made in Germany".

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

A History of the Jews. By Paul Goodman. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1919, pp. xii, 164, \$1.50.) For one to write an unprejudiced history of his own people, particularly when that people has long been the object of universal prejudice and persecution, is no easy task, but it is a task that has been well accomplished in the book under review. In six chapters the author sketches the whole history of the Jews from the early Old Testament patriarchs down to the present time. Manifestly this is a tremendous stretch of history for one small book to cover, so that it cannot be anything more than a sketch. Most of the important developments during that long period are noted, but of course there can be little discussion of each. The book is a "marshalling and statement of facts", but withal it will be found fairly readable by the

general reader. To the specialist, however, it has little, if anything, to offer. A mere recital of events is not scientific history-writing.

The Old Testament period of Jewish history is the least satisfactory of the book. The author here simply gives the traditional Old Testament story, apparently without knowing that modern scientific study has changed that story in a host of particulars and changed it in a way to make it all the more romantic. The later history of the Jews under Roman, Christian, and Moslem rule is rather better done. The author notes with justice that the Jew was allowed more freedom by Roman and Moslem than by Christian, but he ought also to have noted that the Christian was no less intolerant of his fellow-Christian who disagreed with him in matters of religion. In the recent period the author would have done well to have noted that the Jews are to-day not so united as a casual reading of his book might seem to indicate, but are divided into camps like most of the human race.

If one desires a compendium of facts in Jewish history, he could probably find no better one than the present volume, but as a history it is not a little disappointing, and is scarcely representative of modern Jewish scholarship.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Hellenic Conceptions of Peace. By Wallace E. Caldwell, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXIV., no 2, whole no. 195.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 140, \$1.25.) This is an interesting study written by a man well grounded in Greek history, a pupil of the late Professors Sill and Botsford to whose memory the book is dedicated. It was, moreover, an excellent idea at this time to investigate the reaction of the Greeks, in the successive epochs of their development, on their failure to maintain peace for any considerable length of time. Our main criticism is that Dr. Caldwell has not kept his aim steadily enough in view. In fact, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there has been a certain shifting of aim as the work proceeds. The first part of the thesis might be entitled with equal, if not greater propriety, *Hellenic Conceptions of War*, and on page 84 the author himself makes clear that it is to ascertain their "opinions on the subject of peace and war" that he is scrutinizing Greek authors. The middle part of the book comes perilously near treating the attitude of persons and parties in Athens to peace (as against further prosecution of the struggle) in the Peloponnesian War; and it is only in the concluding chapter, the one devoted to the fourth century, that the thesis comes to deal squarely with the problem of peace in general. Nor is this accidental; for it was only *then* that the Greeks became conscious of the fact that there was no war more necessary than the war against war itself—that the devising of some ways and means of preserving peace in Greece was the supreme task and test of statesmanship. The concluding chapter is accordingly the most valuable part of the book.

That it does not stand alone, and in greater amplitude perhaps, but is prefaced by so lengthy a peace-versus-war review of all previous Greek history and literature, raises a general question as to the desirable scope of doctors' dissertations on Greek and Roman history, into which the reviewer wishes to enter only so far as to suggest that the model of the thesis prepared in other fields of history where the sources as yet untouched are infinitely more abundant is not necessarily a good model for candidates in ancient history. It may well be that the best thesis in Greek and Roman history is oftentimes an article rather than a book, and that in the training of the doctor in this field, more emphasis should be placed on the study of numerous well-formulated problems and on wide reading in literature and philosophy than is done elsewhere. In Dr. Caldwell's case there is no suggestion that this sort of preparation is lacking, but it is amiss, we think, that his special contribution is mixed inextricably with much Greek history that is perfectly familiar to scholars—for whom obviously doctors' dissertations are intended.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Blessed Giles of Assisi. By Walter W. Seton. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. VIII.] (Manchester, University Press, 1918, pp. vii, 94.) Blessed Giles was one of the little group of simple-minded, single-hearted men who were the first to cluster around St. Francis of Assisi and might, if he had not been so humble and retiring, have claimed a place second to none among the founders of the great religious movement which stirred western Christendom in the early thirteenth century.

Hitherto there has been no critical version of his life published in England nor any translation of it into English. To supply both the one and the other—such is the object of this work. Speaking broadly, we may distinguish two elements within the compass of Mr. Seton's volume—one which will interest the general reader and one which will appeal rather to the specialist. The portion of general interest is comprised in the first four chapters (pp. 1-23), which contain an admirable biographical sketch of Giles from the time of his meeting with St. Francis in 1209 to his death at Monteripido fifty-three years afterwards. Chapter V. which deals with the complex question of the manuscript sources for the life of Giles (pp. 24-49) together with the text and translation of Codex Canonici Misc. 528 in the Bodleian Library which follow forms the part of the book of most interest to students.

To combine the critical and the popular is never an easy task and Mr. Seton is to be congratulated on the success with which he has accomplished it in this instance. For he has displayed great skill not only in his translation and study of the Oxford manuscript which forms the basis of the present edition—and the Latinity of which is often peculiar—but also in his attempt to make the personality of Giles real and living to English readers. The appendix contains a good general bibliography and a full index. In giving us this the eighth volume of its *Publications*,

the British Society of Franciscan Studies has made all students of medieval literature once more its debtors.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, A.D. 1241-1242. Prepared and edited by Henry Lewin Cannon, Associate Professor of History, Leland Stanford Junior University. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, vol. V.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xv, 442, \$6.00.) Scholars who have deplored the dearth of printed financial and administrative documents relating to the thirteenth century, will welcome the appearance of the pipe roll of 26 Henry III. They are greatly indebted to the late Henry L. Cannon, its editor, and to the Yale University Press, which made its publication possible, for the first pipe roll of the long reign of Henry III. that has appeared in print.

Dr. Cannon's brief introduction describes the manuscript of the roll and the subsidiary financial documents of the year. The Latin of the text of the roll has been extended. The foot-notes contain the variant readings of the chancellor's roll and are invaluable in the checking of names of towns and individuals. The labor of identifying institutions and other matters has been rightly left to the historical investigator. There are two full indexes, one an *index nominum et locorum*, the other, an *index rerum*. The book is a model of very careful editing and of excellent press-work.

Like all of the pipe rolls, the present document is full of information on the events and institutions of the day. The departure of the king from England in 1242 receives indirect attention, in various places, through the references to the gathering of treasure and the assembling of weapons and food-stuffs. The account of the receipts and expenditures of the queen's household is full of intimate details. In the same class is the statement of the expenditures on the repairs of the castle of Kenilworth. The sheriff of Northampton is stated to have expended considerable sums of money on the care of royal falcons and hunting dogs as well as for the repair of monastic establishments in which the king was interested.

To those interested in the methods of administering justice, the pipe roll will prove of great value. Amerciaments levied by royal justices, payments made for writs, fines of all sorts, and payments exacted by justices of the forest, appear in almost every county. Students of taxation will find references to the attempts to collect the arrears of the fortieth of 1232 and the thirtieth of 1237. Scutages, tallages, and even the carucage, receive attention.

The system used in recording the sheriff's accounts is essentially the same as that of the time of Henry II. The finer distinctions of the author of the *Dialogus* are, however, not strictly observed, any more than

they were in Henry's reign. Dr. Cannon, in his introduction, has called attention to the "not infrequent" erasures and omissions in the roll and has commented on the lack of efficiency thus displayed.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif. By Bernard Lord Manning. [Thirlwall Essay, 1917.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. xvi, 196.) Though brief this book contains much of value to students looking beneath the surface. Many points in the Wycliffite movement need investigation; but the fundamental question is, what was the actual religious condition of the times? This Mr. Manning undertakes to study in the popular contemporaneous literature. His method is clear and simple. He first discusses the ways in which religion was presented to the people. He then asks: How much did the average man know about his religion or might reasonably be expected to know and understand if he availed himself of means everywhere at his disposal; how was religion manifested in daily life? Finally he shows how the average man looked at some great problems then agitating men's minds. These were the problem of poverty, of freewill, and of prayer. That these were actual problems considered by others than theologians and agitators, is in itself an illuminating fact as to the religious conditions of the times. Though the writings of such mystics as Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich, and Richard Rolle of Hampole might well have been used with more caution, the result of the author's investigations will be a surprise to many and will help all who have worked in this period. There is so much patient and profitable research, presented in a well-digested form with very many citations to support and illustrate assertions, that the book will be fairly judged by this rather than by the rather naïve summaries and generalizations and the sometimes wavering judgments. Mr. Manning has convincingly shown that there is more religion in any age than that which is satirized by poets, and that one does not have to follow the methods of Cardinal Gasquet to discover it in the fourteenth century.

JOS. CULLEN AYER, jr.

Ulrich Zwingli: Zum Gedächtnis der Zürcher Reformation, 1519-1919. (Zürich, Buchdruckerei Berichthaus, 1919, cols. 308, pl. 181, pp. 54 in pocket, 70 fr., edition de luxe 150 fr.) No student of the Reformation should fail to know this sumptuous volume. It is Zürich as a whole—its archives, its library, its university, as well as its "Zwingli Verein"—which thus commemorates the New Year's Day four hundred years ago when Ulrich Zwingli began there his career. Under the general editorship of Dr. Hermann Escher, librarian and historian, a multitude of scholars, not all Swiss, have lent their aid. Meyer von Knonau writes on Zürich in 1519, Köhler on Zwingli as theologian, Oechsli on Zwingli as statesman, Farner on his domestic life, Lehmann on his relations and Zürich's with art. Not less precious are the masterly little vignettes of

biography and history prefixed to the portraits and facsimiles. But, it is these portraits themselves (fifty of them, largely from contemporary paintings and in color), the views of old Zürich (likewise largely in color), the more than a hundred superbly photographed letters and written documents, not to mention the reproduced title-pages and broadsides, that give this volume its most unique value. Now for the Zürich Reformation, as already for that at Wittenberg or at Strasburg, the student is equipped for a first-hand study of topography and of handwritings. The letters are accompanied not only by transcriptions, but by translations into German; and happily these transcriptions are so printed as to be detachable from the volume when their help should not be premature.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-1647. Edited with an Introduction by Charles Sanford Terry, Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. In two volumes. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, second series, vols. XVI., XVII.] (Edinburgh, the Society, pp. cvi, 297; vii, 307-696.) These papers are chiefly the accounts of Sir Adam Hepburne, Lord Humble, commissary-general of the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant. Volume I. includes the Articles and Ordinances of War for the Scottish Army in 1644, a schedule of the arms and ammunition received by the general of artillery from the Scottish and English magazines for the expedition to England, and Hepburne's account as treasurer of the army. In volume II. is contained an account of the expenses for supplies of food and general accounts of receipts and expenses.

The introduction sketches the course of events that led the Scottish forces to join with the English, explains the organization of the Scottish army under Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven, enumerates the personnel of the officers, and adds some comments on Hepburne's account books. Professor Terry shows that the revenues of the army came from other than parliamentary sources, from assessments made upon the Scottish counties and upon the northern and "associate" counties, from monies borrowed, and from fines upon "malignants". The Scottish army also received a certain amount of clothing and food from England and profited from customs and excise dues levied in English ports.

The accounts have great value for the student of military history and for the student of prices. Leven very obviously carried into Scottish military methods much of Swedish and German practice. "Swede-feathers" formed a part of the equipment; firelocks were more common than in Cromwell's army; "half-pikes" were used. It is evident that Leven used more heavy artillery and more munitions for such artillery than the English. But mobile three-pounder guns were much depended upon. While the Scottish cavalry, mounted upon small "nags", were lighter than the English, it seems probable that they were better equipped with pistols and even muskets. The Scottish used a remarkable propor-

tion of spades and mattocks to the number of men. Leven, like his master Gustavus Adolphus, must have put faith in trenches.

Economic facts as to prices and places of manufacture are to be had on almost every page. Scottish soldiers and officers seem to have been paid on a much lower scale than their English brethren. Prices for wares and food seem less in northern England and Scotland than in the south. It is interesting to observe how much manufacturing of munitions and guns took place in Scotland.

Professor Terry's two volumes bear throughout the evidence of careful editing. He has done a drudge-like task in such a way as to save work and furnish evidence for many future historians.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Ceylon and the Hollanders, 1658-1796. By P. E. Pieris, Deraniyagala Samarasinha Sriwardhana, D. Litt. (Tellippalai, Ceylon, American Ceylon Mission Press, 1918, pp. xvi, 181.) The period of Dutch rule in Ceylon has been little studied, and therefore this book, in spite of some defects, is welcome. The author is a member of the Ceylon civil service who has had access to considerable collections of local material, and who has now ready for publication another volume on Ceylon and the Portuguese. He provides a narrative of political and military events during the Dutch period, and makes some contributions to the constitutional and economic history of the island.

The features of the policy and administration of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon were very similar to those found in other eastern possessions under its rule. It sought commercial profit, and had little regard for measures which did not promise a direct return in goods or money. The natives were forced to supply products, notably cinnamon, which the company could market to advantage; but the incompetence and dishonesty of the administration gave rise to innumerable leaks, and the profits went in large part to officials trading on their private account. The natives were subject to economic oppression and neglected in every other respect. The Dutch never established themselves firmly, and remained masters of the island merely because of the lack of strong rivals.

The author prints a list of sources covering four pages, but unfortunately fails to support his text by specific references to them. It would be interesting to know the authority for the statement so often made and repeated here that the Dutch burnt the surplus spices to prevent a glut of the market, but on this and similar points the reader is left to his own resources. The book is imperfect in another and more important respect: the author appears to have relied for his Dutch material only on sources which have been translated into English. A considerable amount was available in this form, but of course the bulk of the material was not. Until some scholar has gone through the *Dagh Register gehouden in 't Casteel Batavia*, and the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, to instance only two large collections, and gleaned the material scattered in

Dutch periodicals and the publications of learned societies, the history of Ceylon under the Dutch, will be in a merely provisional stage.

CLIVE DAY.

Danton et la Paix. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Besançon. (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919, pp. 262, 3.50 fr.) In this volume Professor Mathiez carries his campaign against the "légende Dantonienne" into new territory. In his *Études Robespierristes*, reviewed here last July, he seemed mainly desirous of establishing the fact of Danton's venality. He hinted, it is true, that the "Mirabeau of the populace" dabbled upon occasion in treasonable intrigues. Now, after a re-examination of the foreign relations of France from the outbreak of war with Austria until the spring of 1794, Professor Mathiez has convinced himself that Danton was a traitor. Treason has its fashions like everything else, and Danton's treason, so the author explains, was of a cut distinctly new; he was a "défaitiste". It is certainly ingenious to utilize the discredit which in France attaches to negotiations with the ancient enemy, on any other basis than his abject surrender, as a means of blackening the memory of Robespierre's victim.

All the way through his treatment of Danton's career Professor Mathiez urges that there were two Dantons, "le tribun véhément qui jette un défi aux tyrans de l'Europe" and a "défaitiste d'autant plus redoutable qu'il est plus habile et plus insaisissable, et dont le Comité de Salut Public ne peut briser l'opposition souterraine que par le grand coup de force d'un procès révolutionnaire". To support this theory the author commandeers every rumor and every libel current in a period when men's minds were warped by suspicion and prejudice. He warns us that it is unwise to reject the impressions of contemporaries, because these may have been based upon evidence that has not come down to us; a principle of criticism unfortunate for admirers of Robespierre, of whom most of his contemporaries had a very poor opinion. Professor Mathiez presents as an example of "defeatism" the policy of the first committee of public safety, of which Danton was the leading member, and especially the decree of the Convention on April 13, 1793, which repudiated the earlier pledge of intervention in behalf of insurrectionaries everywhere. This has commonly been taken as an indication of a return to sanity. Even less convincing is the attempt to prove that Danton and his friends were scheming for a premature and dishonest peace in the winter of 1793-1794. The whole work reads too much like a detailed brief for the prosecution.

H. E. B.

Fifty Years of Europe, 1870-1919. By Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1919, pp. 428, \$2.00.) In about three-quarters of its contents

this volume is substantially identical with chapters XX.-XXXVII. of Professor Hazen's *Modern European History*, published in 1917. The borrowed material has been skillfully reshaped by some changes of sequence, by expansion in a few places, and by numerous changes of tense, so as to make it read as if the whole book had been written just after the signing of the armistice with Germany. To the final chapter of the earlier volume, which stopped with the beginning of military operations in 1914, about twenty-five thousand words have been added, bringing the narrative of the World War to the close of hostilities. The difficult task of selection and condensation has been performed with rare skill. Among brief reviews of the war this chapter will take high rank.

The outbreak of war in 1914 revealed, with something like the shock and vividness of a flash of lightning, the fact that historians, despite much self-complacency, had been interpreting the history of Europe since 1870 in woefully imperfect fashion. There was, consequently, much need that at the earliest opportunity some competent scholar should write a small book of attractive quality which would furnish a correct and adequate interpretation of the period. Professor Hazen has met the requirement with much the best book of its kind which has yet appeared.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Souvenirs. Par Take Jonesco. (Paris, Payot et Cie., 1919, pp. 249, 4.50 fr.) This book, as the author informs us at the outset, does not contain his memoirs, which are to appear presently, but only a preface to them, a selection from "the thousands of articles that I have published since August 1, 1914". It must be judged accordingly, with due allowance for the time and also for the circumstances under which the articles were written. Mr. Take Jonesco, in the course of a long official career, has come into contact with many important public men in several countries, and, in certain cases, the contact has been intimate. He has given us here some of his impressions about them as confided by him to a Rumanian newspaper during the course of the war. Perhaps it is no more than natural that we are apt to get as much about what he said to his interlocutors as about what they said to him. Some of the conversations reported are quite interesting, even if they contain no startling revelations. We note, particularly, the descriptions of the sincere and persistent optimism of Prince Lichnowsky until almost the outbreak of hostilities, of the character and abilities of Kiderlen Wächter, whom Mr. Jonesco knew well and admired, though with qualifications, and of Talaat Pasha, whom he prevented in Bucharest, after a lively interview, from handing in an ultimatum to Greece in 1913. Of all the people described, Venezelos comes in for the highest praise. The last forty-nine pages of the book are taken up with a speech of the author to the Rumanian chamber of deputies on the Policy of National Instinct.

A. C. C.

L'Opinion Allemande pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918. Par André Hallays. (Paris, Perrin et Cie., 1919, pp. 265, 3.50 fr.) This short book is a summary of German opinion during the war. It is a chronological survey of the changing fortunes of German arms, a kind of spiritual temperature-chart of Germany, of the exaltation during the early months of the war, of the hopes and fears during the Verdun struggle, of the continuous depression resultant from the blockade, of the great discouragement of 1916, of the longing for change or revolution in France—a hope deferred that made the German heart sick—of the forced cheerfulness during the spring of 1918, and of the despair and fear during the last months.

There is little attempt to differentiate German opinion. A German to the author is a German and nothing more. He does show that there was a peace party and a Pan-German party. One of the best features of his account, indeed, is his history of the gradual rise of peace sentiment. But he does not distinguish between the many and interesting shades of opinion. Nor does he interpret or analyze. He might well have done for all Germany what Edwyn Bevan has done so well for the German Socialists.

M. Hallays wishes to be fair and sets for himself excellent standards; he could hardly have chosen a more representative group of newspapers, and he has published documents hitherto unrepresented to the public. Nevertheless he falls far short of his own ideals. His Germans are those to be found in French newspapers during the war. His Germans do not admit any failure in the first battle of the Marne until six months later; his Germans number in their ranks no liberals; his Germans utter in their newspapers only such ideas as are approved or tolerated for good reason by the *Hauptquartier*. But anyone who has had to read the German newspapers of the war knows that there was almost as much freedom of the press in Germany as in America.

What faith the Germans had in propaganda! If sentiment in neutral countries turned against them, their agents were to blame and should be removed. One is impressed with the effect of hunger on German opinion. And one is not surprised to find that the German excuses for military failure ring like those to which we all had to listen.

Two of M. Hallays's conclusions deserve mention. The Germans were down-hearted by the autumn of 1916. A successful Allied offensive at that time should, he believes, have ended the war. He says further that from August of 1918 the Germans knew that the game was up and looked forward fearfully. It seems that the German does not fight best with his back to the wall.

The book may be safely placed on the war-shelves, close to propaganda works. It will have some value for the historian, but far better books should soon appear.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917. Par Georges Weill, Professeur à l'Université de Caen. [Bibliothèque France-Amérique.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1919, pp. 216, 5.50 fr.) The *Bibliothèque France-Amérique* was begun about ten years ago by the Comité France-Amérique in order to bring about a greater degree of understanding and sympathy between France and the western hemisphere. It includes volumes on Canada, Costa Rica, the Argentine Republic, Peru, and others, together with several later numbers which refer more particularly to the World War. Professor Weill's volume is intended to supply the need of an account in French of the history of the United States since the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Two-thirds of the book relates to the period from 1787 to the outbreak of the Civil War. For these years the author has relied heavily upon Professor McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*. For the Civil War and reconstruction he has depended, as everybody else does, upon Mr. Rhodes. As might be expected, these portions of the volume are most satisfactory. The last thirty pages are devoted to the years since 1877 and are, naturally, more fragmentary. On the whole, the style of the author is straightforward and the emphasis is usually well placed. There are seven maps and illustrations and a brief bibliography, but no index.

In the portion of the volume after the Civil War the author has fallen into more errors than are noticeable in the earlier pages. For example, Charles Sumner should hardly be classed with Carl Schurz as a leader in the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 (p. 163); it is not accurate to lay the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1884 solely to the dissatisfaction of the Prohibitionists with the Republican party (p. 169); Mr. Blaine was the presidential nominee in 1884, but only a candidate for the nomination in 1876 and 1880 (p. 173); Mr. Taft was not a senator from Ohio (p. 181); and Colombia has not yet been indemnified for the events of 1903 (p. 191). These however are small matters. In the main Professor Weill's book should lead to a better understanding of American history in France.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXVI.; Constitutional Series, vol. I.] (Madison, the Society, 1918, pp. 545, \$1.50.) The people of the territory of Wisconsin in the middle of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century entered upon the successive steps whereby they were to attain fuller self-government in the "family of republics". *The Movement for Statehood* is the first of a projected series of four volumes which, when completed, is to afford from original sources an account of this process. The other volumes are to treat, respectively, of the convention of 1846; the discussions concerning ratifica-

tion and the rejection of the first constitution in April, 1847; and the convention of 1847 and final ratification.

The present volume has by way of preliminary survey a suggestive introduction by Superintendent Quaife, a careful paper on the Admission of Wisconsin to Statehood by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, and a reprint of the valuable article by Professor Paxson entitled, Wisconsin—a Constitution of Democracy. There is also an interesting sketch-map of the territory prepared by Mary S. Foster. There follow in part II. sundry official messages, reports, and debates. Part III., which forms the larger portion of the volume, is made up of selections from newspapers representing different sections of the territory and revealing many shades of political opinion.

To make thus readily accessible to historical students material drawn from the rich files at Madison is commendable. The selections deal with an interesting array of topics, and the editing has been carefully done. Yet minor typographical errors occasionally have crept in, the most serious being the confusion of lines at the top of page 105, and the use of "constitution" instead of "convention" on page 295; but such slips are few. A general criticism may be directed against the too strict parsimony in the use of subsidiary notes. It is all very well to let the documents tell the tale; but a few remarks, for example, concerning the political bias and editorship of each newspaper quoted and concerning the careers of such men as Ryan and the Stronges would give needed guidance to readers and relieve somewhat the tedium of discussions which are sometimes dreary and mediocre.

In order properly to appreciate these debates and discussions, it is well for the student of history to bear in mind how far in the van of liberalism in reality were these commoners of Wisconsin—in contrast, particularly, with the stage of development in Europe; then one senses the impressiveness of the constitutional movement which they well typify, and catches here and there brilliant statements of democratic doctrine. This volume is of such character as to cause us to look expectantly for the others of the series.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War. By Annie Heloise Abel, Professor of History, Smith College. [The Slaveholding Indians, vol. II.] (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919, pp. 403, \$5.00.) This volume, the second to appear of a series of three on the American Indians as slaveholders and secessionists, as participants in the Civil War, and under reconstruction, opens with the participation of Indian regiments on the Confederate side in the battle of Pea Ridge, subsequent to the treaties of alliance with the Confederacy so fully treated in the first volume. From a military point of view this participation was of slight importance and was accompanied by serious violations

of the laws of civilized warfare. Thereafter from the Confederate side the record is one of neglect and exploitation. Supplies, equipment, and the white regiments promised the Indians for their defense were withheld or diverted, while several rather unsuccessful attempts were made to use the Indians in connection with operations in Arkansas and Missouri—all directly contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the treaties of alliance.

The federal employment of Indian regiments was occasioned by the presence in southern Kansas of several thousand destitute refugees from the secessionist tribes to the southward. Regiments organized from these refugees with white troops did restore federal control as far south as the Arkansas River, but the attack on the secessionist Indians was never pushed home; the operations were hampered by frequent changes in policy and command, incident to Kansas and Missouri politics, and were always subordinated to the military problems in Arkansas and Missouri.

On both sides the Indians were used for scouting, in raids, and in irregular partizan warfare; but except for the two participations mentioned, the organized Indian regiments had little share in the war and that with negligible results. With very few exceptions the military leaders on both sides had no interest in the problems of the Indians themselves nor that clear conception of the strategic importance of Indian country which had led to the very liberal treaties of alliance with the Confederacy. Pike, the negotiator of the treaties, was driven from command when he attempted to maintain even a little of the autonomy which the treaties were to guarantee. In fact the participation of the Indian was in many ways that of a bewildered onlooker and victim. As usual he was the victim of his own helplessness, and after the war was to pay dearly for what in large measure he was powerless to avoid.

Like all Miss Abel's work, the book shows unmistakable evidence of accurate and exhaustive use of the original material and a presentation which is a model as to references, documentation, and bibliography. But in the opinion of the reviewer it is open to serious question whether the material or the problem justifies a volume of this length. The factors and the conclusions are clearly presented and proven; it is difficult to see the advantages of such an accumulation of evidence, all tending to the same conclusions, in the form of factual narrative of intrigues and skirmishes which in themselves would seem to have little interest or value even to the antiquarian.

The I. W. W.: a Study in American Syndicalism. By Paul Frederick Brissenden, sometime Assistant in Economics at the University of California and University Fellow at Columbia. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXIII., whole no. 193.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 432, \$3.50.) Mr. Brissenden has devoted a large amount of time for several years to the preparation of this book, has practically exhausted all of the sources, has visited the

local and national headquarters, interviewed most of the leaders, and presented a truly authoritative and complete history of the movement. He brings out clearly the contrasts with the other forms of labor organizations, and shows that the I. W. W. is not an imported product from France but has sprung from American conditions. It is a protest against political and industrial government from above. While the author endeavors to let the "wobblies" tell their own story, and does it so correctly that none of them can object, yet his estimate of them and their philosophy and methods is plain. They are "grotesquely unprepared for responsibility" and "they would be no less relentless Prussians than the corporations we have with us".

How miscellaneous and uncertain are the I. W. W. is shown by their several forerunners, by the discussions in their conventions, by their small and changing membership, by their successive splits. In some cases whole organizations, and in many cases individuals, have gone over to the fold of the American Federation of Labor, after experiencing the futility of the I. W. W. In another case, the organization split in two, with a Socialist secession devoted to political action, and the I. W. W. proper devoted to "direct action". The latter is the main theme of the book. The free-speech fights, sabotage, "job control", the contest over decentralization, and other characteristic features are well brought out, and the appendixes contain important documents, selections from their song-books, and statistics.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LII., October, 1918-June, 1919. (Boston, the Society, 1919, pp. xvi, 356.) Aside from good articles by Professor Emerton on the Periodization of History and by Professor M. M. Bigelow on Becket and the Law, the contents of this volume are, as is usual, contributions to American history, documents illustrative of the same, and memoirs of deceased members. Of the latter the most important was Professor James B. Thayer, of whom there is an excellent portrait. Of the documents, the diary of Daniel Willard in Washington in 1846 and still more H. H. Gratz's account of a pilgrimage to Boston in 1859 are entertaining, while the letter of Edward Gibbon and the documents respecting his blackballing at Garrick's Club are curious. Notable among the papers, aside from those already mentioned, are that of Mr. W. C. Ford on Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston and that of Professor George F. Moore on Judah Monis. The longest contribution (90 pp.) is an elaborate account of Admiral Vernon medals, 1739-1742, by Dr. Malcolm Storer.

The Emancipation of Massachusetts: the Dream and the Reality. By Brooks Adams. Revised and enlarged edition. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. 534.) Mr. Brooks Adams's valuable but one-sided work, originally published in 1887, is now brought out in a second

edition. The author declares that he now sees nothing in it, viewed merely as history, to retract or even to modify, but he prefixes to it a preface of 165 pages, the main object of which is to maintain "that the universe . . . is a chaos . . . with which man is doomed eternally and hopelessly to contend", and to illustrate, from history, that and allied theses. Two-thirds of the preface is concerned, for these purposes, with the Biblical history of Moses, concluded to be in general trustworthy and then relied on in detail. The reasonings and assertions of this new preface are original, bold, and acute. The historical student, modestly leaving much of it to the judgment of philosophers, will probably think that historically much rests on sandy foundations, but will find it at least provocative of thought.

Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library, in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Volume I., part I. (Providence, the Library, pp. vii, 240.) Since the various issues of 1865-1882, no printed catalogue of this wonderful collection has been put forth. Meantime, the library, as is familiar, has been much increased by additional purchases, especially since the death of Mr. John Nicholas Brown, its last owner, in 1900. The trustees under his will, as thereby authorized, gave the library to Brown University, and have greatly enriched it by the use of the generous endowment fund which he left for the purpose. In its special field, that of Americana printed before the nineteenth century, the library has few rivals in the world, and none of these are independent institutions solely devoted to that field. Therefore its catalogue, though in a sense defying review, as a catalogue of thousands of rarities must, is a book to which the attention of students of American history must be attracted. Its plan is to include all the printed books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts in the library, and not solely the Americana for which it primarily exists. The books and pamphlets will be catalogued in chronological order, in, we understand, about eight parts, but the maps and the manuscripts will with a few exceptions be reserved for separate lists. Titles are not to be extensively annotated; the notes which follow them are nearly confined to statements concerning the externals of the volumes, or such data as will distinguish different editions. The catalogue has been prepared by the competent hands of Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The present installment runs through the year 1569. That the catalogue of a library of Americana (or primarily of Americana) should embrace something like a thousand books in merely that portion which precedes the imprints of 1570 is alone a sufficient indication of the library's importance and value. Mr. Ford's work has been done with extraordinary care; in those cases where we have made comparisons, we have found no error in any title. The book has been printed by the Merrymount Press of Boston, and is very handsome.

Cartas de Sucre al Libertador. In two volumes, 1820-1830. [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Librería, 1919, pp. 431; 449.) This is merely a reprint of the initial volume of "Correspondencia de Hombres Notables con el Libertador", which forms part of the *Memorias del General O'Leary* published by the government of Venezuela at Carácas in 1879. It contains a preface (*advertencia*) by O'Leary, a sketch of the life of Sucre up to 1825 written by Bolívar, a series of letters from Sucre to the Liberator covering the decade 1820-1830, a selection of his letters to other personages, almost all of them army officers, and at the close a few of his proclamations. Its value consists in rendering accessible a collection of documents long since out of print and in making them typographically superior to the original.

Nowhere in fact or fiction perhaps is there found a more appealing story of faithfulness and devotion than that told in these letters from Bolívar's great lieutenant to his chief. During the course of a struggle in which jealousy and insubordination, intrigue and slander, ruined many a brotherhood in arms, nought could happen to mar the fidelity of Sucre. Easily the ablest of Spanish-American soldiers of the time, he was the least disposed to admit it. Neither success nor failure could warp his innate modesty on the score of his own achievements or lessen his steadfast admiration for the commander under whom he fought. Even after his brilliant victory at Ayacucho, it is evident from the famous sentence at the opening of his letter from the battlefield that he ascribed no credit to himself. Content, moreover, with the thought of doing his duty in all that might come within the sphere of military operations, he never concealed his unfitness for the tasks of statesmanship. This is shown especially in connection with his career in Bolivia, where politicians and reformers behaved in a manner quite repugnant to the nature of a man like Sucre who had the soldier's sense of directness and candor.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Association was held in Cleveland on December 29-31. The presidential address of Mr. William R. Thayer is printed in this number of this journal. The next number will contain the usual article descriptive of the proceedings. The meeting is especially marked by the retirement of Mr. Waldo G. Leland from the office of secretary, which he has held since 1908, and of Professor Evarts B. Greene from that of secretary of the Council, to which he was elected in 1913. Both these gentlemen have filled these offices with remarkable devotion and success, and the Association is greatly indebted to them for the energetic, resourceful, and methodical manner in which they have performed the services appropriate to their positions. Happily as these two officers have co-operated, it has seemed to some that in the general case it would be a better plan to have one secretary of the Association, an assistant secretary, and an editor of publications, the latter two to be paid officials acting under the direction of the secretary, and amendments intended to introduce this system were laid before the Council at its meeting on December 27, and before the Association at its business meeting on December 29.

The financial condition of the Association on December 1 when the treasurer's books were closed for the annual audit was very encouraging. The net receipts during the year amounted to \$10,832.80, the net disbursements to \$8,119.99, giving an excess of receipts over disbursements of \$2,712.81. The cash balance on hand was \$5,184.72. The assets in cash and securities amounted to \$34,922.68, an increase during the year of \$3,207.74. The assets of the *American Historical Review* Fund in cash and securities amounted to \$2,173.80, making the combined assets reach a total of \$37,096.48, an increase during the year of \$5,023.26. The voluntary contributions of one dollar had on December 1 amounted to \$1,432.

Volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1916 has been distributed to the members of the Association. The *Annual Report* for 1917 will be distributed early in the year, and also, it is hoped, volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1918. It is probable that the second volume of the latter *Report*, containing the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, will not be issued until the second half of the year, as the printing appropriation will not suffice for its completion during the present fiscal year of the government.

Good progress is being made in the compilation of the Directory of

the Association which will be included in the *Annual Report* for 1918, volume I. Members who have not yet filled out the questionnaire are urgently requested to do so at once.

PERSONAL

Dr. Jesse Macy, professor emeritus of political science in Grinnell College, and formerly professor of history, died on November 2, aged 77. Famous as a teacher and as a sagacious publicist, he had published two small but meritorious books of history, in 1900 *Political Parties in the United States, 1846-1861*, and during the last year the volume, in the *Chronicles of America* series, which is reviewed on a preceding page.

Col. William R. Livermore, U. S. A., noted as an accomplished engineer officer, and writer of part III. of *The Story of the Civil War*, continuing the late John C. Ropes's work of that name, died on September 27, at the age of 76.

Dr. Alexander Franz, extraordinary professor of history in the University of Frankfurt, died in Berlin on March 1, 1919. He was born in Missouri of German parents. His works include a volume on *Die Kolonisation des Mississippiales bis zum Ausgange der Französischen Herrschaft: eine Kolonialhistorische Studie* (Leipzig, 1906).

Francis J. Haverfield, who since 1907 had been Camden professor of ancient history in the University of Oxford, died on October 1, at the age of fifty-nine. His principal productions had been a variety of valuable monographs on the history of Roman Britain.

Dr. Archer B. Hulbert has been appointed associate professor of American history in Clark University.

Professor W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin has been elected professor of ancient history in Cornell University, as successor of the late Professor Sill. His work at Ithaca will begin next September.

Dr. J. G. Randall has resigned his position as historian of the Shipping Board and has been appointed professor of history in Richmond College.

Professor J. M. Leake, formerly of Allegheny College, is now professor of history and economics in the University of Florida.

Professor E. C. Griffith, lately of Brown University, has been made professor of history, and acting head of the department, in the University of Cincinnati.

Professor Wilson P. Shortridge has been promoted to be head of the department of history in the University of Louisville. Dr. W. F. Raney becomes assistant professor of history in the same institution.

In the University of Wisconsin, Dr. W. T. Root has been advanced to the full rank of professor. Professor A. L. P. Dennis, returning from service with the Division of Military Intelligence, is expected to resume academic work in the second semester.

Professor W. M. Gewehr of Iowa State Teachers College has accepted an invitation to become head of the department of history in Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

GENERAL

Libraries or students possessing the series of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* will be glad to know that the two volumes for 1913 (Jahrgang XXXVI., Berlin, Weidmann, 1916, pp. 326, 401, 270, 316) are now procurable. There are almost no non-German contributors. Most of the chapters under ancient history and "Allgemeines" are filled out, but few of the sections for German history are present, and for other countries only those for France, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Japan, and a part of Italy.

The contents of the October number of the *Historical Outlook* include: With the First Division: Winter 1917-1918, by Lieut. Richard A. Newhall; the Great Loyalty in America, by Professor William E. Dodd; Italy's Achievement in the Great War, by Dr. P. V. B. Jones; and a Course for the Better Understanding of Latin-America, by Professor Beverley W. Bond. Articles in the November number are: the German Press and the War, by Dr. Victor S. Clark; China since 1914, by Professor Kenneth S. Latourette; Serbia's Work in the Great War, by Allan M. Gale; and Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations during the Last Half-Century, by Dr. Charles H. Levermore. The December number has another of the series of articles by participants in the war, entitled "Over There" in Siberia, by Capt. Laurence B. Packard, and a good paper by Professor A. H. Buffington on British and French Imperialism in North America. Completing with this number the tenth volume of the excellent and most useful magazine which he has edited under the names of the *History Teacher's Magazine* and the *Historical Outlook*, Professor McKinley takes occasion to present a group of very interesting surveys, by various competent hands, of ten years' progress in the teaching of history and other historical activities. Briefly, and without yielding to the temptation to comment on each of the eight surveys, it may be said that they present an encouraging record of advancement.

History for October has an article on the Dawn of the French Renaissance by Mr. Edward Armstrong and one on Nationality by Mr. Ernest Barker. The ecclesiastical policy of Diocletian and that of Constantine are considered by Miss Alice Gardner. Those interested in the progress of historical research in the English universities will obtain a notion of

its course from a section containing lists of theses and publications accepted for higher degrees and of essays by graduates to which university prizes have been awarded, in the case of the universities of Leeds, London, and Manchester. More than one hundred such studies are listed. The lists for Cambridge, Liverpool, and Oxford may be expected in the next number.

We are informed by Father Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., president of the Society of Bollandists, that he and his associates intend to resume publication of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, interrupted in 1914 before the issue of fasc. 4 of vol. XXXIII., and to maintain it if a sufficient number of subscriptions can be secured. The price of subscription is 20 francs per annum. Subscriptions should be addressed, Société des Bollandistes, 22 Boulevard St. Michel, Brussels.

Ludo Moritz Hartmann has undertaken to edit a *Weltgeschichte in Gemeinverständlicher Darstellung* (Gotha, Perthes), which will extend to at least twelve volumes. The first and the third volume have been published. In the first appear the editor's introduction, a geographical introduction by E. Hanslik, the section on prehistoric times by E. Kohn, and the account of the ancient East by E. G. Klauber. The editor and J. Kromayer have co-operated in writing the third volume, which deals with Roman history.

Further issues in the S. P. C. K. series of *Helps for Students of History* are a pamphlet on *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, by Dr. Montagu R. James, two lectures on ecclesiastical records, by Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian of Lambeth Palace, and *An Introduction to the History of American Diplomacy*, by Professor Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin. The same publishing society announces *Christian Inscriptions*, by H. C. V. Nunn, in its series of *Texts for Students*; and volumes on *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*, by H. F. Westlake, custodian of Westminster Abbey, on *The Cistercians in Yorkshire*, by J. S. Fletcher, and on *The Reformation in Ireland*, by H. Holloway.

The *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America* compiled by a committee of the Bibliographical Society of America and printed in installments by the New York Public Library in its *Bulletin* has now been assembled in a handsome volume of xxiv + 245 pages. The volume, which can be obtained from the library named, is the result of some twenty years' labor on the part of various librarians, bibliographers, and scholars. The data are derived from 169 public and 246 private collections, and report over 13,200 copies of more than 6600 titles. The catalogue is greatly abridged, the title-entries being confined to the fewest words that will identify the book, but is so comprehensive, so careful, and so well arranged (Hain's order is in general followed) that it will be exceedingly helpful to all students that need to use fifteenth-century books, of which it discloses a surprisingly large store in America.

A new work by Professor J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress, an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth*, will shortly be published in London by Messrs. Macmillan.

Professor George F. Moore of Harvard University has added to his *History of Religions* a second volume (Scribner) dealing with Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. The first volume, which treated of the ancient religions other than Judaism, was published in 1913.

Gabriel Hanotaux of the French Academy discusses a considerable range of topics of concern to the historian in an illuminating manner in the volume entitled *L'Histoire et les Historiens, le Théâtre et la Guerre* (Paris, Conard, 1919).

Lord Bryce's *Democracy* (Macmillan) relates especially to democratic achievements in Australia, New Zealand, and France, but also has chapters dealing with the South American republics, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and the republics of antiquity.

The March number of the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* is devoted entirely to the League of Nations, comprising three articles, namely: European Precedents for a League of Nations, by Clarence Perkins, American Precedents for a League of Nations, by Carl Wittke, the Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations, by Homer C. Hockett, together with the text of the covenant as announced April 27, 1919, with notes pointing out changes made in the covenant as originally drafted.

The Grotius Society has published a monograph on *International Rivers*, by a young Belgian scholar, Mr. George Kaeckenbeeck.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace expects to publish soon a comprehensive study of the theory and history of plebiscites, entitled *The Doctrine of National Self Determination*, by Miss Sarah Wambaugh of Radcliffe College.

Industry and Trade, by Professors A. L. Bishop and A. G. Keller (Boston, Ginn, pp. 426, with many excellent illustrations), is a high-school or college text-book which presents an intelligent descriptive account of American industries and American trade and commerce taken up in a historical way though not in a historical order of arrangement.

A first volume of a history of the development of arms is entitled *A Record of European Arms and Armour* (London, Bell), by Sir Guy Laking. The work will occupy five volumes.

The July and October numbers of the *Catholic Historical Review* are combined in one issue. The main contents are four articles of exceptional interest: one by Professor Charles E. Chapman on Father Fermín de Lasuén; one by Father V. F. O'Daniel on Cuthbert Fenwick of early Maryland; one by Professor Laurence M. Larson on the Church in North America (Greenland) in the Middle Ages; and one by Father

John Rothensteiner on Father Paul de Saint Pierre (Heiligenstein?), successively pastor of Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, and Iberville, 1785-1826, the first German-American priest of the West. Among the documents is a journal of Bishop Purcell, 1833-1836.

The American Jewish Historical Society will hold its twenty-eighth annual meeting in New York on February 22 and 23.

The Journal of Negro History in its October number presents brief articles by E. Ethelred Brown on Labor Conditions in Jamaica prior to 1917, and by M. N. Work on the Life of Charles B. Ray. A longer paper on the Slave in Upper Canada, by Justice W. R. Riddell of the supreme court of Ontario, is reprinted with documents from the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for last May. The editor prints some fifty more pages of letters of negro migrants, 1916-1918, very instructive as to recent conditions in all parts of the South.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, tells the story of seventeen interesting missions to the East, in quest of archaeological objects and manuscripts, in two volumes of *Travels in Egypt and Mesopotamia in Search of Antiquities, 1886-1913* (London, Murray).

Ludwig Borchardt in *Die Annalen und die Zeitliche Festlegung des Alten Reiches der Aegyptischen Geschichte* (Berlin, Behrend, 1917, pp. 64, plates 8, folio) edits the Palermo stone and four supplementary fragments of inscriptions, recently discovered, all dating from the fifth dynasty. On the basis of these, in part, he fixes a new date for the Sirius era at 4236 B. C., and dates the beginning of the dynasties as follows: first, 4186; third, 3642; sixth, 2920; twelfth, 1996-1993. Marie Mogensen has edited the *Stèles Égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm* (Copenhagen, Höst, 1919).

Professor Albert T. Clay of Yale University has published a work of high importance on *The Empire of the Amorites* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. 192; reviewed by A. T. Olmstead, *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1919, pp. 525-527).

E. Cavaignac has completed his *Histoire de l'Antiquité* by the publication of the second part of the first volume entitled *Javan: l'Orient et les Grecs* (Paris, Boccard, 1919), which contains the critical discussions and various materials on which were based the conclusions set forth in the narrative in the first part of the volume. An index to all three volumes of the work will be issued shortly in a supplementary volume.

An important study of *Die Liturgie: Studien zur Ptolemäischen und Kaiserlichen Verwaltung Aegyptens* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. viii, 452) is by Friedrich Oertel.

The *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, published jointly by the university presses of Harvard and Yale, contain papers by members of the School of Fine Arts and of the School of Classical Studies. Of papers of an historical character, vol. I. contains one on the Reorganization of the Roman Priesthoods at the Beginning of the Republic, by the late Dr. Jesse B. Carter, and one on the Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria, by Eugene S. McCartney. Vol. II. has a paper by Miss Lucy G. Roberts on the Gallic Fire and Roman Archives.

Miss Elsie S. Jenison prints a Columbia University dissertation on *The History of the Province of Sicily* (Boston, the Colonial Press, 1919, pp. 125) in which, without neglecting political events, she makes it her main endeavor to show the economic, social, and cultural history of the province. Despite the meagreness of the materials at many points, she has dealt competently with her theme and made a useful contribution to knowledge.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. F. Weidner, *Studien zur Assyrisch-Babylonischen Chronologie und Geschichte auf Grund Neuer Funde* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XX. 4); F. M. T. Böhl, *Die Könige von Genesis 14.* (Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXXVI. 2); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Zur Herkunft des Alphabets*, I. (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXIII. 1); J. P. Peters, *The Home of the Semites* (Journal of the American Oriental Society, October); U. Kahrstedt, *Die Spartanische Agrarwirtschaft* (Hermes, LIV. 3); M. Streck, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (Der Alte Orient, XVI. 3); G. Plaumann, *Der Idioslogos, Untersuchungen zur Finanzverwaltung Aegyptens in Hellenistischer und Römischer Zeit* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, XVII.); V. Costanzi, *Osservazioni sulla Terza Guerra Sannitica* (Rivista di Filologia, XLVII. 2); G. Ferrero, *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); M. Piroutet, *Contribution à l'Étude des Celtes*, I. (L'Anthropologie, XXIX. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A new scheme of chronology of the life of St. Paul is presented by D. Plooij in *De Chronologie van het Leven van Paulus* (Leiden, Brill, 1918, pp. viii, 195; reviewed by M. Jones in *Expositor*, August). *Paulus und die Mystik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1918, pp. iii, 123) is the subject of a study by K. Deissner.

P. Batiffol has issued a collection of *Études de Liturgie et d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919, pp. vi, 330).

As a Princeton doctoral dissertation Dr. Herbert T. Weiskotten publishes *Sancti Augustini Vita, scripta a Possidio Episcopo* (Princeton University Press, 1919, pp. 174), embracing an introduction, a revised text based on the collation of many manuscripts, a translation, and adequate notes.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A brief account of *The Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Past and Present* (London, Skeffington, 1919, pp. 160) has been written by Rose G. Kingsley.

G. Golubovich covers the period 1300-1332 in the third volume of his *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francese* (Quaracchi, 1919, pp. viii, 496). *Éléments d'une Bibliographie Française de la Syrie* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. xx, 528) is a somewhat similar undertaking in the same field by Paul Masson.

Dr. Theodore O. Wedel's *The Medieval Attitude toward Astrology, particularly in England* (Yale University Press, pp. 189), is a valuable contribution to the history of medieval thought and of the conflict between science and theology.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Krammer, *Zum Textproblem der Lex Salica: eine Erwiderung* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XLI. 1); O. von Gierke *et al.*, *Gutachtliche Aeusserungen über Krammers Ausgabe der Lex Salica* (*ibid.*, XLI. 2); E. Heymann, *Zur Textkritik der Lex Salica* (*ibid.*); B. W. Wells, *Alcuin the Teacher* (Constructive Quarterly, September); J. B. Chabot, *Édesse pendant la Première Croisade* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, November, 1918).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: *Some New Sources of European History* [diplomatic and political "revelations", on 1887-1914] (New Europe, November 20, 27, December 4).

In *Der Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation in seiner Entwicklung, 1300-1800* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1917, pp. xi, 397), Dr. Jacob ter Meulen (one of the editors of *Grotius*) undertakes two important surveys, one of the development of the idea of internationalism, the other of the individual plans of international organization proposed in the centuries indicated.

There has been issued as one of the publications of the Spanish school at Rome the first volume of *La Liga de Lepanto entre España, Venecia, y la Santa Sede, 1570-1573; Ensayo Histórico á Base de Documentos Diplomáticos* (Madrid, Imp. de la Revista de Archivos, 1918, pp. viii, 396), by L. Serrano.

L. Engerand brings out many interesting facts in *L'Opinion Publique dans les Provinces Rhénanes et en Belgique, 1789-1815* (Paris, Bossard, 1919).

Sir Plunket Barton, Bart., whose *Bernadotte: the First Phase*, was published in 1914, now brings out a continuation, *Bernadotte and Napoleon, 1799-1810* (London, Murray),

The second volume of E. Daudet's *La France et l'Allemagne après le Congrès de Berlin* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 292) deals with the mission of the Baron de Courcel. *L'Alliance Franco-Russe, les Origines et les Résultats* (Paris, Alcan, 1919) is the subject of an exposition by H. Welschinger.

The standing of its author, the Austrian professor Heinrich Friedjung, will cause the highest expectations to be entertained respecting his latest book, *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884-1914* (Berlin, Neufeld and Henius, 2 vols.), treating of the political preliminaries of the war and the general history of the world in the generation preceding it. Vol. I. has appeared.

In the archives of Brussels the German authorities found a mass of manifolded circulars in which, through the eighteen years preceding the war, the Belgian foreign office kept its diplomatic representatives informed, by extracts from each other's despatches, of whatever was important in relation to the general European situation. The present German government has published in five volumes, *Zur Europäischen Politik, 1897-1914* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1919), edited by Bernard Schwertfeger, the French text of such of these as illustrate Germany's position in the years named. "Objektivität" is of course claimed, though the printing in black-faced type of the sentences especially favorable to Germany produces a disagreeable effect; but the material is, from its nature and origin, of much importance to the study of recent diplomatic history.

In September last the Danish government issued a White Book containing the documents relating to the discussions of 1906-1907 between Captain Luetken, representing the Danish premier and minister of defense, and General von Moltke, chief of the German General Staff, regarding the position of Denmark (parallel to that of Belgium) in the event of war; also conversations between King Christian IX. and the German emperor in 1903, and between King Edward VII. and Count Frijs in 1908.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Ehses, *Briefe vom Trienter Konzil unter Pius IV.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVII. 1); K. Colegrove, *Diplomatic Procedure preliminary to the Congress of Westphalia* (American Journal of International Law, July); Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, R. N., *The Freedom of the Seas* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, November); W. R. Shepherd, *The Expansion of Europe*, III. (Political Science Quarterly, September); Alice Galimberti, *Giuseppe Mazzini nel Pensiero Inglese* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); H. Prentout, *La Politique Anglaise et la Politique Française dans la Question des Duchés* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); P. Darmstaedter, *Die Vorgeschichte der Russisch-Französischen Allianz, 1891-1894* (Preussische Jahrbücher, June); Viscount Haldane, *Some Recol-*

lections: *Conversations with Kaiser and Chancellor* (Atlantic Monthly, October); O. Kende, *Die Donaustrasse* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, July, 1917).

THE GREAT WAR

The Royal Library of Belgium is endeavoring to make a collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, cartoons, etc., relating to the war, and it is especially desirous of gathering as much American material as possible. Inasmuch as the library was unable during the German occupation to make any such collections, it is hoped that Americans who have material that may be of interest will be willing to offer it for permanent preservation in Brussels. Such material should be sent to the Hon. Louis de Sadeleer, minister of state of Belgium, in care of the Belgian Consulate, 25 Madison Avenue, New York.

Messrs. Macmillan announce the first volume of the British *Official History of the War*, covering the military operations in the western theatre down to December, 1914, by Hon. John W. Fortescue.

An important addition just made to the Carnegie Endowment's "Preliminary Economic Studies of the War", is a volume of 338 pages by Professor Ernest L. Bogart on *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*.

The Macmillan Company has brought out *The Story of the Great War*, a small, compact book by Professor Roland G. Usher.

The Naval War College has issued a volume of *International Law Documents: Neutrality; Breaking of Diplomatic Relations; War; with Notes; 1917* (Washington, Government Printing Office). The collection embraces many principal documents relating to the Great War. They are arranged chronologically within an alphabetical arrangement of states. Documents issued in foreign languages are given in an English translation.

Professor Charles Seymour's *The Diplomatic Background of the War* (Yale University Press, 1916) has been published in a French translation, *Les Antécédents de la Guerre* (Paris, Sirey).

The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18 (H. M. Stationery Office, 1919, pp. 146) is an authoritative official narrative, based mainly on British official documents, and put together by the competent hands of Professor C. W. C. Oman.

Part I, June 28-July 23, 1914 (pp. 139), of the Austrian Red Book, *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges*, mentioned in our last number, has now arrived, and proves to be of great importance and interest, containing many new and important documents which reveal with startling clearness the personal responsibility of Count Berchtold for the Austrian declaration of war against Serbia, making his

deception of the Emperor Francis Joseph appear far more daring and cynical than Bismarck's use of the Ems despatch. The documents also throw light on the question of the alleged Potsdam conference of July 5, 1914. Still further revelations are to be found in *Das Wiener Kabinet und die Entstehung des Krieges* (Wien, Siedel, 1919), by R. Gooss, which fixes the date of Kaiser Wilhelm's decision as July 5, but seems to indicate that there was no conference on that date. Especial attention is given to the Balkan situation on the eve of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, indicating that a reorganization of the Balkan league was defeated through intrigues with Rumania. Additional information on the fateful twelve days is also presented.

The minister Dr. Karl Helfferich's *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, mentioned heretofore in these pages, has now been followed by a continuation entitled *Vom Kriegeausbruch bis zum uneingeschränkten U-Bootskrieg* (Berlin, Ullstein). Other recent books contributory to political understanding of the war and its origins are Chancellor von Hertling's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (3 vols.), H. von Eckardstein's *Diplomatische Enthüllungen zum Ursprung des Weltkrieges: Bruchstücke aus meinen Politischen Denkwürdigkeiten*, and Eduard Bernstein's *Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten, I., Aus den Jahren meines Exils*. Of a more military character, and casting some light on general staff operations before the war, are the *Erlebnisse und Betrachtungen aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges* of General von Stein, quartermaster-general and minister of war.

A volume of despatches of Field-Marshal the Earl Haig, with a number of military maps, has been edited by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Boraston. Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company are the American publishers.

General von Falkenhayn's *General Headquarters, 1914-1916, and its Critical Decisions*, is on the point of publication in English translation by Messrs. Hutchinson of London. They also have in the press *Australian Victories in France, 1918*, illustrated, by Sir John Monash, chief commander of the Australian troops.

Der Grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen herausgegeben im Auftrage des Generalstabes des Feldheeres (Oldenburg, Stalling) is an extensive series of monographs on the various battles and campaigns of the war, one of which, *Lüttich-Namur*, was mentioned in our last issue.

Sir A. Conan Doyle's fifth volume, *The British Campaigns in France and Flanders, January to July, 1918*, was published in September (Hodder and Stoughton). Mr. Edmund Daines's two volumes on *The British Campaigns in the Nearer East* and his volume entitled *The British Campaigns in Africa and the Pacific (id.)* are intended to form the complement to that series.

Die Marneschlacht, 1914 (Leipzig, Lippold) is an authoritative dis-

cussion of the battle and the German plans by General Baumgarten-Crusius, commander of the German Third Army. Maj. Eugen Bircher of the Swiss General Staff has made a study of *Die Schlacht an der Marne* (Bern, Haupt, 1918, pp. 287); Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset, of *La Bataille de l'Aisne* (Brussels, Van Oest, 1919); and J. de Pierrefeu, of *La Deuxième Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919). General Malletterre's fifth and final volume of *Études et Impressions de Guerre* is devoted to *La Bataille de Libération et la Victoire, 1918* (Paris, Tallandier, 1919, pp. 358).

Mr. Sisley Huddleston was the Paris correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* during the peace conference. His *Peace-making at Paris* (London, Fisher Unwin) is produced by refashioning the material of his daily articles, and can of course make but a partial and in a sense ephemeral contribution to history, but it is an early and good book of its kind.

Le Traité de Paix (Paris, Fasquelle, 1919, pp. 256), by Louis Barthou, is his report as chairman of committee to the Chamber of Deputies. Other French accounts and discussions of the treaty are *Le Pacte de 1919 et la Société des Nations* (*ibid.*) by Léon Bourgeois; *Le Traité de Versailles du 28 Juin 1919, l'Allemagne et l'Europe* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 368) by G. Hanotaux; and the anonymous *Le Traité de Versailles* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919).

F. Maurette has prepared a useful *Atlas de la Paix, 1914-1919: la France, l'Europe, le Monde avant et après la Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, 38 maps).

Lieut.-Col. H. P. Picot, who was British officer in charge of interned troops in Switzerland, writes of their life and organization and of the work of the Swiss government on behalf of prisoners of war in *With the British Interned in Switzerland* (London, Arnold).

The personnel of the successive French ministries during the war is depicted by M. Laurent in *L'Organisation de la Victoire: Nos Gouvernements de Guerre, Viviani, Briand, Ribot, Painlevé, Clemenceau* (Paris, Alcan, 1919). Not only military but also social and political matters are subjected to consideration by Lieutenant-Colonel de Thomasson in *Le Revers de 1914 et ses Causes* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919). In *Nivelle et Painlevé* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1919, pp. 250) by Mermeix will be found new materials of the highest significance relating to the political situation and the military misfortunes of 1917. Important documents on the subject are published by Commandant Civrieux in *L'Offensive Franco-Britannique de 1917 et le Commandement du Général Nivelle* (Brussels, Van Oest, 1919). The former premier Paul Painlevé presents his point of view in *La Vérité sur l'Offensive du 16 Avril 1917* (Paris, Renaissance, 1919, pp. 112), and exposes the circumstances surrounding the appointments of Foch and Pétain to the chief commands.

Le Rôle de la Cavalerie Française à l'Aile Gauche de la Première Bataille de la Marne (Paris, Perrin, 1919) is by one of the actors, J. Héthay. General Puypéroux has given an account of *La 3^e Division Coloniale dans la Grande Guerre, 1914-1919* (Paris, Fournier, 1919, pp. 232). A. Séché has had unusual advantages in the employment of official reports and other documents in preparing *Les Noirs* (Paris, Payot, 1919), an account of the black troops in the French army, during the Great War.

Captain Dutil has furnished an account of *Les Chars d'Assaut: leur Création et leur Rôle pendant la Guerre, 1915-1918* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. 296). The same theme is dealt with by P. Lestringuet in *Sous l'Armure: les Chars d'Assaut Français pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919).

A brief survey of the services of *La Marine Française pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Larousse, 1919, pp. 224) has been prepared by G. Clerc-Rampal. The lively narrative of the personal experiences of F. Darde bears the title, *Souvenirs de Chasse aux Sous-marins Allemands, les Patrouilles du Contre-torpilleur "Fanion"* (Paris, Perrin, 1919). Among other contributions to the naval history of the war the following are of special interest: *La Bataille Navale du Jutland, 31 Mai 1916* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 192), by Captain de Parseval; *Quatre Années de Guerre Sous-marine* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. xvi, 336), by Commandant E. Vedel; and *La Guerre Sous-marine et l'Espagne* (Lyons, Lardanchet, 1919), by F. Vézinet.

The Secret Corps: a Tale of Intelligence on all Fronts (London, Murray), by Captain Ferdinand Tuohy, is an authentic and detailed record of intelligence work in many countries during the late war.

Dr. Lucien-Graux has added three volumes to the two earlier ones on *Les Fausses Nouvelles de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1919), thus completing the work to the close of hostilities.

The Pipes of War, by Col. Sir Bruce Seton, Bart., and John Grant, announced for publication by Messrs. MacLehose, Jackson, and Company of Glasgow, is a record of the achievements of pipers of Scottish and overseas regiments during the Great War, to which additional interest is lent by the fact that some five hundred pipers were killed, and at least six hundred others wounded, while endeavoring to carry on the ancient traditions of their service.

L'Aisne pendant la Grande Guerre (Paris, Alcan, 1919) by Gabriel Hanotaux is the fourth volume of a series entitled *La France Dévastée*, in which there are also volumes on Lorraine by M. Barrès and on Alsace by Abbé E. Wetterlé. General Percin's *Lille* (Paris, Grasset, 1919) is devoted mainly to a careful presentation of the situation and events in August, 1914, with a purpose of justification. J. Hélot, presi-

dent of the chamber of commerce of Cambrai, has written *Cinquante Mois sous le Joug Allemand, l'Occupation Allemande à Cambrai et dans le Cambrésis* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. ii, 595), while the archbishop of Cambrai, Mgr. Chollet, plans no less than six volumes on the subject with special reference to his own acts and attitude, under the title *Pro Aris et Focis*, of which *Mon Copie de Lettres* (Cambrai, Masson, 1919) has appeared. The whole question of the relations of the Church in France during the war is surveyed by F. Rouvier in *En Ligne, l'Église de France pendant la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Perrin, 1919).

Arthur Toupine, *La Guerre et la Vérité, traduit par O. W. Milosz* (Paris, Éditions de l'Affranchi, 201 Boulevard Péreire, 1919, pp. 221), is a partial translation of *Latvju Tauta Karā* (1917). The author, a prominent Lettish patriot and littérateur, was an officer in the Lettish Volunteers of the old Russian army. His description of the exploits of these units during the years 1915-1917 is a noteworthy contribution to the history of the war on the eastern front, and to the history of the Lettish national movement.

Eugen, Graf Ledebur-Wicheln, has published the official documents relating to the *Friedensvertrag mit Rumänien* (Vienna, Manz, 1918, pp. 124) together with an account of the Austrian occupation of Rumania, of the negotiations, and of Rumania's economic outlook.

Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-1918: Sammlung Diplomatischer Aktenstücke (Berlin, 1919) is a collection of 444 documents permitted by the present German government to be published, and declared to contain all the necessary material in the archives of the Berlin foreign office and the German embassy in Constantinople for understanding the German course with respect to the conduct of the Turks towards the Armenians.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Madelin, *La Bataille de France*, I.-V. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15-October 15); C. Photiades, *La Victoire des Alliés en Orient*, I. (*Revue de Paris*, September 15); Rear-Adm. W. S. Sims, *The Victory at Sea*, I.-IV. (*World's Work*, September, October, November, December); Lieut.-Commander H. H. Frost, U. S. N., *A Description of the Battle of Jutland*, I. (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, November); H. F. Wright, *The Pope and the War* (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April); A. H. Snow, *The Shantung Question and Spheres of Influence* (*Nation*, September 20).

(See also pp. 357-358)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Third Report* of the Royal Commission on Public Records, completed in draft as far back as June, 1916, but delayed by the war, has now appeared and will no doubt before long be received in America. We understand that it completes the report of this commission, whose

work marks, or if properly followed up by action should mark, an era in the history of British archives.

Messrs. Bell are to publish a volume by Dr. Montagu Sharpe, entitled *Middlesex in British, Roman, and Saxon Times*.

In the October number of the *English Historical Review* (pp. 505-579) Dr. William Farrer's Outline Itinerary of King Henry I. is completed.

A valuable contribution to the materials for parliamentary history is made by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P., in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire: Staffordshire Parliamentary History*, vol. I., 1213-1603 (Harrison and Sons). Tendencies in the history of elections are illustrated by a study of the "knights and burgesses sent up from Staffordshire . . . their positions and associations, their patrons, and how far they had to fight for their seats".

The Red Register of King's Lynn, vol. I. (King's Lynn, Thew and Son, pp. xxiii, 284), edited by Mr. Holcombe Ingleby, M.P. for the borough, is mainly a record of transactions of the corporation in the fourteenth century, but the minutes and ordinances of the mayor and commonalty have been reserved for a second volume.

An account of *Sir Thomas Exmewe*, Lord Mayor of London in 1517, by Rev. L. H. O. Pryce, is published by the Cambrian Archaeological Society.

The Making of Modern Wales: Studies in the Tudor Settlement of Wales (Macmillan, pp. viii, 336), by W. Llewellyn Williams, recorder of Cardiff, supplements previous accounts of several important aspects of Welsh history, notably the decay of Catholicism, and the King's Court of Great Sessions.

A Century of Persecution under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns, from Contemporary Records at Loseley, is the title of a volume by Rev. St. George Kieran Hyland, presenting hitherto unpublished material on this subject, announced by the Broadway House, London.

Messrs. Longmans announce a first volume on *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* by Rev. J. Hungerford Pollen, S. J., which deals with the period 1558-1580.

The Oxford University Press publishes for the British Academy the ninth of the Academy's annual Shakespeare lectures, delivered last July by Sir A. W. Ward, on *Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia* (pp. 47), in which he discusses with much learning the field and the conclusions of Professor Gayley's recent book.

The Riddle of the Ruthvens and Other Studies (Edinburgh, W. Green and Son, pp. xiii, 544) is a collection of essays by William

Roughead, reprinted from the *Scottish Historical Review* and the *Juridical Review*.

Seventeenth-Century Life in the Country Parish, with special reference to Local Government (Cambridge University Press) is a careful study based mainly on contemporary records of the North Riding of Yorkshire, by Eleanor Trotter.

Miss Myra Reynolds, a professor in the University of Chicago, in *The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760* (Houghton Mifflin) illustrates skillfully and with great knowledge an interesting episode in the history of English literature, culture, and social life.

Dr. E. M. Dicey and Professor R. S. Rait have collaborated on a book entitled *Thoughts on the Act of Union between England and Scotland* (Macmillan).

The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832 (Longmans), by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, is a supplementary volume to *The Town Labourer*, by these authors. The miners of Durham and Northumberland and the textile workers are dealt with.

A History of Trade Unionism by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, announced by Messrs. Longmans, is a new edition of their earlier work, rewritten, with added chapters on trade-unions since 1890.

Mr. G. M. Trevelyan has written a biography of *Earl Grey of the Reform Bill*, which Messrs. Longmans have in press.

Among the important British biographical works published during the autumn, the chief place perhaps belongs to *The Life of Lord Kitchener of Khartoum*, by his private secretary, Sir George Arthur (Macmillan, 3 vols.); *Patron and Place Hunter, a Study of George Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe*, by Lloyd Sanders (John Lane); *The Life of William Booth, the Founder of the Salvation Army*, by Harold Begbie (Macmillan, 2 vols.); *A History of John Redmond's Last Years*, by Mr. Stephen Gwynn (Edward Arnold); and *The Correspondence of the Hon. Emily Eden, 1814-1863* (Macmillan).

How the War Came (London, Methuen) by Earl Loreburn (formerly lord chancellor, and before that Sir Robert Reid) is in substance an able and severe arraignment of the foreign policy pursued by Sir Edward Grey from 1905 to 1914.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for October has for its chief contents an article on the Orkney Townships by Mr. J. S. Clouston; also one by Messrs. R. W. Chambers and W. W. Seton on Bellenden's translation of the history of Scotland by Hector Boece.

Volume I. of *A History of Glasgow* by Robert Renwick, covering the pre-Reformation period, is announced for publication by MacLehose, Jackson, and Company.

The Book of the Lewis (Paisley, Gardner), by W. C. Mackenzie, is not a systematic narrative but is made up of chapters on the antiquities, the civilization, and the history of the Outer Hebrides.

Phases of Irish History by Eoin [*i. e.*, John] MacNeill, professor of ancient Irish history in the National University of Ireland (Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son, pp. 364), is a body of twelve lectures on aspects of the period before 1400.

Mr. George O'Brien, working backward from the period treated in his previous volume, has now brought out a book on *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (London and Dublin, Maunsel, pp. viii, 283).

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* for July, 1919, contains articles by Thomas O'Callaghan on the Origin of Postal Services in New South Wales, and the Extension of the System to Port Phillip; by A. Rogers, on the Development of Railway Signalling in Victoria; and, of especial interest to American readers, by Rev. C. Stuart Ross, on "Two American Types that left their Stamp on Victorian History"—George Francis Train of Boston, who was in Melbourne in 1853-1856; and John S. Cheney of Manchester, Conn., who was in Victoria from 1853 to 1864.

British government publications: *Annals of Ulster*, vol. IV., A. D. 431-1131, 1155-1541; *Dardanelles Commission Final Report*, pt. II., *Conduct of Operations*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Carl Stephenson, *The Aids of English Boroughs* (English Historical Review, October); W. Senior, *Admiralty Matters in the Fifteenth Century* (Law Quarterly Review, October); W. Muss-Arnolt, *Puritan Efforts and Struggles, 1550-1603, a Bio-bibliographical Study*, II. (American Journal of Theology, October); J. Hashagen, *Zur Ideengeschichte des Englischen Imperialismus* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, August, 1917).

FRANCE

By a decree signed by President Poincaré, there has been created in the Ministry of Marine in Paris a "Service Historique" attached to the General Staff. Its offices are in the annex of the ministry, 3 Avenue Octave-Gréard. All the books, records, archives, manuscripts, maps, and charts possessed by the ministry, relating to the history of the French navy down to and including the Great War, have been concentrated there. The personnel of the Service Historique includes three naval officers and two historians, the officer in charge being Capitaine-de-frégate R. Castex. Their duty is to make the best possible use, by scientific historical methods, of all this wealth of material. Closely allied with this historical section is the *Revue Maritime*, official journal of the French navy, which will resume publication this month, under the editorship of Capitaine-de-corvette Millot.

An extended work, which will be completed in five volumes, dealing with *Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime, Histoire de la Formation de la Population Française*, is being published by J. Mathorez. Various chapters have appeared from time to time in historical reviews. The first volume (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 400) deals with the causes of alien migrations and filtrations into France and also contains the sections relating to the Oriental and other extra-European elements which have entered into the French population..

Professor Victor Delbos of the Sorbonne has published an excellent historical survey of *La Philosophie Française* (Paris, Plon, 1919).

C. Enlart has issued a revised edition of the first volume of his *Manuel d'Archéologie Française depuis les Temps Mérovingiens jusqu'à la Renaissance* (Paris, Picard, 1919, pp. cviii, 458) dealing with ecclesiastical architecture in the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Romanesque periods.

A life of *Saint Sigisbert, Roi d'Austrasie, 630-656* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919) has been written by Abbé Guise for the series *Les Saints*.

La Communauté des Maîtres Chirurgiens de Poitiers, 1410-1792 (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 265) is the subject of a monograph by Pierre Rambaud.

Baron Henry de Woelmont has prepared a convenient manual of *Les Marquis Français, Nomenclature de toutes les Familles Françaises subsistantes ou éteintes depuis l'Année 1864, portant le Titre de Marquis, avec l'Indication de l'Origine de leurs Titres* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. v, 175). There are listed 220 marquisates legally conferred in France between 1505 and 1910; fifty titles conferred by foreign sovereigns on families now domiciled in France; and seventy-one courtesy titles. In addition to these 341 legitimate titles, the list includes 646 titles which have been usurped.

On his death in 1917, Dr. Louis Beurnier, the last scion of an old family of Montbéliard, bequeathed most of his property to his native city. The mass of family papers is rich in interest for local history during the last two centuries, and occasionally there are documents of larger significance. Of *Le Fonds Beurnier aux Archives Communales de Montbéliard*, the municipal archivist, J. Mauveaux, has prepared an *Inventaire Sommaire* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 78).

A new biography of *Le Roi de la Vendée, François Athanase Charette, Lieutenant-Général de l'Armée Royale, 1763-1796* (Paris, Perrin, 1919), comes from the pen of Joseph Robin.

H. Welschinger has written for the series *Les Saints* an account of *Les Martyrs de Septembre* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919). An extended account of *L'Église Constitutionnelle et la Persécution Religieuse dans le Départe-*

ment de la Drôme pendant la Révolution, 1790-1801 (Valence, Céas, 1919, pp. 452) is the work of Canon J. Chevalier. The latest contribution of E. Sevestre to the religious history of the Revolution is *L'Enquête Ecclésiastique sur le Clergé de Normandie et du Maine de l'An IX. à l'An XIII.* (Paris, Picard, 1918, pp. 232), of which the part now printed deals with the province of Maine.

Frédéric Masson has at last completed his voluminous study of *Napoléon et sa Famille* (vols. XII. and XIII., Paris, Ollendorff, 1919) with a volume on the careers of the several members of the family after Waterloo and another on the Saint Helena episode. He has also issued the missing volume of the series of four relating to Josephine, entitled *Madame Bonaparte, 1796-1804* (*ibid.*).

The Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises expects to issue during the present winter its volume of *Instructions aux Gouverneurs du Sénégal*, to be followed before long by a volume of documents on the relations of France with Indo-China during the reign of Louis Philippe, edited by Professor Henri Cordier.

Professor J. Bonnecase of the law faculty of the University of Bordeaux has made a contribution of no small value in *La Notion de Droit en France au Dix-neuvième Siècle* (Paris, Boccard, 1919).

Agadir, ma Politique Extérieure (Paris, Michel, 1919, pp. 256) by Joseph Caillaux is a somewhat prosaic narrative rather than the sensational account that might have been anticipated.

The second volume of J. Basdevant's *Traités et Conventions en Vigueur entre la France et les Puissances Étrangères* (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 830) contains the treaties with Spain and Italy. Materials relating to the years 1905-1906 are contained in the twenty-third volume of J. de Clercq's *Recueil des Traités de la France* (Paris, Pedone, 1919).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Jassemin, *Le Contrôle Financier en Bourgogne sous les Derniers Ducs Capétiens, 1274-1353* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January, 1918); J. Tardif, *Le Procès d'Enguerran de Coucy, I.* (*ibid.*); P. Boissonnade, *Les Finances de Charles IV. le Bel* (Journal des Savants, May); J. Viard, *La Cour et ses "Parlements" au XIV^e Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January, 1918); L. Cahen, *La Population Parisienne au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue de Paris, September 1); A. Chuquet, *Les Mémoires de Dumouriez* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, August); F. Masson, *Les Conspirations du Général Malet, I.-III.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1, 15, October 15); L. Pingaud, *Le Dernier Roi de France [Comte de Chambord]* (Revue de Paris, August 1); P. Adam, *Un Grand Chef: le Général Mangin* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 18).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Most of vol. XLII., fasc. 1-2, (in fact, 229 pp.) of the *Archivio de la R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* is occupied by a monograph on the schism of the antipope Laurentius (498-506), by Signor Roberto Cessi. The society has in preparation a general index to vols. XXVI.-XL. of this series. It has also begun the printing of an important volume by the late Marchese Alessandro Ferrajoli on *La Congiura dei Cardinali contro il Pontefice Leone X.*, and the first volume of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, ed. Silvagni.

The Società Siciliana di Storia Patria has printed at Palermo as vol. XXIII. of its series of *Documenti* the first volume of a *Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia, 1282-1355*, edited by Cav. Dr. Giuseppe La Mantia. The first volume, the fruit of many years of research in Italian archives and those of Barcelona, contains the documents for 1282-1290 (Pedro I. and Jayme I.) with an elaborate introduction of more than 200 pages.

The learning and literary qualities which have always marked the work of Dr. Thomas F. Crane, formerly professor and dean in Cornell University, will cause students to look forward with much expectation to the reading of his *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century, and their Influence on the Literature of Europe*, shortly to be published by the Yale University Press.

La Madre di Giuseppe Mazzini: Carteggio Inedito del 1834-1839 (Turin, Bocca) is a volume of selected letters of Maria Mazzini found in the archives at Turin by Signor Alessandro Luzio and edited by him, together with unpublished letters of Mazzini to members of his family and to other friends. They afford an intimate acquaintance with the household at Genoa to which Mazzini writes from Switzerland and from London, especially the mother with whom his relations were so closely sympathetic.

Louis Hauteœur, formerly a member of the École Française de Rome, traces with intelligence the political history of Italy in war-time in *L'Italie sous le Ministère Orlando* (Paris, Bossard).

The late Professor Eduardo de Hinojosa had selected and edited a volume of *Documentos para la Historia de las Instituciones de León y de Castilla, Siglos X.-XIII.*, which is now published (Madrid, Fortanet, 1919, pp. 217).

J. Deloffre has edited and published in the issues of the *Revue Hispanique* for October and December, 1918, the *Historia de Carlos Quinto* by Pero Mexia, historiographer to that monarch.

Count Romanones, formerly prime minister, has written the introduction for *La Política Exterior de España, 1873-1918* (Madrid, *Excelsior*, 1918, pp. 290), by A. Mousset.

A piece of thorough research by a local historian, Julián Martínez, is embodied in *Rincones de la España Vieja* (Madrid, *Mundo Latino*) which traces the story of the townships of Mejorada del Campo and Rivas de Jarama, near Madrid, from their foundation to the present.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anon., *La Compagnia de Gesù negli Stati della Casa di Savoia*, I.-II. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, July 19, October 18); G. Calò, *Pasquale Villari e la Nuova Scuola Italiana* (*Nuova Antologia*, July 1); F. Rousseau, *D. Carlos et les Sociétés Secrètes Royalistes, 1823-1838* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, March); A. A. Mendes Corrêa, *Origins of the Portuguese* (*American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The volume on the German "race" by Signor Alfredo Niceforo, professor of demography and statistics at Messina, mentioned in a previous issue of this journal, has now been brought out in a French translation with revisions by the author, *Les Germains, Histoire d'une Idée et d'une "Race"* (Paris, Bossard).

Professor F. von Bezold's *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1918, pp. vii, 457) is a collection of articles published in the last forty years as side-studies to his masterpiece, *Das Zeitalter der Deutschen Reformation* (1890).

A Life of Frederick the Great (London, Constable, pp. viii, 433) is by Norwood Young. The volume includes maps and diagrams illustrating campaigns.

Professor E. Brandenburg has contributed to the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung* a volume on *Die Deutsche Revolution 1848* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1919, pp. 144).

An historical study of *L'Évolution de la Bourgeoisie Allemande* (Paris, Alcan, 1919) is by G. Huard.

As far back as 1912 and 1913, M. Charles Andler, against vehement protest from Jaurès and others, maintained in published articles the essentially imperialistic thought and ambitions of the Socialist party in Germany. The articles then printed have now been republished under the title *Le Socialisme Impérialiste dans l'Allemagne Contemporaine* (Paris, Bossard).

Paul Lensch, a Socialist member of the Reichstag, in *Three Years of World-Revolution* (London, Constable, 1918, pp. xv, 220) exposes with cynical and brutal frankness the chauvinism of the German Socialists, their reasons for supporting the war, and their belief in the revolutionizing and liberating rôle of Germany, especially as directed against England and the United States.

M. Gaston Raphael's *Walther Rathenau, ses Idées et ses Projets d'Organisation Économique* (Paris, Payot) performs the important and valuable service of summarizing the whole career, methods, and philosophy of one who may justly be called the most important figure among German business men in the events of the last five years. Rathenau's collected works were, by the way, published in 1918 in five volumes.

Wie Wir Belogen Wurden: Die Amtliche Irreführung des Deutschen Volkes (Munich, Langen, 1918, pp. 189), by Kurt Mühsam, is an interesting attack on the German censorship during the war.

La Révolution Allemande (vol. I., November, 1918–January, 1919, Paris, Payot, 1919) is the account of P. Gentizon, the correspondent of the *Paris Temps*. The Spanish journalist Ibañez de Ibero has described *L'Allemagne de la Défaite* (Paris, Rivière, 1919).

In the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, the Vienna commission having that series in charge has issued part III. (1450–1454) of the correspondence of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Beginning with vol. LXXXVIII. of the *Corpus Reformatorum* there are appearing *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, Heinsius). Three volumes of the *Werke*, down to 1525, and two volumes of the *Briefwechsel*, 1510–1526, have appeared. The editors are E. Egli, G. Finsler, and W. Köhler.

The late J. Gremaud's eight volumes of *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire du Valais* (Lausanne, 1875–1898) included materials down to the middle of the fifteenth century. Dr. Leo Meyer, archivist of the canton, will edit a volume covering the intervening period down to 1500. For the period from 1500 to 1798 D. Imesch has undertaken to edit the series of *Die Walliser Landrats Abschiede* (vol. I., 1500–1519, Freiburg, Gschwend, 1916, pp. xv, 772).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Tangl, *Studien zur Neuausgabe der Bonifatius-Briefe*, II. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XLI. 2); Schalk de la Faverie, *Un Républicain Allemand, Robert Blum* (Révolution de 1848, June); Munroe Smith, *Bismarck Reconsidered* (Political Science Quarterly, September); L. Raschdau, *Aus der Werkstatt des Ersten Deutschen Kanzlers, Neue Schriftstücke aus der Amtlichen Tätigkeit des Fürsten Bismarck*, I.–II. (Deutsche Rundschau, May, June); M. Lair, *Un Historien Pan-germaniste: Karl Lamprecht* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); F. Meinecke, *Die Geschichtlichen Ursachen der Deutschen Revolution* (Deutsche Rundschau, May); R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Fall of Bela Kun* (New Europe, August 14); Anon., *Behind the Scenes in Hungary* (*ibid.*, October 16).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The posthumous volume of G. Somville on *Dinant* (Paris, 1919) presents a wealth of documents and other first-hand materials relating to the fate of that town in 1914 and under the German occupation.

The history of the famous *Libre Belgique* published in defiance of the German authorities throughout the occupation is told by one of the writers, "Fidelis", Albert Van de Kerckhove, in *L'Histoire Merveilleuse de la Libre Belgique* (Paris, Plon, 1919) and by Lieutenant Marcel in *Mes Aventures et le Mystère de la Libre Belgique* (Brussels, Vromant, 1919).

A volume of the war-time letters of Cardinal Mercier, selected by Arthur Boutwood, is entitled *A Shepherd among Wolves* (Faith Press).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Gaston Gaillard, *L'Allemagne et le Baltikum* (Paris, Chapelot, 1919, pp. 278), is an accurate and detailed account of German penetration in the eastern Baltic, to the end of the war.

The monthly *Revue Baltique*, published by Arthur Toupine at 201 Boulevard Péreire, Paris, contains numerous articles and documents relating to the recent history of the new Baltic republics of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The problems of the smaller nationalities on the western border of Russia are approached from various angles in *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and its Present National Aspirations* (Philadelphia, Lithuanian Catholic Truth Society, 1918, pp. ix, 156) translated from the Lithuanian of K. A. Jusaitis; in *La Lituanie Religieuse* (Paris, Crès, 1918) by A. Viscont; in *Westrussland in seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung Mitteleuropas* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1918) by M. Sering; in *Que Faire de l'Est Européen?* (Paris, Payot, 1919) by the author of *Les Dangers Mortels de la Révolution Russe*; in *La Latvia et la Russie* (*ibid.*, pp. 96) by A. Berg; and in *Russie, Finlande, Scandinavie* (Paris, Ficker, 1919) by S. Vernier.

An account of *Der Rote Aufruhr in Finnland, 1918* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1918, pp. 180), by H. Söderhjelm, translated into German by J. Öhquist, is based on official materials.

The University of Buffalo inaugurates a series of *Studies* with a useful pamphlet on *Education and Autocracy in Russia, from the Origins to the Bolsheviks* (pp. 127) by Dr. Daniel B. Leary, professor of psychology and instructor in Russian.

Mrs. Harold Williams's *A History of the Russian Revolution* (Macmillan) is by a lady of Russian birth, who was in Russia during the revolution, the wife of a noted English correspondent.

The Rand School of Social Science publishes, in a pamphlet of 87 pages, *Memoirs of the Russian Revolution*, by George V. Lomonossoff, who before the war was a teacher in an engineering school in Petrograd, and for a few days within the period February 28–March 6, 1917, was assistant director general of Russian railways. His account of those days, from the point of view of such an official position, is an interesting contribution.

A volume on *Lénine* (Paris, Povolozski, 1919) has been published by Landau-Aldanov. Dr. A. S. Rappoport has written a volume of sketches of the *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution* (London, Stanley Paul and Co., 1918, pp. xxvii, 281).

The historian K. Waliszewski has published a collection of articles under the title *Polonais et Russes, Visions du Passé, Perspective d'Avenir* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. ix, 312).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Mackeprang, *Nordslesvig under Fremmedherredømmet* (Gads Danske Magazin, March); S. E. Morison, *The Peace Conference and the Baltic* (New Europe, August 7, 1919); *The Eastern Baltic: Latvia* (*ibid.*, August 21, 28); *Esthonia* (*ibid.*, September 11); *Finland* (*ibid.*, October 2); J. A. Gade, *On the Shores of the Baltic* [Esthonia, 1919] (Atlantic Monthly, October); W. Grimm, *Die Religiös-Politische Lage Livlands unter Russischer Oberhoheit* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, February, 1917); A. Brückner, *Russlands Drang zu den Meeren, ein Historischer Rückblick* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, June, 1917); Queen Marie of Rumania, *Un Martyr de la Grande Tragédie: le Tsar Nicholas II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); P. G. La Chesnais, *La Géorgie pendant la Guerre* (Revue du Mois, July 10).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

An able essay on *Byzance, Grandeur et Décadence* (Paris, Flammarion, 1919, pp. 348) has been written by Professor C. Diehl.

General Palat has prepared a good survey of the three phases of the *Guerre des Balkans, 1912–1918* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1919, pp. 284).

In 1887 and 1888 the *Journal des Débats* commissioned Comte Begouën for a journey of observation and study in the Slavonic portions of southern Austria-Hungary. The letters then written, together with a private series written at the same time, are now published in a small volume under the title *Chez les Yougo-Slaves il y a Trente-deux Ans* (Paris, Bossard), and form a useful introduction to the knowledge of more recent history in Jugoslav territory.

Professor Ferdinand Šišić of the University of Zagreb (Agram) has written an *Abridged Political History of Rieka (Fiume)* (Paris, Imprimerie Graphique), a sketch well supported by documents.

Essai sur la Législation Serbe du Moyen Age, le Régime des Terres et les Conditions des Personnes (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1919, pp. viii, 148) was presented as a thesis to the law faculty of the University of Poitiers by B. M. Grachitch.

There is now available a comprehensive account of the Rumanian participation in the Great War, written by a Rumanian, M. Djuvara, with the title *La Guerre Roumaine, 1916-1918* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. 352).

Several articles of current interest published in German periodicals between 1898 and 1917 by I. Gheorgov are collected in *Die Bulgarische Nation und der Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1918, pp. xvi, 304). A brief but incisive presentation of *L'Unité de la Politique Bulgare, 1914-1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 80) has been made by J. Ancel.

A bulky volume of *Rapports et Enquêtes de la Commission Interalliée sur les Violations du Droit des Gens commises en Macédoine Orientale par les Armées Bulgares* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. 640) is now available.

V. Colocotronis has prepared with great care *La Macédoine et l'Hellénisme, Étude Historique et Ethnologique* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. xxiii, 658, 24 maps and charts).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Daniels, *Zur Serbischen und Jugoslawischen Geschichte* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); E. de Martonne, *Choses Vues en Bessarabie* (Revue de Paris, October 1); R. Pinon, *La Liquidation de l'Empire Ottoman* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A period of critical significance in the history of Armenia is fully dealt with by J. Laurent in *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la Conquête Arabe jusqu'en 886* (Paris, Boccard, 1919, pp. xii, 400).

M. A. Czaplicka has presented a clear conspectus of *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day* (Oxford Press, 1919, pp. 242).

The following important contributions to the history of India have recently appeared: *The History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar* (New York, Stokes, 1918, pp. xxxi, 582) by E. B. Havell; and *History of the Maratha People*, vol. I. (Oxford Press, 1919) by C. A. Kincaid and R. B. Parasnisi.

Father Enrique Heras has published the first volume of *La Dinastia Manchú en China* (Barcelona, Tip. Católica, 1918, pp. xvi, 517) which relates to the period from the founding of the dynasty in 1644 to the death of the second emperor in 1722. Special attention is given to rela-

tions with Christianity and to European civilization. The closing years of Manchu rule are the subject of *Dix Ans de Politique Chinoise* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. 271) by J. Rodes.

The treaties of Korea with other powers between 1876 and 1910, arranged by countries, are collected in *Korean Treaties* (New York, H. S. Nichols, Inc., 1919, pp. xii, 226) by Henry Chung, fellow in economics at Northwestern University.

The former French ambassador to Japan, A. Gérard, has published the record of the crucial years during which he held the post at Tokio in *Ma Mission au Japon, 1907-1914, avec un Épilogue de 1914 à 1919* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. iii, 412).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Golubovich, *Fr. Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, Viaggiatore in Oriente, c. 1260-1343-4?* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, January, 1918); F. Mury, *La Première République Bolchéviste* [in Manchuria] (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

R. Vadala's *Essais sur l'Histoire des Karamanlis* (Paris, Champion, 1919) contains accounts of the several pachas of Tripoli from 1714 to 1835.

Le Maroc de 1919 (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 272) by Henry Dugard follows lines similar to the volume of corresponding title issued last year, in furnishing summaries of events and descriptions of conditions. Louis Barthou has eulogized the work of General Lyautey in Morocco in *La Bataille du Maroc* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 124), which affords a survey of the military operations since 1914, of the German intrigues and activities, and of the political and economic policy of the French protectorate. Earlier events are recorded in *Souvenirs de Maroc, Voyages et Missions, 1881-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 385) by H. de la Martinière, formerly French chargé d'affaires at Tangier.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Among the accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress the chief, and one of great importance to the student of American colonial history, is a group of three of the original volumes of the Journals of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dating as follows: August 3, 1670-September 20, 1672, October 13, 1672-December 22, 1674, March 31, 1677-April 14, 1679, and January 13, 1684/5-December 8, 1686. The Library has also acquired a journal of Michel Bégon, "Relation de mon Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique, 1682" (pp. 246); 160 pieces and 11 volumes of miscellaneous papers of Caesar A.

and Thomas Rodney, 1771-1823; some 120 miscellaneous papers of Richard Bland Lee, 1701-1825; 400-odd autograph letters of eminent Americans, political and clerical, from the collections of Mr. Simon Gratz; two volumes of a diary by John Pickell of the campaign against the Seminole Indians, 1836-1838; and a collection of Chaillé-Long papers, 1865-1915.

An anonymous friend of Amherst College has given that institution \$100,000 to found two fellowships, each of \$2000 per annum, for the study of social, economic, and political institutions. A fellow will be appointed every second year, for a period of not more than four years. It is expected that at least half of that time shall be spent in study in Europe, and the last year, in whole or in part, at Amherst College. A candidate must be a graduate of a college or university.

The late president C. K. Adams of the University of Wisconsin created by his will a fund for the endowment of fellowships. Two of them, ascribed to modern history and carrying stipends of about \$600, will be available for the year 1920-1921.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army has been placed under the charge of Col. Oliver L. Spaulding and reorganized. It is now conceived of as having three functions. The first is to preserve historical documents relating to the wars of the United States; the papers, photographs, and films of the American Expeditionary Force in France and of the services of supply are now being assembled in this country under its charge. The second is to make these documents, or the information contained therein, accessible to agencies of the War Department and to students and investigators properly accredited. The third is to prepare historical monographs on such military subjects as may be professionally of interest to the War Department. A critical study of German tactics, prepared by the Historical Section of the General Headquarters in France, has already been published, and a large handbook enumerating and describing all economic agencies instituted by the government for war purposes is now in press. It will be seen that most of the programme for a general documentary series previously contemplated, and described in our July number (XXIV. 637-640) has been abandoned. Monographs on mobilization, supplies, and operations will take its place.

A new edition of Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, thoroughly revised and largely rewritten, has been brought out by D. Appleton and Company.

Bulletin no. 64 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is entitled *The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatan and Northern British Honduras*, by Thomas W. F. Gann. About one-third of the volume is devoted to customs, ceremonies, and mode of life. No. 65 is *Archeological Explorations*

in *Northeastern Arizona*, by Alfred V. Kidder and Samuel J. Guernsey. Much of the study is devoted to a discussion of the material culture of the different groups as indicated by the remains discovered. No. 70 is a thorough and careful description of *Prehistoric Villages, Castles, and Towers of Southwestern Colorado*, by Mr. J. W. Fewkes, with many interesting illustrations.

Volume III. (South Carolina edition) of the *History of the American Negro*, edited by A. B. Caldwell, has come from the press (Atlanta, A. B. Caldwell).

Senate Document no. 26, 66 Cong., 1 sess., is a volume of 280 pages on *Ratification of Treaties*, setting forth methods of procedure in foreign countries relative to the matter, and extracts from the *Executive Journal of the Senate* showing proceedings in cases of treaties rejected by that body.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has in the press three volumes of *American Prize Decisions*, embracing 173 cases which were heard by the United States Supreme Court between 1789 and 1918.

The Oriental Policy of the United States, an historical study by Henry Chung, Korean envoy to the Peace Conference, with an introductory note by Professor J. W. Jenks, is from the press of Revell.

Coal Men of America: a Biographical and Historical Review of the World's Greatest Industry, by Arthur M. Hull, is brought out in Chicago by the *Retail Coalman*.

Arthur Hornblow, for nineteen years editor of the *Theatre Magazine*, has produced in two volumes, illustrated, *A History of the Theatre in America from its Beginnings to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, Lipincott).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Besides continued articles hitherto mentioned the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* prints a Memorandum on New England and Philadelphia, written by Monsieur D., Louisbourg, November 19, 1744. The document is found in the French archives and is given here in translation furnished by Rev. B. Randolph, C. M.

At the meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society, September 5, Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer read a paper on the Loyalists in the Revolution. This is published as vol. XXIII., no. 7, of the society's *Papers*.

Thirty unpublished letters of Beaumarchais, important chiefly for his relations with the American republic, are edited by Jules Marsan with the title *Beaumarchais et les Affaires d'Amérique: Lettres Inédites*

(Paris, Champion). L. de Royaumont has prepared a richly illustrated volume on *La Fayette et Rochambeau au Pays de Washington, la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine, 1776-1783* (Grenoble, Rey, 1919, pp. 161).

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs, 1807-1844*, edited by Reginald C. McGrane. The important place which Nicholas Biddle occupies in the financial history of the United States gives to the volume an especial value.

Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ, with special reference to the period between 1809 and 1835 (pp. 344), is a doctoral thesis by Walter W. Jennings, written in the University of Illinois and to be obtained from that institution.

The Foundations of Mormonism: a Study of the Fundamental Facts in the History and Doctrines of the Mormons from Original Sources, by William E. La Rue, with an introduction by Alfred W. Anthony, comes from the press of Revell.

A recent Spanish publication touching United States history at an important point is Señor Carlos Pereyra's *Tejas: la Primera Desmembración de Méjico* (Madrid, Editorial-América, pp. 252).

Edwin L. Sabin's volume *Building the Pacific Railway*, recently issued by Lippincott, is based on old narratives, official and government reports, and accounts related by the survivors of the building days.

The Hayes-Conkling Controversy, 1877-1879, by Venila L. Shores, is a recent addition to the *Smith College Studies in History* (vol. IV., no. 4).

The Life and Letters of James Monroe Taylor: the Biography of an Educator, by Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, is from the press of Dutton. Dr. Taylor was president of Vassar College from 1886 to 1914.

Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein of St. Bernard Seminary, Rochester, has prepared a biography in two volumes of Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of the Rochester diocese, and hopes to publish it before long.

Students of the history of the Spanish-American War may be glad to know that the three numbers for January-June of the bimonthly *Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico* contained some one hundred-odd pages of documents relating to the period of that war in Porto Rico and to the history of the American military government. Some of them are Spanish translations of documents accessible in English, but most are not. The June number also contains documents illustrating the history of the federal party in the island and of its successor the Unión de Puerto Rico.

Lawrence F. Abbott's volume, *Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt*, is the result of a friendship of twenty-two years (Doubleday, Page, and

Company). *Theodore Roosevelt: the Man as I knew him*, by Ferdinand C. Inglehart, embodies the author's reminiscences with a biography of Roosevelt (New York, *Christian Herald*). *Theodore Roosevelt: a Biographical Sketch*, by Hermann Hagedorn, is put out in New York by the Roosevelt Memorial Exhibition Committee.

A life of *George von L. Meyer*, ambassador to Russia and Italy, postmaster general under President Roosevelt and secretary of the navy under President Taft, has been prepared by M. A. De Wolfe Howe and published by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

Harper and Brothers have brought out another volume of President Wilson's addresses, with the title *The Triumph of Ideals: Speeches, Messages, and Addresses made by the President between February 24, 1919, and July 8, 1919*.

The Career of Leonard Wood, by Joseph H. Sears, is published by Messrs. D. Appleton and Company.

Doubleday, Page, and Company are publishing George MacAdam's *Life of General Pershing*, which has been running serially in the *World's Work*.

From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral, is the title of a volume of reminiscences by Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske (Century Company).

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The second volume of Professor McMaster's *The United States and the World War*, now published or about to be published by Messrs. Appleton, carries on his work from April, 1918, where the first volume ended, to the end of the war and of the ensuing negotiations. Professor John S. Bassett is the author of a compact history of America's part in the Great War, which bears the title *Our War with Germany* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf).

The American Red Cross in the Great War (pp. xii, 303, \$3.00), by Henry P. Davison, chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross, is from the press of Macmillan. At the close of the war, we are told, more than thirty million Americans were enrolled in this organization. The time will come when its achievements will seem to the historian as important as those of any of the great military machines. Meantime, this clear and business-like book, omitting all mention of personal names, narrates the story of those achievements under all aspects successively (part I.) and in all their various geographical fields (part II.).

The office of the adjutant-general of the United States army is expected to publish before long, in a volume of about 400 pages, a *Handbook of Economic Agencies in the War of 1917*, edited by Lieut.-Col. (Professor) R. V. D. Magoffin.

Two notable regimental histories published by Messrs. Appleton are *From Upton to the Meuse with the 307th Infantry*, by Captain W. K. Rainsford, who had a part in the rescue of Whittlesey's surrounded battalion, and *The Shamrock Battalion of the Rainbow* (the 69th regiment, in the "Rainbow" Division), by Corporal Martin T. Hogan.

In a volume to which he has given the title *Average Americans* (Putnam) Lieut.-Col. Theodore Roosevelt, jr., has related his experiences during twenty months in France, and has also given some reminiscences of his father, particularly concerning his fight for preparedness.

Messrs. D. Appleton and Company are publishing a series of volumes on "Problems of War and of Reconstruction", edited by Francis G. Wickware, many of which are partly of an historical character. Among them may be mentioned: *Commercial Policy in War Time and After*, by W. S. Culbertson; *Government Organization in War Time and After*, by W. F. Willoughby; *War Time Control of Commerce*, by L. E. Van Norman; *War Costs and their Financing*, by Professor E. L. Bogart; *Government Insurance in War Time and After*, by Professor S. M. Lindsay; *Labor in War Time and After*, by W. J. Lauck; *Merchant Shipping in War Time and After*, by Edward N. Hurley; *Food Supplies in War Time and After*, by Vernon L. Kellogg; and *National Transportation in War Time and After*, by Professor Emory R. Johnson.

(See also pp. 337-341, *supra*)

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Literary Culture in Early New England (pp. 296), by the late Dr. T. G. Wright of Yale University, has been edited by Mrs. Wright and published by the Yale University Press.

In the August number of the *Granite Monthly* Otis G. Hammond gives a history of the recovery by the state of New Hampshire of a body of the papers of Meshech Weare, president of New Hampshire during the Revolution. These papers are now deposited with the New Hampshire Historical Society.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has published volume XX. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (pp. 830) embracing 1857 resolves passed between May 28, 1777, and May 4, 1779. The book of course makes an enormous addition to our knowledge respecting the history of Massachusetts during those two years; yet one cannot help regretting that the late Mr. Goodell's excessive annotation of the earlier volumes has led the state authorities to go to the other extreme, of publishing texts entirely without introductions or explanations.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society has brought out *Vital Records of Westport, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850*.

The *Bulletin* of the Newport Historical Society for October contains a paper, by Hamilton B. Tompkins, on Benedict Arnold, first Governor of Rhode Island.

The state librarian of Connecticut, Mr. George S. Godard, has arranged with the Connecticut commandery of the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States to deposit in the Connecticut State Library for permanent preservation and public exhibition its interesting and varied collection of material illustrating the history of our foreign wars.

Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut 1769-1784 (Little, Brown and Company) is a biography by his great-great-grandson, Jonathan Trumbull.

The New Haven Colony Historical Society has published the second volume of its series of *Ancient Town Records*, being *New Haven Town Records, 1662-1684* (pp. 457), edited by Dr. Franklin B. Dexter. Such a volume defies reviewing, but it is full of data that illuminate the life and character of a New England town in the period indicated. The reproduction of long s's and the printing of y^e for the, y^t for that, and the like, seem to us very undesirable.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York Historical Society has begun the reproduction, by means of the photostat, of the *New York Gazette*; it has thus far issued the years 1726-1729. The society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for October contains the printed text and facsimile of the articles of convention between General Burgoyne and General Gates, signed at Saratoga, October 16, 1777. There is also an account, by Reginald P. Bolton, of the explorations of the "old fort" and camp site at Richmond, Staten Island, together with a map of the fort and camp site, showing the location of deposits unearthed.

The Pennsylvania State Museum at Harrisburg has been greatly enriched in respect to Indian relics, by purchases recently made from collectors by the State Historical Commission, so that it now embraces more than twenty-five thousand objects, mostly war implements, found in all parts of the state.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a paper by Charles W. Dahlinger on Pittsburgh's First Burying Ground, and a sketch, by Robert M. Ewing, of the Life and Times of William Findley, Pennsylvania politician, member of Congress 1791-1799, 1803-1817.

Any person owning contemporary letters, documents, or other historical materials pertaining to President Washington's southern tour in 1791 is requested to communicate with Professor Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who is preparing a book on the subject.

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a report, by a committee of the Maryland Historical Society, on the personnel composing the "Maryland Four Hundred" at the Battle of Long Island; a paper by Dr. B. Bernard Bröwne on the Battle of the Severn: its Antecedents and Consequences, 1651-1655; and a continuation of Edward S. Delaplaine's Life of Thomas Johnson. In the September number are found a catalogue of the Edris and Virginia Berkley Memorial Collection of Washington Prints, by Henry J. Berkley, and a Notice of some of the First Buildings of Annapolis, with notes on some of the Early Residents, by Mrs. Rebecca Key, with an introductory note by Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat. The Carroll Papers are continued through both numbers. In both numbers also appear memorial sketches of Marylanders who fell in the recent war.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Virginia State Library has recently received, by gift from Mrs. O. A. Ljungstedt, an inventory of the records of Accomac county from the formation of the county to 1800.

The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902 (pp. 199), by Reginald L. Morton, Ph.D., Phelps-Stokes fellow in the University of Virginia, 1917-1918, is no. 4 of the *Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers* in the *Publications* of the University of Virginia. The author has made a careful and well-reasoned study of the subject, gathering evidence from all available sources.

The Bench and Bar of West Virginia, by G. W. Atkinson, is brought out in Charleston, W. Va., by the Virginian Law Book Company.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has received from Mrs. H. A. London forty-one bound volumes of the *Chatham Record*, 1878-1919, a complete set of the oldest weekly newspaper in North Carolina, owned and edited for forty years by the late Maj. Henry A. London, and now edited by his son. The commission has had mounted and bound the papers of the governors for the period 1777-1787, in all, fifteen volumes. Arrangements have been made with Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, archivist of the Southern Moravians, to translate from the German and edit for publication the records of the Moravians of North Carolina. These records consist chiefly of diaries and the "Memorabilia" which have been prepared and read to the Moravian congregation annually by their pastors since the founding of the Wachovia settlement in North Carolina in 1752. The first volume, embracing records from 1752 to 1771, is about ready for the press.

In the January and April issues of the *North Carolina Booklet*, Professor Archibald Henderson presents a useful biography of John Steele of North Carolina, Federalist member of the first two Congresses and comptroller of the Treasury from 1796 to 1802, with interesting extracts from his correspondence.

In the April and July numbers of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Judge Henry A. M. Smith continues his articles on the Ashley River: its Seats and Settlements, the article in the latter number bearing the special title: The Upper Ashley, and the Mutations of Families. The several documentary series contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber are continued.

The June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains an address delivered by Gen. Alexander R. Lawton, April 21, 1919, at the centennial celebration of the voyage of the steamship *Savannah*, the first transatlantic steamship; also an account of the loss of the steamer *Pulaski*, in June, 1838, written by Mrs. Hugh McLeod (Miss Rebecca Lamar), one of the survivors of the disaster. In the July number are found the Decision of Judge John Erskine in the case *Ex parte* William Law, under the "Attorney's Test Oath Act" (1866), and a brief article, by the editor, concerning the Case of George McIntosh.

WESTERN STATES

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has articles by Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher on the Annexation of Texas and the Bluffton Movement in South Carolina, and by Thomas R. Hay, on the South and the Arming of the Slaves, in which the agitations of the question, before the final decision, are mainly considered. The September number opens with an address delivered by Professor Harlow Lindley as president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, on Western Travel, 1800-1820, mainly concerned with explorations west of St. Louis; it also has a careful article by Miss Ella Lonn on the French Council of Commerce in relation to American trade, and one by Professor Royal B. Way on the United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822. The June number presents a survey of recent historical activities in the Old Northwest, by Professor Arthur C. Cole, and the September number a survey of historical activities in Canada, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of Ottawa.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its twelfth annual meeting at Berea College, Kentucky, October 16-18, ending with an excursion to Indian Fort. Notable among the papers read were those of Professor C. B. Coleman on the Ohio River as an Artery and as a Boundary, of Miss A. M. Cromwell on the Shakers in Kentucky, of Professor Harlow Lindley on Henry Clay, and of Professor W. H. Siebert on the Loyalists of Kentucky. Professor Siebert was elected president, Professor Elizabeth Crowther of Western College for Women secretary.

The *Transactions* of the Western Reserve Historical Society (*Publications*, no. 100), embodying the annual reports for 1918-1919, includes lists of the early newspapers and manuscripts acquired by the society. Among the former are over 900 Confederate issues, and among the latter are important Confederate records.

The Indiana Centennial, 1916: a Record of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission to Statehood, edited by Professor Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Indiana Historical Commission, is brought out by the commission and is designated one of the *Indiana Historical Collections*. The volume includes a brief account, by Lee Burns, of the Beginnings of the State; a Report of the Commission's Activities; a record of the several celebrations, including, besides the state celebration at Indianapolis and the Indiana pageant, the numerous county celebrations, and also the meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association; the Admission Day Exercises, December 11, 1916; and the several centennial addresses by Governor Samuel M. Ralston. Other addresses printed *in extenso* in the volume are those of President Wilson, Professor James A. Woodburn, Professor Frederic L. Paxson, Professor Harlow Lindley (the presidential address before the Ohio Valley Historical Association), Father John Cavanaugh, and Congressman Merrill Moores. The volume contains a number of portraits and other illustrations.

A state conference on Indiana history was held at Indianapolis, December 10 and 11, for the purpose of discussing problems in local and state history, awakening a greater interest in historical pursuits, and securing a larger measure of co-operation in historical effort.

The September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* includes a memoir of Spencer Records recounting his Pioneer Experiences in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, 1766-1836; the Journal of Ebenezer Chamberlain of a Trip from Maine to Indiana in 1832, edited by Louise Fogle; and a paper on Indiana in the Mexican War, by R. C. Buley.

Reminiscences of the Early Marion County Bar, by W. W. Woollen, *The National Road in Indiana*, by Lee Burns, and *Early Indianapolis*, by Mrs. Laura F. Hodges, constitute nos. 3, 4, and 5, respectively, of vol. VII. of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*.

The Illinois State Historical Library has in press three volumes of the *Illinois Historical Collections*: one reprinting the texts of the state's three successive constitutions, edited by E. G. Verlie; one containing the debates of the constitutional convention of 1847, edited by Professor Arthur C. Cole; and one comprising a reprint of Washburn's *Life of Edward Coles* and a considerable number of Coles's letters.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the

year 1918 (*Publications*, no. 24, of the Illinois State Historical Library) includes besides the usual proceedings the addresses delivered at the centennial meeting of the society, April 17-18, 1918. Following are the titles of those addresses: Illinois: the Land of Men, by Edgar A. Bancroft; Virginia in the Making of Illinois, by H. J. Eckenrode; Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century, by Allen Johnson; Establishing the American Colonial System in the Old Northwest, by Elbert J. Benton; the Interest Indiana holds in Historic Illinois, by Charles W. Moores; the Centennial History of Illinois, by Clarence W. Alvord; and a Message from France, by M. Louis Aubert. In addition there is an extended paper by Andrew H. Mills entitled a Hundred Years of Illinois Sunday School History.

The following articles are found in the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*: University of St. Mary of the Lake, by Rev. D. J. Riordan; the Franciscans in Southern Illinois, by Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M.; the Northwestern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, by Rev. J. Rothensteiner; the Irish in Early Illinois, by J. J. Thompson; Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier, by Margaret B. Downing; and a Great Illinois Pioneer: the Rev. John George Alleman, O. P., by Rev. J. B. Cullemans. The four articles first mentioned are to be continued.

At a meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society in May, Dr. W. A. Provine was chosen to be editor of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, J. H. DeWitt, manager, and J. Tyree Fain, assistant, the three constituting the publishing committee. The dates of issue have been changed from March, June, September, and December, to January, April, July, and October. For the year 1919, however, the April number is constituted no. 1. The principal contents of this number are a paper on Henderson and Company's Purchase within the Limits of Tennessee, by Samuel C. Williams; a discussion of Some Confusing Statements in Ramsey's *Annals* and Other Historians, by J. Tyree Fain, who is preparing an index to Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*; and some Notes of a Tour from Nashville to New Orleans down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers in the Year 1807, by Dr. John R. Bedford, with introduction and notes by the editor.

Bulletin 10 of the Michigan Historical Commission is an account of the War Records of Michigan; *Bulletin 11* comprises a group of prize essays written by pupils in Michigan schools, in a contest arranged by the commission during war-time, for pupils' historical essays on the reasons for America's participation in the war.

Among the contents of the July number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: Marquette County and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, by Judge John W. Stone; the Forests of the Upper Peninsula and their Place in History, by Alvan L. Sawyer; Some Place Names in the Upper

Peninsula of Michigan and Elsewhere, by William F. Gagnieur, S. J.; the Michigan Railroad Commission, by Russell D. Kilborn; and an address by Hon. Augustus C. Carton, president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, entitled Historical Work after the War.

The Wisconsin State Historical Society received in November the collection of native copper implements brought together by the late Henry P. Hamilton of Two Rivers and bequeathed to the society by his will. It is said to be the most important collection of native copper implements in existence. The *Proceedings* of the society at its sixty-sixth annual meeting, October 24, 1918, records among the more important manuscript accessions the papers of Nelson Dewey, first governor of the state, of George B. Smith, member of the first constitutional convention, of John H. Tweedy, last territorial delegate to Congress, of the late Senator Husting, of Azel Ladd, state superintendent of education 1852-1854, of Rev. Matthew Dinsdale, a Methodist preacher of the territorial period and later, and a diary (1840-1890) of Colonel Michael Frank, founder of Wisconsin's public school system.

The Wisconsin War History Commission was organized in October, and appointed Mr. John G. Gregory secretary. The commission has in hand the publication of an official history of the Thirty-second Division, prepared by its officers under the supervision of Gen. Haan, and the preparation of an official history of Wisconsin's part in the Great War. The sum of \$25,000 is available for the former object; \$10,000 per annum has for the present been appropriated for the work of the commission in general.

The principal articles in the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are the Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants, by Theodore C. Blegen, and the third chapter (the Days of the Lead Miners) in the Story of Wisconsin, by Miss Kellogg. Of a documentary sort are some Letters of a Fifth Wisconsin Volunteer, edited by R. G. Plumb, and some recollections of J. H. Evans concerning General Grant and Early Galena. The December issue contains a paper by James H. McManus on the Old Trail from Prairie du Chien northward to La Pointe on Lake Superior; a paper by H. R. Holand on the "Kensington Rune Stone", defending once more its authenticity; Observations of a Contract Surgeon, by Dr. William F. Whyte; an article by W. A. Titus on Portage; and a fourth installment of Miss Kellogg's Story of Wisconsin.

Acta et Dicta for July continues the late Archbishop Ireland's biography of Bishop Cretin, recounts the history during fifty years of the House of the Good Shepherd in St. Paul, has an article on Beginnings and Growth of the Catholic Church in Montana, by Rev. Cyril Pauwelyn, and prints a large body of interesting notes on the history of the diocese of Duluth, by Rev. P. G. Lydon.

A review of the legislation of the thirty-eighth general assembly of Iowa (January 13 to April 19, 1919) is the principal content of the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

The Missouri Historical Society has acquired a body of papers relating to the War of 1812 in Missouri, consisting of muster-rolls, journals, and miscellaneous papers; also some letters of James Callaway, documents signed by Daniel Boone and his sons, and a plan of Fort Johnson on the Des Moines River.

Articles in the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the first installment of a paper on James W. Fannin, jr., in the Texas Revolution, by Ruby C. Smith; Border Troubles along the Rio Grande, 1848-1860, by J. Fred Rippy; the Somervell Expedition to the Rio Grande, 1842, by Sterling B. Hendricks; and the eighth installment of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker.

The Texas State Library has lately finished arranging an accumulation of many years' duplicates of Texas state documents. These are now available for exchange with libraries. Such lists should be sent to Miss Elizabeth H. West, state librarian. The secret journals of the Senate of the Republic of Texas, printed a few years ago, may be especially mentioned.

Mr. R. M. McKittrick's *The Public Land System of Texas* (*Bulletin* no. 905 of the University of Wisconsin, pp. 172) aims to cover all aspects of its important subject, from 1823 to 1910.

The *Twenty-first Biennial Report* (1917-1919) of the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society has appeared.

The June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains a History of the Narrow Gauge Railroad in the Willamette Valley, by Leslie M. Scott, an article on the Beginnings of Christianity in Oregon, by George H. Himes, and the fifth installment of Dr. Shippee's study of the Federal Relations of Oregon. Among the contents of the September number, besides a continuation of Dr. Shippee's study, are an article on the British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria, by Katharine B. Judson, and an address by Frederick V. Holman on the Qualities of the Oregon Pioneers.

CANADA

The Public Archives of Canada have received additional transcripts from Paris, completing series B of the Archives des Colonies, and advancing other series, and many continuations from the London archives and from Quebec and Montreal; likewise twenty-four large volumes of transcripts of the records and papers of Lt.-Gov. John Graves Simcoe of Upper Canada.

The forthcoming volume of the *Reports* of the Canadian Archives will contain a complete set of official proclamations, public notices, etc., of the military government (1760-1764) for the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, and as many as possible for the district of Quebec, the public proclamations issued in Canada, 1764-1791, and the remaining portion, 1824-1847, of the calendar of the Neilson papers.

The Oxford University Press is to publish two volumes of the letters of the late Sir John A. Macdonald, edited by Sir Joseph Pope.

An elaborate biography of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in two volumes, embracing also a collection of speeches, is being prepared by his friend Senator Laurent O. David. Another life is being prepared by Professor O. D. Skelton of Queen's University; installments of it are appearing in the *Century Magazine*.

We understand that the Canadian official series of *Proclamations, Orders in Council and Documents relating to the European War* is not to be continued after the completion of the fifth volume, which ends with October 1, 1916. Another official Canadian publication of importance is Sir Edward Kemp's *Report on the Overseas Military Forces of Canada*, 1918. In the co-operative history, *Canada in the Great War*, vol. II. deals with Canada's preparation for the war; vols. III. and IV., issued at about the present time, are devoted respectively to Canada's share in the maritime warfare and in the first stages of the warfare on land. Two more volumes will complete the work.

The fourteenth *Report* of the Bureau of Archives of the province of Ontario contains a first installment, 1789-1794, of the records of the early courts of Upper Canada.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Hispanic-American Historical Review for August opens with an article in Spanish by Professor Rafael Altamira, accompanied by a translation, on the place given to the study of American institutions in the public educational system of Spain. This is followed by a paper on the Indian of the Southwest in the Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1853, by Mr. J. F. Rippy of the University of California, and by some fifty pages of discussion of the teaching of Hispanic-American history in the United States and of syllabi drawn up for such purposes.

In no. 28-29 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* Don Pedro Torres Lanzas begins a catalogue by *legajos* of that section of the Archives of the Indies called "Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias".

An interesting contribution to the history of South American public opinion during the Great War has been made by Señor Francisco Contreras, the Chilean poet, in a volume entitled *Les Écrivains Hispano-Américains et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Bossard).

Students of the most recent period of Mexican history will find useful material in *Mexico Revolucionario: Colección de Documentos relativos á las últimas Revoluciones Mexicanas* (Havana, Espinosa Ferré y Compañía).

A *History of Banking in Mexico*, by Dr. Walter F. McCaleb, formerly a director of the Federal Reserve Bank at Dallas, is expected to be published by Harper and Brothers in January.

In the May-June number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba), besides a continuation of the documents pertaining to the conspiracy entitled "Gran Legión del Aguila Negra" (1830), there are two considerable documents: "Sentencia de la Causa por Conspiración conocida por la de la Vuelta de Abajo" (1853), and "Sobre el Escándalo ocurrido en el Teatro de Tacón, hoy Nacional, la Noche del 19 de Abril de 1866". There is also an installment of an "Índice del Libro Sexto de Reales Órdenes" (1776), and a continuation of the inventory of the archives of the Cuban revolutionary delegation in New York, 1892-1898.

The Cuban Academy of History has inaugurated a series of *Anales de la Academia de la Historia*, intended to be bimonthly, by a handsome quarto number for July-August, in which the matter most interesting to readers in the United States will be a biographical study of Gen. Manuel de Quesada y Loynaz, an important figure in the revolutionary movements of 1868-1870.

The trustees of the Hispanic Society of America have lately opened an exhibition at their building in New York, 156th street west of Broadway, of historical documents illustrating South American independence, derived from the collection of Señor George M. Corbacho, member of the Peruvian Parliament.

Father Froylan Rionegro makes an important contribution to the colonial history of northern South America by his two volumes of *Relaciones de las Misiones de las PP. Capuchinos en las Antiguas Provincias Españolas hoy República de Venezuela, 1650-1817* (Seville, tip. La Exposición).

The government of Chile and the University of California have arranged for a system of exchanges of university professors and other teachers, the details of which in the United States are to be managed by a Committee on Hispanic-American Relations in the University of California. Professor Charles E. Chapman of that university is to spend the calendar year 1920 as exchange professor in Chile under this arrangement. The subsequent appointments of Spanish-speaking professors in the United States, most commonly of professors of history, economics, political science or law, are to be made from various universities. The plan includes also a small number of school-teachers, Chilean and of the United States.

Out of articles originally published in the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* Señor Alberto Lara has made a substantial and authoritative volume on one of the most important battles of the wars of independence, *La Batalla de Chacabuco* (Santiago de Chile, Imp. Universitaria, pp. 263).

The history of the controversy between Peru and Chile over the provinces of Arica and Tacna is presented in *Nuestra Cuestion con Chile* (Lima, *Mercurio Peruano*) by Don Victor Andrés Belaunde, under commission from the Peruvian government.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Baron A. de Maricourt, *Un Colon Français au Brésil: le Sire de Villegagnon* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, October 18); J. W. Howay, ed., *The Voyage of the Hope, 1790-1792* (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May); M. Bien, *Le Domaine Public des États-Unis* (*Journal des Économistes*, August); W. R. Riddell, ed., *A Contemporary Account of the Navy Island Episode, 1837 [the Caroline]* (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May); J. Hashagen, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ausserpolitischen Beziehungen zwischen England und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, July, 1917); E. Staehelin, *Schweizer Theologen im Dienste der Reformierten Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten* (*Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI. 4); Elihu Root, *Theodore Roosevelt* (*North American Review*, December); J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, shown in his own Letters*, I., II., III. (*Scribner's Magazine*, September, October, November); F. M. Fling, *The Fourteen Points and the Peace Conference* (*The New World*, August); F. H. Dixon, *Federal Operation of Railroads during the War* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August); G. MacAdam, *Life of General Pershing [cont.]* (*World's Work*, September, October, November, December); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October); W. L. Jenks, *The Judicial System of Michigan under Governors and Judges* (*Michigan Law Review*, November); L. T. Bowes, *Rupert's House: the Oldest British Settlement in Canada* (*Canadian Magazine*, August); A. R. Hassard, *Great Canadian Orators: I. D'Arcy McGee; II. Joseph Howe; III. Nicholas Flood Davin; IV. Louis Joseph Papineau* (*ibid.*, August, September, October, November); W. R. Riddell, *The Slave in Upper Canada* (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May); O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, I. (*Century Magazine*, October); C. Kernisan, *Haïti depuis 1915, la Convention Américano-Haïtienne: la Doctrine de Monroë et les Principes Wilsoniens* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, August 15); R. Blanco-Fombona, *The Struggle for Independence in Argentina* (*Inter-America*, English, October); P. Groussac, *El Congreso de Tucumán* (*Revista de Derecho, Historia, y Letras*, January); Heitor Lyra, *Pan Americanism in Brazil prior to the Statement of the Monroe Doctrine* (*Inter-America*, English, December); J. de Armas, *Rosas and Doctor Francia* (*ibid.*, October).

The American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT CLEVELAND

THE meeting of the American Historical Association at Cleveland, December 29-31, 1919, was designated on the programme as the "34th-35th Annual Meeting", presumably because a local epidemic of influenza made it inexpedient to hold the meeting planned for December, 1918, as the thirty-fourth, and therefore the meeting was postponed for a year. But the annual meetings of the Association have not taken place with perfect regularity¹—there was, for instance, no meeting in 1892—and the meeting of December, 1919, was properly the thirty-fourth. So many annual meetings have now been held that henceforth many a city must enjoy or suffer its second meeting rather than its first.

This was the second time the Association had met in Cleveland. It had held a meeting there in 1897, when the presidential address was delivered by Dr. James Schouler, happily still with us, the oldest of our ex-presidents. That meeting² was a notable one, held west of the Alleghanies as a consequence of that mild revolution, or infusion of new life, which had marked the New York meeting of 1896, and typifying in many ways the new spirit then evoked. It was the first meeting in which the discussion of practical professional problems, chiefly educational, as distinguished from the mere reading of substantive historical papers, took the chief place. The report of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history in schools, presented in a provisional form, was made the subject of consideration at one of the sessions, at others the teaching of economic history, the use of sources in teaching, the opportunities for historical study in Europe, and the functions of state and local historical societies. The *Annual Report* for 1896, published at about

¹ See *American Historical Review*, XV. 10-11.

² *Ibid.*, III. 405-417.

the same time as that of the meeting, brought out the first report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the first of those standing committees through which the Association has done so much of its best work for the profession.

From these significant beginnings it is not difficult to measure the progress which the Association has made between the dates of the first Cleveland meeting and the second. Progress of another sort may be measured by the fact that the membership, which in December, 1896, had been less than 600, and in December, 1897, stood at 928, stands now at 2445, and by the contrast, respecting means for useful works, between assets of \$10,885 in 1897 and of \$35,581 in 1919.

That the registration at the recent meeting should have reached a total of 316, a figure quite as large as that which has usually been attained when meeting in cities comparable with Cleveland, was especially gratifying in view of the present status of professional salaries, the high cost of railroad travel as well as of everything else, and the regrettable refusal of the Railroad Administration to grant those reductions of railroad fares which were customary in happier times. It was noticeable that an unusual number of the younger members of the Association were present. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, the American Political Science Association, the National Municipal League, and the American Association of University Professors met at the same time and place. A joint session was held with each of the first three, and at one of the luncheons the work of the American Association of University Professors was explained by its president, Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The general opinion seems to have been that the meeting was exceptionally pleasant and successful. That it was so, was mainly due to the interesting programme provided by a committee of which Professor Elbert J. Benton, of the Western Reserve University, was chairman, and to the excellent arrangements made for all these societies by a committee of local arrangements of which the secretary was his colleague Professor Samuel B. Platner. All the sessions of the Association were held under one roof, that of the Hollenden Hotel—which makes it unnecessary this year to say a word on the banal theme of December weather—and indeed on one floor of that hotel. Even the excellent luncheons to which with generous hospitality the trustees of the Western Reserve Historical Society and of the Western Reserve University, on successive days, invited the members of the Association, were served in the ball-room of the hotel. The

trustees of the Cleveland Museum of Art and of the Historical Society provided special occasions for visiting their remarkable collections. The privileges of the Union Club and of the University Club, of the Women's City Club and of the College Club, were extended to the members of the Association, men and women respectively, during the days of the meeting. The College Club gave a reception to the women, the Union Club a "smoker" for the men. Appropriate votes of thanks showed the gratitude of the members for all this hospitable kindness.

At one of the luncheons there was a most interesting address by Mr. Alexander Whyte, M.P. for Perth 1910-1918, and at another Mr. A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, who since then has been elected to the chair of imperial and colonial history in that institution, spoke of the new developments in historical instruction in London and other British universities, especially of the new provisions for advanced degrees, of the work of the British Universities Bureau and the British Division of the American University Union in Europe, and of the possibilities and advantages of mutual exchange of teachers and students between the two nations.

Of the dinner conferences which of late have become characteristic of the meetings, three were held on the present occasion. One was composed of members specially interested in Hispanic-American history, another of those specially interested in the history of the Far East, a third of those specially interested in the history of the Great War. The last was addressed by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, formerly senator from Indiana. All three performed a useful function in promoting acquaintance and the interchange of plans and suggestions among *Fachgenossen*. There was also a dinner of the National Board for Historical Service, at which that body, organized in April, 1917, to do whatever service historians as such could perform for government and public in war-time, now brought its labors to an end, and adjourned *sine die*. Finding itself, at the conclusion of its work, in possession of a fund of somewhat more than a thousand dollars, the Board offered that sum to the Association, to be maintained as a separate fund, to be called the Andrew D. White Fund in memory of the Association's first president, and to be used, appropriately to that title, for international historical undertakings, through the Association's representatives in the American Council of Learned Societies.³

One of the most noteworthy events of the Cleveland meeting was the organization of the American Catholic Historical Associa-

³ See pp. 440-446, *post*.

tion. Catholic historical societies have existed in the United States since 1884. Their number is now considerable, and the journals they publish are numerous and excellent, but they either are by intention, or have come to be in the main, local organizations, and there was real need for a society which, general to the whole country, should pursue the whole history of the Catholic Church, and perhaps especially of Catholicism in America, in a broad spirit, with all the resources of the best Catholic scholarship, and in close companionship with the national body, the American Historical Association. The initiative in calling such a society into existence was taken by the energetic editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, Professor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America. The meeting for organization, attended by some sixty or seventy persons, was presided over by Monsignor T. C. O'Reilly, rector of St. John's Cathedral, Cleveland. Professor Guilday, in an interesting address, reviewed the history of Catholic historical societies in the United States, and outlined the possibilities of usefulness that lay before the new organization. Dr. J. F. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, speaking as one of the elder members of the American Historical Association, welcomed cordially the formation of the new society, and indicated some of the reasons for enthusiasm in the pursuit of American Catholic history. The society expects to hold one of its meetings each year at the same time and place as the American Historical Association. Dr. Laurence Flick, of Philadelphia, was elected its first president, Rev. Richard Tierney, S.J., and Rev. Victor O'Daniel, O.P., vice-presidents, Professor C. J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, secretary, Monsignor O'Reilly, treasurer, and Dr. Guilday, archivist. Its beginnings are made under excellent auspices.

The programme of the American Historical Association was composed, as has been usual, on the one hand of conferences and on the other hand of sessions devoted to the reading of formal papers; and too often, as has also been usual, the simultaneous occurrence of three different conferences or sessions brought confusion or dismay to those auditors who allow themselves to be interested in more than one field of history. In some instances the term conference meant nothing else than a series of four or five related papers, but in some there was real discussion. Of these, that which excited the widest interest was the one called for consideration of the report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools. Under the chairmanship of Professor Joseph Schafer, of the University of Oregon, this committee had been at work for more

than a year, at first under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service, but since February as a committee of the American Historical Association. It had held many conferences with representative bodies of school-teachers, and had published, in the *Historical Outlook* and elsewhere, much preliminary matter respecting its deliberations and conclusions. The number of that periodical for June, 1919, had contained the fullest statement of the committee's proposals, and the audience at the conference (somewhat more than two hundred in number) had copies of that statement before them. In the elementary school, beginning with the making of the community, the plan provides for the first six grades a progressive study of the making of the United States. For the junior high school, which must now be reckoned with, it provides a study of the history of the world, and of American history in that setting, culminating in the ninth grade in a study of community and national activities which involves a combination of recent economic and social history with commercial geography and civics. For the senior high school it provides a maturer study of modern European and American history and of social, economic, and political principles and problems. Like all programmes of educational improvement, it calls for completer preparation of the teacher, in a world which is constantly making the teacher's career more difficult to enter upon or to sustain; and Professor Frank S. Bogardus, of the Indiana State Normal School, in a capital paper, approving the programme in general, showed what teachers' training schools could and should do to meet its requirements. The remainder of the discussion is fully reported in the *Historical Outlook* for February. To an external observer, not versed in the problems of the schools, it seemed much like other educational discussions he had heard, wherein A and B and C urge that in the framing of a new curriculum more emphasis should have been laid on this or that or the other element, while on the other hand all agree that the new scheme already contains too much, that it will be difficult to introduce, and that it should be worked out in greater detail. Such an observer was inclined to think that the new programme, so carefully planned by the committee and so ably and open-mindedly defended on the floor by Professor Schafer, was a good one, well adapted to its purpose of meeting the exigencies of a rapidly altered world, and that if it did not include all desiderata it was not for want of having taken them into account.

There was also a joint conference of representatives of state and local historical societies and of state organizations formed to

deal with each state's part in the history of the Great War. The theme was the preservation and publication of war material. Mr. Wallace H. Cathcart, of the Western Reserve Historical Society, presided. Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society, described the various lists, records, books, collections of newspaper clippings, printed ephemera, and the like, which the average historical society, not state-aided, in the average city might well accumulate; Mr. Frank M. Gregg, of Cleveland, his own remarkable collection of posters, post-cards, broadsides, pieces of music, and other fugitive printed matter, brought together primarily with a view to the illustration of mass-psychology and the workings of propaganda and emotional appeal. Others described systems for dealing with material, and the kinds of data embraced in official state surveys and state war records. The proceedings concluded with a formal session of the National Association of State War History Organizations, a body formed⁴ to secure greater uniformity and co-operation in the work of such organizations. The intelligence with which its plans have been developed has deserved for them a greater measure of co-operation than they have received. The chief feature of the present occasion was an elaborate report by Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the agent employed by the association to carry out in military and other archives in Washington the great work which the common purposes of the constituent organizations require.

Another body, the Agricultural History Society, allied with the American Historical Association,⁵ held on this occasion for the first time sessions conjoint with those of the annual meeting. In its discussions the one paper of general purport was that of Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, on Possibilities of Intensive Research in Agricultural History. His main thesis was that many of the important influences of agriculture cannot be discovered until a large amount of intensive research has been applied to circumscribed fields of agricultural history. Various methods and sources and forms of presentation were suggestively considered. New light could be thrown upon many critical periods of political history, showing the reaction of the farming community to and upon the events of the time. Social histories could be written, compassing the whole round of country life, economic, social, educational, and religious. Finally, one could rewrite the general history of a state or a section, by filling in the important background of rural life, so fundamental to the picture, yet so largely omitted in most histories.

⁴ See pp. 72-78, 149-150, above.

⁵ See *American Historical Review*, XXIV. 527, and below, pp. 386-387.

The other papers read before this new society may better be described in the place into which they will naturally fall in our brief report of the papers read before the main society.

Another novelty in the programme, and one greatly to be commended, was the provision of a session for papers on the history of science. That studies in that field, either on the part of men of science or on that of historical students, have increased to such a degree that those who pursue them are conscious of an important common purpose and seek opportunities of fruitful mutual acquaintance, is of itself exceedingly gratifying; and the meeting was of a character to augur well for the continuance of such occasions in future programmes.⁶ The leading subject of discussion was that of the place and treatment of the history of science in the college curriculum. The discussion began with a paper by Dr. Henry Crew, professor of physics in Northwestern University, who showed ways in which the history of science might be made interesting and profitable to even quite young minds, and how general courses and courses special to the history of physics and chemistry, zoology and botany, by the teachers having charge of those disciplines, might be combined and conducted. Other points brought out in the discussion were, the need that students should not be tempted to undertake courses in the history of science until they knew something of the nature of science itself, by at least one laboratory course preceding, and that those whose function it is to teach general history, in various epochs, should not fail to lay appropriate emphasis on the relation of scientific progress to the advance of civilization.

Three papers on portions of the history of science were also read in this session. The first, by Professor T. Wingate Todd, of the medical school of the Western Reserve University, was an illustrated address on Egyptian medicine, showing its relation to ritual and superstition and the primitive practice prevalent in modern Africa, and the extent of the advance it achieved in dentistry, general surgery, therapeutics, and pharmacology. Professor Lynn Thorndike, of the same university, read a paper on the medieval scientist Peter of Abano, setting forth the facts of his life and writings and the extent of his contributions to astronomy, to medicine, and to the knowledge of Aristotle. Professor Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, traced the history of the development of algebra, through Egyptian, Greek, and Arabic mathematical thinking.

⁶ The conference is more fully reported, by Professor Thorndike, in *Science* for February 20.

The Association, and American historical students generally, have been disposed to give so little attention, relatively, to the intellectual history of mankind, that we must cordially wish great success to the new movement thus happily inaugurated.

We pass from the conferences of organized groups to the review of individual papers. The presidential address of Mr. William R. Thayer, on Fallacies in History, has already been printed in these pages.⁷ Another paper of general character was that of Professor N. S. B. Gras, of the University of Minnesota, on the Present Condition of Economic History.⁸ As against the inclination of historians to concentrate their attention on periods of economic history, and of economists to pursue it by topics, and the general tendency to make it dependent on either history or economics, he suggested the possibilities lying in the pursuit of what he called genetic economics, or the general theory of economic historical development.

Four papers, in addition to that of Dr. Todd already mentioned, were to be classed as falling in the domain of ancient history. In one, Mr. Oscar C. Stine, of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, described the characteristics of Egyptian Agriculture in Ptolemaic Times. In another, Dr. John R. Knipfing, of the Ohio State University, reviewed the writings of German Historians on Macedonian Imperialism, showing how the views of Niebuhr and Droysen were influenced by the changing political currents of their day, and how those of the present generation of German writers of Greek history, almost without exception ardent for Philip and bitterly hostile to Demosthenes, have been formed by the experiences of the period of Bismarck, the political conclusions deducible from his statecraft, and the rising tide of nationalistic imperialism. In a third paper, written apropos of the present Greek claim to a part of southern Albania, as historically Epirote, Professor Herbert Wing, jr., of Dickinson College, discussed the Epirus-Albania Boundary Dispute in Ancient Times. In the fourth, Professor David Magie, of Princeton University, sketched the history of Roman Policy in Armenia and its Significance. The subsequent discussion revealed much difference of opinion as to whether Armenia was chiefly valued by the Romans as a commercial or as a military highway between East and West.

Three papers dealt with the history of the British Empire. Pro-

⁷ Pp. 179-190, above; where, however, by a regrettable oversight, the footnote indicating the paper as a presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association was omitted.

⁸ Printed in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1920.

fessor Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, under the title *England's Earliest Empire*, treated of the acquisition and status of that commercial empire which was composed of outlying trading-posts, with extraterritorial and other rights, and somewhat of the process by which this began to grow into a political empire. Professor A. Percival Newton, of the University of London, discussed the *Organization of the Dependent British Empire*, using that term to characterize the relations to the British crown of those territories that can neither be included among the self-governing dominions nor among the crown colonies enjoying some measure of representative government nor with the Indian Empire. The criterion suggested for the classification of a dependency within the British realms was that its inhabitants could make no valid treaties with external powers except through the medium of the king's government at Westminster. Attention was called to the way in which experience gained in dealing with the native states of India has guided the policy of the empire in its relations with protectorates. Finally, in a paper on *Some Problems of British Imperial Federation*, Professor Arthur L. Cross, of the University of Michigan, prefaced his account of present-day arrangements and of the various plans for the future with a narrative of the stages of development through which the empire has advanced, from the paternalistic exploitation prevalent in early days and the *laissez-faire* policy of the middle period of the nineteenth century, to the colonial and imperial conferences of 1887-1911 and the Imperial War Conference and Imperial War Cabinet instituted in 1917.

A great part of the interest, distinctly unusual in degree, with which the proceedings of the annual meetings were invested, arose from the frank dedication of large parts of the programme to consideration of present politics. Many of the papers in modern history ran well into the future, some lay entirely there. It will not be thought inappropriate if the present very condensed chronicle confines itself practically to such portions of the material as were strictly historical in character. Thus, in the session devoted to Russia, a joint session of the historical and political science associations, Mr. Jerome Landfield's paper on the Revolution of November, 1917, was a piece of history, while that of Baron Korff, formerly professor of law in the University of Helsingfors, related to the Future Constitution of Russia as seen by Russian Liberals. Mr. Landfield described the democratic traits of monarchial Russia and the social and economic conditions which led to the November revolution, and showed how an unscrupulous minority, carefully organized, took

advantage of war-weariness, hunger, and want, to bring itself into supreme power.

In an evening session which aroused more general interest than any other, Professors Charles H. Haskins and Robert H. Lord, of Harvard University, spoke on the Franco-Prussian Frontier and the New Poland respectively, and Mr. A. F. Whyte reviewed the Operations of the Main Forces at the Peace Conferences of 1919. Mr. Haskins and Mr. Lord had had an important part in assisting at Paris the work of that conference; Mr. Whyte had watched it as representative of one of the chief London newspapers. Mr. Haskins's principal endeavor was to relate the past history of Alsace and Lorraine and neighboring lands and the old linguistic boundaries to the recent arrangement, to show the connection of the latter with problems of strategy and mineral resources, and to explain the manner in which international interests were influential in shaping the settlement, as respects especially the left bank of the Rhine, the Saar valley, and the mines. Mr. Lord dwelt little upon the previous history of Poland, but discussed the new Poland, its boundaries and its future, from the point of view of race, language, and religion. Mr. Whyte, in a brilliant address, sympathetic to the liberals of the world but premising that they had expected too much from the peace conferences, described the main currents of force at work there—the overmastering desire of the French for security, the attachment of Baron Sonnino to the old principles of the balance of power, the new conceptions of international order put forward by President Wilson, conceptions grateful to millions in Europe, and the dubious position occupied by the British prime minister in view of an election in which the “war-mind” had predominated—and the consequent necessity that the result should be a compromise. Yet it was a compromise which, thanks to President Wilson, contained the means of its own betterment.

In a conference devoted to the recent history of the Far East, Professor Stanley K. Hornbeck, of the University of Wisconsin, reviewed the technical aspects of the Shantung Question in the light of the historical events of the last twenty-five years, and criticized adversely the provisions of the recent treaty on the subject. Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University, read a valuable paper on the Missionary Factor in the Chinese Situation, the historical portion of which appraised the results of Catholic and Protestant missionary endeavors in China, in mediating between East and West, in accelerating the adoption in China of elements from Western civilization, in increasing the influence of Western

nations and in some respects weakening the empire politically, in furthering political and social reform, in "westernizing" the educational system and democratizing learning, and in improving physical health. The paper of Professor Edmund D. Soper, of Northwestern University, on Democracy and Progress in Present-Day Japan, gave rise to an unusual amount of discussion, relating to the degree in which militarism and the democratic spirit respectively prevail or are likely to prevail in the Japanese empire.

On the colonial period of American history three papers were presented. That of Professor M. W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, on Slavery and the Beginnings of Industrialism in the American Colonies, has already appeared in these pages.⁹ That of Professor Herbert C. Bell, of Bowdoin College, on Materials for Study in West Indian Archives, was based on the labors of its author in the West Indian classes of the Colonial Office Papers at London, in preparing an inventory of that material for the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The period to which the paper related was that between 1708, the date reached by the last-published volume of the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, and the year 1775; the material consists mostly of correspondence between colonial officials and the secretary of state and Board of Trade. Its uses for the student of the history of the British Empire rest on its value for the study of the commercial and diplomatic, and in a less degree the military and naval, relations between that empire and the other powers possessing colonies in the West Indies. To the student of the mainland colonies the West Indian correspondence offers material not only for the knowledge of intercolonial trade, but also for the better understanding, by comparison and contrast, of many elements in the development of the different communities on the continent.

To the history of colonial relations with the mother-country, Professor Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, contributed a paper on the Colonial Agent as a Popular Representative, tracing in detail the development of that official, in the southern colonies, as a representative of the lower house in controversies with the governor and council, and showing how the necessity for the consent of governor and council in order to secure appropriations for the agent's salary and expenses limited the power of the lower houses to use him, and how and how far they prevailed.

In a later period of American history, the Foreign Policy of Alexander Hamilton was expounded, from materials in the archives

⁹ Pp. 220-240, above.

of the British Foreign Office, by Dr. Samuel F. Bemis, of Colorado College, in a paper read in a joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Hamilton's genius had created American credit. American nationality depended on the ability of the new government to meet its financial obligations. Thirteen-fifteenths of American revenues came from customs duties on imports from England. This was the reason why Hamilton made peace with Great Britain fundamental in his policy, and why he "went behind" Jefferson's office, in secret negotiations which Dr. Bemis described.

In the same session, Dr. Reginald C. McGrane, of the University of Cincinnati, set forth the American Position on the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, first with respect to the strict observance of neutrality by A. J. Donelson, minister to Prussia and to Germany, and secondly with respect to the efforts of Baron von Roenne, Prussian minister in Washington, to create a navy for Prussia and Germany, efforts considerably helped by the Polk administration, but abruptly checked by Taylor and Clayton. Another aspect of foreign relations in the same troubled period was covered by a paper of Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher, of the Ohio State University, on Southern Opinion in regard to the Mexican War and the Accession of Territory. From his study of speeches, newspapers, and correspondence, published and unpublished, he concluded that the South did not support the Mexican War in its earlier period for the sake of conquest of future slave-states, but was forced by the Wilmot Proviso to become interested, in a negative and defensive way, in preventing the war from being used to serve an aggressive purpose by the enemies of slavery; and thus, toward the end of the war, there developed a strong Southern sentiment against acquisition of territory.

The paper by Professor Thomas M. Marshall, of the University of Colorado, on the miners' laws of the region now embraced in that state, is printed on later pages of this number.

Three papers bore on the history of the Civil War. One, in the military field, was that of Mr. Alfred P. James, of the University of Pittsburgh, on the Strategy of Concentration on the part of the Confederates in the Mississippi Valley in the spring of 1862, in which the drastic concentration effected by General A. S. Johnston at Corinth was described, and the effects of concentration unaccompanied by unity of command and followed by defeat were analyzed. The second of the Civil War papers was one of Professor Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College, on the Internal Grain Trade of the United States during that period.^{9a} The third, figuring in a

^{9a} Printed in the *Iowa Journal of History* for January.

series concerning Nationalism in American History, was that of Professor Nathaniel W. Stephenson, of the College of the City of Charleston, on Lincoln and the Progress of Nationality in the North. He discussed with much acuteness the hindrances to the development of a complete nationalism which were presented by the anti-Lincoln secret societies—Sons of Liberty, Knights of the Golden Circle, and the like—rhetorical, infirm of purpose; by the profiteering element whose patriotism did not rise above the level of zeal for the American woollen industry; by the otherwise-mindedness and emotional individualism of Greeley and Wendell Phillips and the Cleveland Convention. Loyalty to the smaller territorial units had been broken down in the North, but it was still far from a complete nationalism. In Lincoln's influence in helping forward that consummation, characteristic elements were always his acceptance of federalism and the representative system as permanent features of our political science, but always his belief that the laboring masses were the part of the nation entitled to the greatest share of its benefits.

Continuing the subject of nationalism, in a paper entitled *Fifty Years of American Nationalism, 1865-1918*, Dr. Charles A. Beard, of the Bureau of Municipal Research, New York, set forth nationalism as working in an economic pattern, capitalism first of all showing those national and international tendencies which were natural to it, then agrarianism and then labor adopting nationalistic principles. Finally, American Nationality and Recent Statecraft were considered by Professor William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, in a brilliant and thought-provoking paper on the history of the last six years. Substantially, it was an explanation and defense of President Wilson's course from the time when the outbreak of the Great War in Europe endangered his large programme of economic reform. He compared the President's delays upon decision and action in a divided country, in which neither party convention of 1916 advanced beyond neutrality, to the wise delays for which Lincoln was so warmly abused in March and April, 1861; described his effort, after entrance into war, as essentially an effort to incite the nation to victory by emotional appeals and yet to preserve the world from subsequent delivery to the forces of economic imperialism; and emphasized the reactionary quality of the opposition which had tied his hands in peace-making.

Of two papers in the history of the labor movement, that of Dr. Selig Perlman, of the University of Wisconsin, on the *Historical Basis of the Tactics of the American Federation of Labor*, argued

that history showed action through trade-unions to be more likely to be potent, under American conditions, than action through a labor party. The paper by Professor Frank T. Carlton, of De Pauw University, on Three Upheavals in the American Labor Movement, dealt with the premature but brilliant flare of unionism that marked the "thirties", extinguished by the panic of 1837, the extraordinary development of the Knights of Labor in the "eighties", its rise out of excess of immigration and its disintegration, and the movement of the last four years, in which the American Federation of Labor has grown from two million members in 1915 to three and a fourth millions in 1919, and he analyzed those elements in the present situation which forbade argument from earlier analogies.

In the sessions of the Agricultural History Society, besides the papers of Messrs. Kelsey, Stine, and Schmidt already mentioned, Mr. Lyman Carrier, of the Bureau of Plant Industry at Washington, read a paper on the Colonial Agriculture of Rhode Island, and Mr. Herbert A. Kellar, of the Cyrus McCormick Library in Chicago, one on Some Aspects of the Agricultural Revolution of the United States in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. The former described particularly those traits of Rhode Island agriculture that flowed from the peculiarities of the Narragansett country. The latter gave attention mainly to the rise and increase, especially between 1830 and 1850, of agricultural journals and societies and fairs, books and libraries and state institutions helpful to agricultural progress.

Three papers were read in a session or conference devoted to Hispanic-American affairs, of which two were historical in character, that of Professor W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, on Latin-American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine, especially at the time of the Venezuela-Guiana boundary dispute of 1895-1896, and that of Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., of the University of North Carolina, on the views respecting the Monroe Doctrine expressed by the conservative Argentine publicist Alberdi. These two papers, we understand, are to appear later in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

Upon papers read before the Association, for which their authors, or the editors of journals, have not arranged another destination, the Association may naturally be thought to have some claim, and they are referred to the Committee on Publication. Papers of the Cleveland meeting approved for publication by that committee may be expected to appear in the *Annual Report* for 1919, unless omitted by the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in the exer-

cise of the discretion vested in him by the act incorporating the Association.

The business meeting of the Association, which took place on the second afternoon, was notable among the annual meetings for the variety and importance of the matters which were laid before the members. In the absence of the secretary, Mr. Leland, kept away from the meetings by illness, Professor St. George L. Sioussat acted as secretary *pro tempore*. From the secretary's report it appeared that the total membership of the Association was 2445, a decrease of 74 from a year ago and of 481 from the figures of 1915, when the membership of the Association reached its highest point. The net loss, however, was smaller than in any of the three preceding years in which a loss had been sustained, being less by 61 than the loss of a year ago, while the number of members whose dues had been paid was over 200 greater than the corresponding number last year. It would appear that while a certain decline in membership has been inevitable because of the war, a decline which it may be said is not confined to the Historical Association, there are many reasons for believing that the downward tendency has now ceased and for expecting a substantial increase in members during the coming year. The secretary promised that a directory of the Association, in process of compilation, would soon be published as a part of the *Annual Report* for 1918. Attention was called to the refusal of the Railroad Administration to grant reduced fares on account of the meetings of learned societies, and members were warned to be on their guard against certain so-called historical societies which are in fact commercial organizations and which, because of similarity in names, are likely to be confused with the American Historical Association.

The report of the treasurer, Mr. Moore, showed the finances of the Association to be in a most satisfactory condition; the net receipts of the year were \$10,833, the net disbursements, \$8120, an excess of receipts over disbursements of \$2713. The assets of the Association in cash and in Liberty Bonds amounted to \$33,476, an increase since 1918 of \$2716; the American Historical Review Fund was reported as amounting to \$2105 in addition. The treasurer reported that the voluntary contributions of one dollar which had been requested from the members had amounted to \$1432. Nothing gives clearer evidence of a healthy condition of sentiment in the Association than so abundant a response to such a request, which it has been thought expedient to make each year rather than to pro-

pose to increase the annual dues, as so many societies have done, to five dollars.

The secretary of the Council, Professor Greene, reported, as required by the constitution, the decisions and recommendations of that body. A committee of three had been named to examine the records of the Association in Washington, destroy those of no value, arrange the others for permanent preservation, and prepare for publication such of the more important records of the Council and Association as might be deemed suitable. The Council had voted to take over in the name of the Association the associate membership in the American Council on Education previously held by the National Board for Historical Service. The Council had voted to suspend the Public Archives Commission and the standing Committee on Bibliography for the current year, and to refer the question of the future of these two committees to the Committee on Policy for consideration and report. Two special committees, however, took the place of the two standing committees thus suspended, a committee on the preparation of a primer of archives, consisting of Mr. Victor H. Paltsits and Mr. Leland, and a committee, headed by Professor George M. Dutcher, to co-operate with the American Library Association in the preparation of a manual of historical literature, on the same general plan as that of C. K. Adams (1882). The Council voted to rule that only essays formally submitted to the Winsor and Adams prize committees should be considered as having been entered in the competition.

Other votes of the Council may be summarized as follows: The Committee on Publications was authorized to dispose of the unbound copies of the prize essays in stock; the Council committee on London headquarters was directed to give legal notice of the termination of the present agreement with the Royal Historical Society for the rental of the room (because of the institution in London of the British Division of the American University Union in Europe), to make such payments as might be necessary to meet the legal obligations of the Association in connection with the London branch, to dispose of the furniture and books on hand, and to express the thanks of the Association to the officers of the branch for their services; Professor Cheyney, chairman of the committee on the Bibliography of Modern English History, was authorized to take such preliminary steps as may be necessary, in conjunction with the British committee, for the resumption of the committee's work; it was voted to omit the customary meeting of the Council at Thanksgiving time; it was voted to discontinue the present board of ad-

visory editors of the *Historical Outlook* and in its place to create a new body to be called the Board of Editors, composed of five members who should serve for one year, who should co-operate with the present managing editor, and who should report such proposals respecting the future relations of the Association and the *Outlook* as might seem desirable at the end of a year.

Upon recommendation by the Council the Association voted to join the newly organized American Council of Learned Societies, and to authorize the treasurer to pay as the annual dues of the Association in the Council a sum not exceeding five cents per member. The Association also voted to adopt the following amendments to the constitution and to the by-laws:

For article IV., substitute the following:

Art. IV. The officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, an assistant secretary-treasurer, and an editor.

The president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided by the by-laws.

The assistant secretary-treasurer and the editor shall be elected by the Executive Council; they shall perform such duties and receive such compensation as the Council may determine.

For article V. 1, substitute the following:

Art. V. There shall be an Executive Council, constituted as follows:

1. The president, the vice-presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer.¹⁰

To by-law IV. add the following paragraph:

The Council may provide for the payment of expenses incurred by the secretary, the assistant secretary-treasurer, and the editor in such travel as may be necessary to the transaction of the Association's business.

The Association voted that the next annual meeting should be held at Washington in the last days of December, 1920. It also voted to adopt an agreement which had been concerted with the Agricultural History Society, and which is printed on a later page, providing for a certain measure of affiliation between the two organizations.

The committee on the Adams prize reported that it had awarded the prize to Assistant-professor William T. Morgan, of the Indiana State University, for his essay entitled *English Political Parties and Leaders during the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710*, which is to be published as volume VII. of the Yale Historical Publications.

¹⁰ Sections 2 and 3 of this article provide for the eight elected members and for membership of ex-presidents in the Council.

The Association adopted expressions of regret at the retirement of the secretary of the Association, Mr. Leland, and the secretary of the Council, Mr. Greene, who had served since 1908 and 1913, respectively, and whose services have indeed been of inestimable value. Memorials of ex-presidents White, Henry Adams, Roosevelt, and Stephens, who had died since the last meeting of the Association, were adopted. The gift of \$1000 from the National Board for Historical Service, already mentioned, and designated as the Andrew D. White Fund, was accepted by the Association.

A report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by its chairman, Professor Charles H. Ambler of the University of West Virginia; in accordance with its recommendations Professor Edward Channing, first vice-president of the Association, was elected president, Mr. J. J. Jusserand first vice-president, Professor Charles H. Haskins second vice-president. Professor John S. Bassett was elected secretary and Mr. Charles Moore treasurer. The new members chosen to the Council were Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University and Miss Ruth Putnam of Washington. A full list of officers and members of the Council and committees appears on a later page. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution as amended, the Council elected Miss Patty W. Washington assistant secretary-treasurer, and Mr. Allen R. Boyd, of the Library of Congress, editor. The Council re-elected Dr. J. Franklin Jameson to the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*, for the term 1920-1925, and elected Professor Dana C. Munro to the vacancy in the Board caused by the resignation of Professor Charles H. Haskins, the newly elected second vice-president.¹¹ Mr. Jameson and Professor Haskins were elected delegates of the Association in the American Council of Learned Societies.

J. F. J.

AGREEMENT WITH THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

It is agreed:

That the Agricultural History Society shall hold its principal literary meeting at the same time and in the same city as selected by the American Historical Association.

The Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* agrees to carry a special rubric "Agricultural History Society" in the section devoted to Historical News whenever a sufficient number of appropriate items shall be furnished by the society.

It is further agreed that a maximum of three hundred pages in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association be allotted to the

¹¹ Professor Munro has declined to serve.

Agricultural History Society, with full autonomy to act in the choice of material for that report, subject to the approval of the Committee on Publication of the American Historical Association and of the proper officials of the Smithsonian Institution.

Separate reprints of the section of the *Annual Report* devoted to the Agricultural History Society shall be furnished to the society at the cost of the same to the American Historical Association.

That the American Historical Association shall allow the following representation of the Agricultural History Society:

1. The president of the Agricultural History Society or a representative chosen by that official may attend the meetings of the Council of the American Historical Association and discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of the Agricultural History Society, but will not be granted a vote in the Council.

2. The chairman of the Publications Committee of the Agricultural History Society shall be *ex officio* a member of the Committee on Publications of the American Historical Association.

3. The secretary-treasurer of the Agricultural History Society shall be a member of the Programme Committee of the American Historical Association, and shall assist in arranging for the programme of the joint annual meetings.

That the terms of this agreement shall be in force until January 1, 1921, but may be extended for a definite or indefinite period by the mutual consent, at the annual business meetings in 1920, of the two organizations.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1918	\$ 3,253.28	
Receipts to date		
Annual dues	\$ 6,805.73	
Life membership dues	150.00	
Voluntary contributions paid with dues	1,432.00	
Sale of publications	400.87	
Royalties	85.72	
Advance payments for Directory	17.00	
Interest on investments	1,729.86 ¹²	
Interest on bank account	52.60	
Gift for London Headquarters	140.00	
Miscellaneous	19.02	10,832.80
		<hr/> \$14,086.08
Sale of American Exchange National Bank stock	4,500.00	
Payment of mortgage	20,000.00	24,500.00
Total receipts		<hr/> \$38,586.08

¹² This item includes \$518.57 received from accrued interest on Liberty Bonds.

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$ 2,008.83	
Executive Council	264.42	
Committee on Programme	24.00	
Committee on Publications	404.42	
American Historical Review	4,206.25	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	100.00	
Adams Prize Committee	200.00	
Winsor Prize Committee	200.00	
Committee on History and Education	103.60	
Writings on American History	200.00	
London Headquarters	144.40	
Accounts payable December 1, 1918	264.07	\$ 8,119.99
Liberty Bonds purchased (par value, \$26,200.00)	24,762.80	
Accrued interest on Liberty Bonds to date of purchase	518.57	25,281.37
Total disbursements		\$33,401.36
Balance on hand December 1, 1919		5,184.72
		<u>\$38,586.08</u>

BUDGET FOR 1920

APPROPRIATIONS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$ 2,500.00
Pacific Coast Branch	50.00
Nominating Committee	25.00
Membership Committee	150.00
London Headquarters	75.00
Programme Committee	150.00
Conference of Historical Societies	25.00
American Council of Education	10.00
American Council of Learned Societies	125.00
Rio Janeiro Congress	25.00
Publication Committee	750.00
American Historical Review	4,400.00
Committee on Bibliography	75.00
Writings on American History	200.00
Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History	150.00
Historical Manuscripts Commission	150.00
Adams Prize	200.00
Military History Prize	250.00
Committee on Policy	150.00
Committee on History and Education	350.00
Legal services	500.00
	<u>\$10,310.00</u>

ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues	\$ 6,800.00
Sale of publications	200.00
Royalties	75.00
Interest	1,350.00
Registration fees	125.00
Miscellaneous	75.00
	<u>\$ 8,625.00</u>

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Edward Channing, Cambridge.

First Vice-President, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.

Second Vice-President, Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge.

Secretary, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
(Until June 1, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.)

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.¹³

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers) :

James Schouler,¹⁴
James Ford Rhodes,
John B. McMaster,
Simeon E. Baldwin,
J. Franklin Jameson,
George B. Adams,
Albert Bushnell Hart,
Frederick J. Turner,
William M. Sloane,
William A. Dunning,
Andrew C. McLaughlin,

George L. Burr,
Worthington C. Ford,
William R. Thayer,¹⁴
Herbert E. Bolton,
Henry E. Bourne,
William E. Dodd,
Walter L. Fleming,
William E. Lingelbach,
Ruth Putnam,
James T. Shotwell,
George M. Wrong.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting: Carlton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University, chairman; Lyman Carrier and John C. Parish (*ex officio*), John S. Bassett, William K. Boyd, Marshall S. Brown, George F. Zook.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Thomas Nelson Page, chairman; H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, secretary; Charles Moore, and other members to be appointed.

Committee on Nominations: Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, L. I., N. Y., chairman; Eloise Ellery, Carl R. Fish, James G. de Rouilhac Hamilton, Frank H. Hodder.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 7 West Forty-third Street, New York, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Frederic L. Paxson, 2122 Van Hise Avenue, Madison, Wis., chairman; Arthur C. Cole, Clarence H. Haring, Frank H. Hodder, Nathaniel W. Stephenson.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Conyers Read, University of Chicago, chairman; Carlton J. H. Hayes, Charles H. McIlwain, Nellie Neilson, Bernadotte E. Schmitt.

¹³ For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

¹⁴ The names from that of Mr. Schouler to that of Mr. Thayer are those of ex-presidents.

- Committee on Publications:* H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington, secretary; and (*ex officio*) John S. Bassett, J. Franklin Jameson, Justin H. Smith.
- Committee on Membership:* Thomas J. Wertenbaker, 111 FitzRandolph Road, Princeton, chairman; Louise Fargo Brown, Eugene H. Byrne, August C. Krey, Frank E. Melvin, Richard A. Newhall, Julia S. Orvis, Charles W. Ramsdell, James G. Randall, Arthur P. Scott, J. J. Van Nostrand, jr., George F. Zook.
- Conference of Historical Societies:* George S. Godard, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, chairman; John C. Parish, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, secretary.
- Committee on National Archives:* J. Franklin Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, chairman; Charles Moore, Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.
- Special Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History:* Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman.
- Special Committee on Military History Prize:* Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., chairman; Frank M. Anderson, Allen R. Boyd, Albert Bushnell Hart, Fred M. Fling.
- Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro:* Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Julius Klein, Department of Commerce, Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Percy A. Martin, Charles H. Cunningham.
- Special Committee on History and Education for Citizenship in the Schools:* Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon, chairman; Daniel C. Knowlton, secretary; William C. Bagley, Frank S. Bogardus, Julian A. C. Chandler, Guy S. Ford, Samuel B. Harding, Andrew C. McLaughlin.
- Special Committee on Manual of Historical Literature:* George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Augustus H. Shearer, Henry R. Shipman.
- Special Committee on a Primer of Archives:* Victor H. Paltsits, 48 Whitson Street, Forest Hills Gardens, L. I., N. Y., chairman; Waldo G. Leland.
- Special Committee on Policy:* Charles H. Haskins, Cambridge, chairman; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.

RUSSIA AND THE DUAL ALLIANCE

IN view of the recent publication¹ by the French government of some of the diplomatic documents concerning the formation of the Franco-Russian alliance and the English edition by Professor Coolidge of the texts of the secret treaties of Austria-Hungary,² a survey of the circumstances leading to this dual arrangement will not be out of place at the present time. In several respects the course of European events preceding the consummation of this alliance, *i.e.*, during the years 1885-1891, is suggestive of the developments preliminary to the outbreak of the Great War. In each instance the Turkish Empire, the Balkan States, armaments, international finances, economic issues, and racial aspirations were contributing factors. In 1891, as in 1914, the forces centring about the Triple Alliance, instead of constituting a gyroscope of peace, were aggressively disturbing. But at the earlier period there was at least one recourse—the establishment of a temporary equilibrium. The Dual Alliance postponed, in 1891, that for which there seemed to be no substitute in 1914.

Many documents yet remain to be published before conclusions of permanent value can be reached in the diplomatic history of the Dual Alliance, particularly with reference to the international manoeuvring during the years 1887-1891, but enough information is revealed in recently printed material to justify a change of emphasis in several matters of importance. It has been generally assumed in much of the secondary literature on the history of the Dual Alliance that the accord was brought about primarily by French initiative and desire. The point of departure is usually the isolation of France. Russia's interest, induced by dissatisfaction with the results of the Congress of Berlin and by financial needs, is considered

¹ Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, *Documents Diplomatiques: l'Alliance Franco-Russe: Origines de l'Alliance, 1890-1893; Convention Militaire, 1892-1899; Convention Navale, 1912* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1918). One of the first of these documents to reach the United States was kindly loaned to me by Dr. Richard A. Newhall of Yale University, who suggested the writing of this article.

² A. F. Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1878-1914*, English edition by Professor A. C. Coolidge (Cambridge, 1920). To Professor Coolidge I am indebted for generous permission to consult the advance sheets of this publication, and also the manuscript of a study of the diplomatic history of Europe, 1881-1914.

a passive factor, to be stimulated only by the prospect of deriving from the predicament of France the major advantages of this *mariage de raison*.

Without minimizing the importance to France of securing assurance against possible aggression resulting from the diplomatic position of Germany—or without attempting to assert the real inwardness of Bismarck's intentions—it may be stated that Russian isolation, even more than that of France, pressed for the assistance of an ally. From 1887 to 1891 the tsar was perhaps even more apprehensive of war, and for the safety of his country's possessions and prestige, than was the supposedly suppliant republic. However complacent Alexander III. may have felt after the revival of the *Dreikaiserbund* in 1881 and after the treaty of Skierniewice in 1884, it is clear that by 1887 his confidence in Russia's diplomatic position had been much weakened. This change may have been due partly to the modifications in policy of Russia's neighbors and partly to the development of aggressive influence within Russia. In any case, from 1885 on, if not from an earlier date, the foreign policy of Russia becomes involved in new complications, and is almost as difficult to explain with assurance as that of Bismarck.

At his accession, Alexander III. had indicated a strong interest in a policy of peace and a desire to retain liberty of action in the sphere of foreign affairs.³ His sincerity in this respect is not doubted even by his opponents, and his inclination for peace is assumed as a constant factor in the international situation of the late eighties. The traditional Romanov-Hohenzollern friendship is another fairly certain element in Alexander's policy. His interview with William I., soon after his accession, at Danzig in 1881, established personal contact and confidence between the two monarchs, and even more significantly, between the tsar and Bismarck. As long, therefore, as Alexander trusted Bismarck, which was practically until the chancellor's retirement, and as long as the general European *status quo* did not alter too much, the tsar did not regard

³ "The Emperor will first give his attention to the internal development of the State. . . . The foreign policy of the Emperor will be entirely pacific. Russia will remain faithful to her friends, she will unchangeably preserve the sentiments consecrated by tradition, and will, at the same time, reciprocate the friendliness of all States by a similar attitude, while maintaining the position to which she is entitled among the Powers, and assuring the maintenance of the political equilibrium." Circular to Russian diplomatic corps, *cit.* C. Lowe; *Alexander III. of Russia* (London, 1895), p. 78. Cf. also E. zu Reventlow, *Deutschlands Auswärtige Politik, 1888-1914*, second ed. (Berlin, 1915), p. 2.

Russia's isolation seriously.⁴ But when a shifting in the European alignment began to deprive the tsar of his advantageous position as an arbiter between France and Germany, and when Russia's freedom of action, especially in the Balkans, was menaced by new diplomatic combinations, Alexander began to doubt the value of Bismarck's assurance, to listen to those advisers who, like the Pan-slavists, the military party, or the "imperialists", desired a more aggressive policy, and to take steps for a French alliance.

By the treaty of Skierniewice (1884), which was a renewal of the understanding of the three emperors (1881), the tsar believed that despite the agreements of Germany, Austria, and Italy, Russia's position in the Balkans was assured, particularly against Austrian aggression with German backing.⁵ Bismarck in fact had no desire to fight for Austrian interests in the Balkans. There is nothing to show that he was not sincere when he expressed Germany's indifference in Balkan matters. Indeed, there are many reasons for believing that he was quite ready to see Russia at Constantinople.⁶ He told Crispi so very directly,⁷ and explained that Russia at the Bosphorus would be more vulnerable, and would also bring England closer to the Triple Alliance. But hardly had the three sovereigns separated when the events of 1885 revealed to the tsar that he had derived no particular benefit from reinsuring Bismarck and that developments very unwelcome to Russia might occur without his being able to prevent them. Germany might be depended upon not to help Austria, but was there any assurance that Great Britain and possibly Italy might not have to be reckoned with?

In the Balkans, Bulgaria pulled away from Russian leading-strings, and the revolution at Philippopolis in September, 1885, placed the stamp upon this independence. Austria's interference at the end of the year, to save Serbia from Bulgaria's unexpected mili-

⁴ "To all advances, Alexander III. replied that he intended to maintain freedom of action, adding that Russia needed no alliance, that no danger threatened her, and that she sought a quarrel with no one." N. Notovich, *L'Empereur Alexandre III. et son Entourage*, new ed. (Paris, 1895), p. 105; cf. E. Daudet, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, fourth ed. (Paris, 1894), p. 205.

⁵ S. Goriainov, "The End of the Alliance of the Emperors", *American Historical Review*, XXIII. 324-340 (January, 1918); E. de Cyon, *Histoire de l'Entente Franco-Russe*, third ed. (Paris, 1895), pp. 18, 35 ff. Cyon is apparently one of the first to publish any knowledge of the terms of this treaty (Coolidge MS.).

⁶ Sir Charles Dilke, *The Present Position of European Politics* (London, 1887), p. 15. "Bismarck must be willing to help Russia in the further East and . . . in the Balkans up to the point where Austria begins to kick."

⁷ *Memoirs of Francesco Crispi*, tr. M. P. Agnetti (London, 1914), III. 251 ff. Interview, Bismarck and Crispi, May 22, 1889.

tary prowess, further irritated Russia and developed more poignantly the realization of her weakness—despite counter-assurance—in the face of the Triple Alliance. In Egypt, the expedition of Gordon and the campaign of 1884–1885 were events tending to increase Russia's dissatisfaction with the situation in the eastern Mediterranean, and to cause many Russians to wonder if France could be the only power in isolation. The resentment with which the British received the Russian advance toward Afghanistan, and the warlike preparations with which the Panjdeh incident was met gave the tsar further cause for apprehension.⁸

Seriously, indeed, Alexander must have regarded the prospect if his conversation on this subject with Giers (Russian foreign minister) be correctly reported. In August, 1885, after a meeting with the Kaiser at Kremsier, Moravia, at which Bulgarian affairs were discussed, the tsar declared to Giers that the policy of the day was no longer a policy of dynasties but one of a combination of national interests.

Bismarck is giving us the first demonstration by ignoring the relations of kinship which exist between Romanov and Hohenzollern. I am his first example and I desire to establish in our foreign relations the principle of the protection of the rights of peoples as well as of dynasties. I suggest that you henceforth maintain a friendly attitude toward France with a view to being able, at the proper time and in case of necessity, to negotiate a formal alliance with her.⁹

"But such is impossible", answered Giers, recalling the attitude of France toward Poland, the revolutionary character of the French, and their hospitality to Russian revolutionary propaganda, and the danger in such an alliance for Russian internal affairs. The tsar, nevertheless, waved these objections aside, and insisted that such a course was his desire.¹⁰

Possibly the tsar had in mind Great Britain and even Italy as members of this "combination of national interests". Lord Salisbury, who was in office June, 1885, to January, 1886, and again for six years following August, 1886, was generally regarded as a friend of the Triple Alliance. He had publicly reflected upon Russian

⁸ For the significance of these incidents, cf. C. de Freycinet, *Souvenirs, 1878–1893* (Paris, 1913), p. 300 ff.; H. Friedjung, *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884–1914* (Berlin, 1919), I. 97; B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany, 1740–1914* (Princeton, 1916), p. 134.

⁹ Notovich, p. 105; *cit.* Lowe, p. 89.

¹⁰ Giers was generally in sympathy with Bismarck (Coolidge MS.) and was not in favor of the extension of Russian authority to Constantinople. P. Darmstaedter, "Die Vorgeschichte der Russisch-Französischen Allianz, 1891–1894", in *Preussische Jahrbücher* (June, 1919), CLXXVI. 396.

policy in Bulgaria, denouncing especially the kidnapping of Prince Alexander, and he was on good terms with the German chancellor. Bismarck, indeed, frequently manifested his interest in supporting British policy, particularly in the Mediterranean. In Egypt, he said, I am British; and he instructed his ambassador to London, in 1885, to cultivate British good-will. It was Bismarck, moreover, whom Italy approached preparatory to the renewal of the Triple Alliance (1887) with a request for the use of his good offices in securing an understanding between England and Italy. The growth of the Italian fleet and the expansion of Italy's Mediterranean aspirations had introduced her as a new factor in the Eastern Question, and she began to have an "attitude" toward even Bulgarian affairs. This attitude, in 1886, was not friendly to the Russian policy.¹¹

The tsar was undoubtedly aware of these tendencies, and knew perhaps that efforts were under way to bring about an agreement between England and Austria on Balkan matters,¹² and although his confidence in Bismarck remained, he may also have known that von Moltke and the Prussian "war party" believed that a struggle between Russia and Germany was inevitable and that 1886-1887 was the opportune time for the conflict.¹³ Such considerations may well have given greater influence to the growing anti-German, pro-French groups of Moscow and Petrograd. Although the absence of any real "parties" in Russia was one of her great sources of strength in regulating her foreign policy, and although the tsar was thoroughly in control of this branch of the administration, he could not entirely ignore the considerable development of anti-German feeling which became prominent about 1885. The Russianization of place-names and the assertion of Orthodoxy against Lutheranism in the Baltic provinces were part of the movement in which the violent attack by Katkov, in the files of the *Moscow Gazette*, against the treaty of Skierniewice and friendship with Germany and the financial policy of Witte, was the most conspicuous rôle.¹⁴

¹¹ Dilke, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 248, 270 ff.

¹² Cyon, p. 220, states that the real cause of the dismissal of Churchill from the cabinet was his opposition to Salisbury's policy of an alliance with Austria. He mentions a "mysterious" journey of Churchill to Berlin and Vienna in November, 1886. Dilke, p. 16, states that Austria, on October 16, 1886, declined the offer of an alliance with England, and that France on the same date declined the proffer of an alliance with Russia.

¹³ Friedjung, *op. cit.*, p. 107. The Austrian military attaché at Berlin supported this view of von Moltke and von Waldersee so strongly that Bismarck administered a sharp rebuke to him for meddling in politics.

¹⁴ Cf. files of *Moscow Gazette*, *cit.* Cyon, *passim.*; *Spectator* (London), November 26, 1892, p. 758; *Nation* (New York), July 14, 1887, p. 30, August 15, 1889, p. 127.

Ignatiev, Skobelev, and other important military men were working for military reforms, and were able, in 1885, to secure a considerable increase of Russian military strength in the districts along the German frontier. These men were partisans of an alliance with France, and hoped therewith to carry out an ambitious programme in the Balkans.

In France, however, no particular tendency to seek a Russian alliance was manifested by any significant elements in the cabinet, certainly not before 1887. Grévy was definitely opposed to such a measure, and the fact that Boulanger and many of his supporters desired a *rapprochement* with the tsar did not make for the approval of such a policy by the leaders of the republican groups. That "the government did not and would not understand that the only efficacious way of combating General Boulanger's Russian hopes was to show that France was frankly disposed to conclude an effective alliance" with Russia is a comment from the Russian side which naïvely indicates the real truth of the situation.¹⁵ Surely the attitude of the French government toward the Nihilists, its position in the Hartmann affair, Freycinet's promise of a pardon for Kropotkin, and the very abrupt recall of General Appert—personally so well liked by the tsar—from the Petrograd embassy, not to mention the law of June 22, 1886, against members of former reigning families, were not the elements of a policy calculated to allay the suspicions of the tsar regarding republican France or to pave the way for an alliance.¹⁶

The need of France for an "eastern ally" has been so thoroughly emphasized in consideration of "Weltpolitik", and the precedents for the alliance of 1891 so universally discussed that, in assuming the natural and inevitable character of the result, the Russian point of view has been somewhat discounted. The steps in the making of the treaty are regarded as a process of eliminating, primarily by the finesse of French diplomatic skill, the obstacles in the path of a real, working agreement between an absolutism and a democracy entirely antipathetic in everything except enemies and territorial ambitions. The weakness of France after 1870, the tsar's intervention in 1875, Russia's disappointment in 1878, and the menacing attitude of the general staff in 1887 seem to postulate the French supplication for an alliance.

But it is the negotiation for the renewal of the Skierniewice

¹⁵ Cyon, p. 391.

¹⁶ Freycinet, p. 433 ff.; V. de Gorlov, *Origines et Bases de l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, fourth ed. (Paris, 1913), p. 364.

treaty in 1887 which indicates the source for the initiative that eventually brought Russia and France into practical discussion of the details of an alliance. In 1886 the tsar had shown that he was not content with Russia's position in the Balkans; he was not sure of Germany's attitude toward Austrian aspirations, and he was doubtful of Germany's relations to Great Britain. Particularly in view of the approaching death of William I., Alexander felt that it was essential to be assured of Germany's stand. Failure to secure satisfactory assurance compelled the tsar not only to take the initiative in securing an ally, but also to overcome his repugnance for republics—particularly republics which harbored Nihilists and sympathized with Poles—and seek an understanding with France.

Bismarck could not or would not give Shuvalov in the negotiations for the renewal of the Skierniewice treaty, May, 1887, the guarantees desired; in fact, he read to Shuvalov (the first official presentation to Russia) the text of his treaty of 1879 with Austria. Thus he emphasized Germany's obligations to her ally and her limitations with regard to Russia.¹⁷ Bismarck was perhaps acting, thereby, with more sincerity and real consideration for Russia than even Alexander suspected. For the renewal of the Triple Alliance, which had been signed on February 20, 1887, was not so purely defensive as the first treaty. Germany had contracted to support Italy almost unconditionally against France in Africa, and Italy in return was pledged to help Germany against France.¹⁸ Italy, moreover, was busily engaged in securing the assistance of Austria and England in the formation of a Mediterranean agreement guaranteeing the *status quo*, including the Balkans as well as Africa. A series of notes from Vienna, London, and Rome had been interchanged, February to May, furnishing the basis for this arrangement, which was formally effected during the latter part of the year.¹⁹ Italy had also entered into an understanding with Spain, to which Austria later agreed, on Mediterranean questions.²⁰

Consequently, if the tsar had any inkling of these far-reaching combinations by which Russia was to be so completely isolated and so effectively checked in the eastern Mediterranean, he must have felt that his confidence in Bismarck was well placed, when the chancellor was ready to make a special, secret concession to Russia by which the tsar could still feel assured as against German help to Austria in a war with Russia, and by which his prospective ally,

¹⁷ Goriainov, p. 338.

¹⁸ Coolidge, *Austrian Treaties*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

France, was not wholly exposed, regardless of his influence, to an attack by Germany.²¹ Incidentally, this secret agreement shows that Bismarck's reiterated emphasis on the importance to Germany of friendship with Russia was less misleading and subtle than is sometimes supposed. Alexander must have appreciated the fact, nevertheless, that Russia could not maintain her Balkan position by dependence upon the neutrality of Germany. He had, of course, foreseen a contingency in which he must make up his mind to seek a French alliance, but his mistrust of the Revanche party, and other grounds for timidity, prevented him from doing anything more than merely keeping the way open. The appointment of Baron de Mohrenheim, a keen advocate of the French alliance, to Paris indicated that Alexander planned to keep a wire open between the French capital and Petrograd.²²

In October, 1886, Alexander received favorably a *mémoire* prepared by Mohrenheim warmly advocating a *rapprochement* with France.²³ Incidentally, this is the very month in which Dilke reports the offer of a Russian alliance to the republic. In spite of the fact that Mohrenheim was temporarily recalled from Paris during several months of 1886, as a result of one of the frequent untoward interruptions in the relations of the tsar and the republic, Alexander directed him, after a personal interview on the subject of his *mémoire*, to endeavor, with the French minister for foreign affairs, to lay the foundation for the alliance.²⁴

During 1887 there were many incidents, aside from these centering about the renewal of the alliance, which impelled Russia towards France, and also constrained the French to be less diffident toward this approach. The passage of the Septennate, the Schnaebele incident, and the Suez Canal convention were matters upon which the two governments might take counsel in common. Flourens's advice to the Bulgarian delegates and the moderation of the French during the Schnaebele excitement were gratifying to Russian sensitiveness,²⁵ and strengthened the tsar in the economic clash with Germany which began with Bismarck's hostilities against Russian

²¹ Goriainov, p. 338 (June 18, 1887—the Reinsurance Treaty); cf. Coolidge, *Austrian Treaties*.

²² J. Hansen, *Ambassade à Paris du Baron de Mohrenheim, 1884-1898*, second ed. (Paris, 1912). Freycinet, p. 440, states that the ambassador expressed his pleasure, on arriving in Paris, at having the mission of working for a *rapprochement* with France.

²³ Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁴ E. Flourens, *Alexandre III., sa Vie, son Oeuvre* (Paris, 1894), p. 311.

²⁵ Freycinet, pp. 303, 306, 369 ff.

securities in February.²⁶ The chancellor entertained, probably, no political motives in this policy, and assured the tsar at their meeting in November that Russia and Prussia had maintained, and could maintain, amicable political relations despite economic difficulties.²⁷ Nevertheless, Alexander published his ukase against the alien (German) ownership of land in the Baltic provinces, and in June a syndicate of French financiers began to agitate in the press for an alliance of French and Russian credits.²⁸

France also had her economic difficulties at this time. Following the assumption of office by Crispi, in July, a commercial war broke out with Italy, and in view of Crispi's ostentatious predisposition for the Triple Alliance, and possibly because Paris possessed some knowledge of Italy's Mediterranean manoeuvring, the French might well be seriously concerned.²⁹ Under these circumstances, M. Jules Hansen, a councillor of embassy, employed by the French government for special missions to the tsar, advised Flourens in October that Lord Salisbury was at Dieppe, and that if approached by Chaudordy (an old friend of the marquis) he might be found in a mood suitable for an understanding of value to France.³⁰ Hansen and Chaudordy were both partizans of the Russian alliance.

Chaudordy went to Dieppe, and with Salisbury arranged an agreement between Great Britain and France on matters relating to the Suez question and the New Hebrides. Then the possibility of a reconciliation of Russian and British interests was discussed, and even a Triple Entente was mentioned. Salisbury desired assurances from the tsar as to Afghanistan and the Straits; Britain might possibly quit the Nile. On receiving a report to this effect, Flourens was so much impressed with the attitude of Salisbury that he contemplated replacing Waddington at the London embassy by Chaudordy for further work along these lines. But this project—to the satisfaction of Crispi and Bismarck, it is reported—was blocked by Waddington's political friends. Hansen transmitted these plans to the tsar, who was interested and pleased, but he may have known only too well, that which Hansen found out a month later, that Salisbury was not very serious, or even sincere, in his discussion with Chaudordy. At least, from a telegram of the Italian chargé

²⁶ P. Petit, *La Dette Publique de la Russie* (Poitiers, 1912), p. 82 ff.

²⁷ Cyon, p. 362.

²⁸ J. Hansen, *L'Alliance Franco-Russe*, second ed. (Paris, 1895), p. 41 ff.

²⁹ A. Billot, *La France et l'Italie: Histoire des Années Troublées, 1881-1889* (Paris, 1905), p. 47 ff.; P. Albin, *L'Allemagne et la France en Europe* (Paris, 1913), p. 312 ff.

³⁰ Hansen, *Ambassade*, p. 54 ff.

d'affaires at London to Crispi he discovered that Bismarck was proposing an accord between Britain and the Triple Alliance, and that the British cabinet was favorably disposed to an understanding with Italy and Austria.

After the Reinsurance Treaty (June 18, 1887), however, the tsar felt somewhat more at ease, and for a short time believed that he was not yet pressed to take the inevitable step toward France. The republic might yet be compelled to make the first move. Katkov had been worsted in a struggle with Giers (May, 1887), and the Francophile group was in disfavor. But in France, as the discord with Italy increased, the financial interests worked more earnestly for Russian friendship, and the papal jubilee of 1887-1888 was employed as a useful channel for the development of diplomatic amenities.³¹ With the retirement of Grévy, at the end of the year, and the election of Carnot, there was one less obstacle in the path of the Dual Alliance.

Alexander, however, soon had cause to repent his coolness. He may have learned, in September, that Kalnóky had refused Bismarck's advice that Russian troops be allowed to enter Bulgaria, and he certainly could gather from Kalnóky's remark (November 5) to the effect that no *one* power could be allowed to intervene in the Balkans, that his feeling of assurance had been premature.³² Contemporaneously, furthermore, he learned of the "Coburg" correspondence, and at his meeting with Bismarck in Berlin on November 18, had a thorough discussion of Russia's relations with Germany—which, although relieving the chancellor of the charge of duplicity, was not altogether satisfactory.³³

Almost immediately after the tsar's departure from Berlin steps were taken to bring about an adjustment between Mohrenheim and Floquet, who was destined to become president of the council, but whose tenure of office would be embarrassing to an understanding with Russia, in view of his salutation to the tsar, in 1861—"Vive la Pologne, monsieur!". Without much difficulty, a meeting of Mohrenheim and Floquet was arranged, in February, 1888, and the tsar's

³¹ Daudet, p. 230. In conjunction with the papal chancellery, Lefebvre de Béhaine, French representative at the Vatican, procured the use of French offices for restoring good relations between the tsar and the pope, which had been broken, over the Polish situation, since the time of Pius IX.

³² Coolidge MS.

³³ Lowe, p. 92 ff.; Cyon, p. 362 ff. The "Coburg" correspondence purported to be an exchange between Ferdinand and the Countess of Flanders and Prince Reuss proving that Bismarck, false to his official assurances, was really supporting Ferdinand. The letters were perhaps fabricated in France, with a view to securing Russia's adherence to France.

representative found that, after all, he could continue to do business with the French government, even with a Floquet cabinet.³⁴

Rumors of war filled the atmosphere in the early days of 1888.³⁵ It was the general impression in Europe that Germany had failed to bring about a preventive war in 1887, partly because of the attitude of Russia, partly because of the moderation of France, and also because of the attitude of the old Kaiser. The conflict might come in 1888. Bismarck's actions appeared to confirm the expectation. Some of the bombast of his speeches may be attributed to parliamentary tactics, but his renewed hostility to Russian finance and his publication, February 3, of the text of the Austro-German treaty could not have been due solely to his interest in the vote of credits. His speech of February 6 announcing no fear of a Franco-Russian alliance and boasting of Germany's ability to place a million men on each frontier, and the speech of two days later directly threatening Russia, may have been intended to pass the budget by creating a new enemy for Germany, but they may have had also the object of making the most of a consummation which he could foresee. It is much to be doubted, however, that Bismarck had any intention of action against Russia. Intimidation fully served his purposes. The military convention which he concluded with Italy, in February, 1888, was a further guarantee of peace.³⁶

Bismarck had skillfully employed the good understanding which he helped to bring about between Italy and Austria, in the game with Russia, and the mediation which he effected between Italy and England served to secure Italy's support against France. Italy had thus derived no little benefit from the Bulgarian situation in particular, and the international alignment in general. In her various clashes with France she had received German support, and as a result of the Spezia "scare", early in 1888, she scored the triumph of bringing a British fleet into Italian waters.³⁷ To Russia this evidence of British friendliness for the Triple Alliance was a serious matter—doubly so, in view of the death of William I. in March, 1888.

Alexander did not like the new Kaiser personally, and his English connections were mistrusted in Russia as an important element in the much dreaded possibility of an Anglo-German *rapprochement*. Naturally, the tsar was not reassured when, almost immediately,

³⁴ Hansen, *Ambassade*, p. 69.

³⁵ *Nineteenth Century*, XXIV. 799-812 (December, 1888); *Nation* (N. Y.), February 9, 1888, p. 108.

³⁶ Coolidge, *Austrian Treaties*. February 1, 1888.

³⁷ Billot, p. 127.

the proposal of the Battenberg marriage to Frederick's daughter came up. Here indeed was a nefarious scheme, another British marriage alliance binding Germany and Britain together in a Balkan affair, to the exclusion of Russia. Considering the already distasteful and very manifest collusion of Austria, Italy, and Britain upon Balkan matters, it was apparent that Russia was being gently but firmly eliminated from the Eastern Question. Still convinced, however, of the importance of not pushing Russia too far, Bismarck succeeded in preventing the marriage proposal from amounting to anything. But the tsar had evidently concluded that he could not longer wait for France to assume the initiative in further steps toward the alliance. Conversations were in progress between Paris and Petrograd on the question of Russia's armament. The tsar's brother, Grand-duke Vladimir, came to Paris to "inspect" the new Lebel rifle, and was followed by General Fredericks of the Russian General Staff, who proposed that the 500,000 new rifles desired for the Russian army be manufactured in the French arsenal of Châtellerault.³⁸ Meanwhile (March, 1888), a comprehensive reorganization and development of the French army was begun by Freycinet; the process of mobilization was greatly improved and the output of material increased. Financial "mobilization" with Russia was also developed by the floating of the first Russian loan in France, December, 1888.³⁹

There was hardly time for the tsar to feel relieved by Bismarck's prevention of the Battenberg marriage, and the death of Frederick, when the personality and policy of William II. presented new causes for anxiety. In view of the zeal with which the new Kaiser rushed to Petrograd, in July, a month after his accession, the results were singularly unimpressive, and, for the tsar, not very significant. Either the tsar could not feel the cordiality which had played some part in his relation with William I., or he may have been restrained by the consideration of the fact that he had probably already determined to ally himself with France. Perhaps he did not enjoy dissembling; he was certainly very cold to his visitor, and delayed the return visit over a year, until October, 1889. Even then he approached Berlin on his way home from a vacation in Denmark. The popular reception was unenthusiastic, and the tsar was obviously indifferent to his host's cordiality.⁴⁰

³⁸ Freycinet, p. 414 ff.

³⁹ Cyon, p. 237 ff. Cyon maintains that the working up of the financial accord with France was primarily the effort of Russia, and denies that it was due to French initiative.

⁴⁰ Lowe, pp. 91-92; *Nineteenth Century*, XXIV. 799.

It was on this occasion of the tsar's being in Berlin that, in a private interview, the tsar asked Bismarck if he were sure of remaining in office. Bismarck's reply, to the effect that he would remain indefinitely, undoubtedly added to the bitterness of his proximate dismissal.

Almost immediately after the tsar left Berlin, the Kaiser hastened to Athens to attend his sister's marriage, and then—to visit the sultan at Constantinople. Bismarck had disapproved of this course of action, and subsequently used the incident to sow discord between Berlin and Petrograd. The suspicion naturally engendered in Russia at this most unusual visit of the Kaiser was by no means lessened by the meeting being held at that very moment in Brussels (November) by the Anglo-German commission for the arrangement of colonial interests in Africa. Such action portended, from the Russian point of view, an increasing German interest in the Eastern Question, and a British satisfaction in that increase. The subsequent Turkish railway concessions to German enterprise did not tend to lessen the portent, so far as Russia was concerned. Nor did the incidental visit of the Kaiser to Rome, and his speeches about the English fleet and the Triple Alliance, improve the Russian outlook.⁴¹

During 1889 the most significant factors, internationally, for Russia were the growing military strength of France, the increasing stability of the republican government, and the increasing affection of the young Kaiser for the British navy. In France, the progress of military reform had made the republic once more a first-class power, and the triumph of the cabinet over Boulanger had indicated that there was a government behind this armed strength. In England, William II. reviewed the British fleet and declared (August) that Germany and England must stand or fall together; and again, in addressing one of his regiments of which Victoria was honorary colonel, that the British navy and the German army must keep the peace and develop "Kultur".⁴²

Bismarck's dismissal early in 1890 removed the last obstacle in the way of Russia's approach to France—not so much because in him, now that the old emperor was gone, the tsar had lost the last German friend in whom he had confidence, as that the new Kaiser was launching an entirely new policy which desired friendship with England and with France, if possible, and which involved the vigorous extension of German, as well as Austrian, influence into the

⁴¹ Billot, p. 124; Reventlow, p. 14.

⁴² Reventlow, p. 28.

Levant. To begin with, Caprivi refused to renew the secret Reinsurance Treaty of 1887, whose expiration was due June 15/27, 1890. The German authors have choked a bit in their efforts to account for this refusal and are at variance whether to condemn or praise. To avoid admitting Germany's Levantine ambitions and approving a policy of friendship for perfidious Albion, they are inclined to attribute the move to the unwillingness of the chivalrous emperor and the "war party" to continue a policy of duplicity or betrayal with regard to Austria.⁴³ Or, they state, the policy of "double insurance" was too cumbersome and too complicated.⁴⁴ At any rate, the rejection of the agreement with Russia indicates an apparent indifference to a Russo-French alliance. It is possible that the Kaiser believed that he could supplant Russia in the East and still remain on good terms with Britain.

In June and July, 1890 (June 14, July 1), treaties were signed by Britain and Germany at Brussels relative to colonial affairs, particularly Helgoland and Zanzibar, and in the following month, as if to take the edge from this Anglo-German amity so far as Russia might be affected, the Kaiser paid a second visit to Alexander, and participated in the manoeuvres at Narva. But the graciousness and amiability which were later so effective with "Nicky" did not charm his father. The visit was not returned until two years later (June, 1892), at Kiel, where the tsar did not even spend the night, but after a banquet at the Schloss sailed away into the Baltic.⁴⁵

At Narva was also present General Boisdeffre of the French General Staff. Reporting Boisdeffre's impressions to Ribot, then at the Quai d'Orsay, Laboulaye, ambassador at Petrograd, wrote, August 24, 1890, that "the *rapprochement* of France and Russia which, hardly three years previously, seemed like an illusion, an optical illusion by which we allowed ourselves to be deceived, has little by little become so real, so solid that a *visite à effet* like that of the Emperor William could not be considered by anyone as capable of injuring it".⁴⁶

In this same report, moreover, Laboulaye announces that "contact has been established between the two general staffs". The

⁴³ O. Hammann, *Der Neue Kurs: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1918), p. 43 ff.; Reventlow, p. 27 ff.

⁴⁴ P. Rassow, review of *Der Neue Kurs*, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CLXXI. 118 (January, 1918). Cf. C. G. Robertson, *Bismarck* (London, 1918), appendix B., which sums up this question in the light of information available (1918); particularly the explanation offered by Hohenlohe, *Memoirs* (London, 1906), II. 476.

⁴⁵ Lowe, pp. 105-106.

⁴⁶ *Documents Diplomatiques: l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, p. 1.

assistance which the French had been giving Russia in the matter of the manufacture of rifles, smokeless powder, and advice about army organization and administration had been supplemented by a working agreement for co-operation. Obviously, therefore, Russia and France had been approaching an understanding for some time previous to Bismarck's retirement. It is probable that, even though Laboulaye's reference to three years may not have been consciously precise, this approach became definite as early as 1887. Perhaps an "indefinite" approach may have been started even earlier in consequence of Alexander's conversation with Giers, as above recounted.

It is possible that the emphasis upon the military arrangements—naturally occasioned by some real sense of imminent danger—is to be associated with a report, entirely unsubstantiated and apparently of the realm of journalistic thrills, made by Notovich in his book on *Alexandre III. et son Entourage*.⁴⁷ In connection with the known facts, however, especially those presented in the Yellow Book here dealt with, this report is too plausible to be entirely passed over. The report concerns the "complot de 1891", which, as conceived by Notovich, is interestingly like that of 1914, except that Belgium and Britain are not discounted. The plot, guided by the Germans, and shared by Austria and Italy, consisted in the plan for a sudden, crushing attack upon France, followed by one upon Russia. Weighed down by the expense of their own armaments, and growing comparatively weaker with time, the Triple Alliance could not afford to wait until France assisted Russia in the building up and strengthening of her armament.

Clearly, the general tenor of this supposed "complot" is not wholly imaginary. Rumors of some British connection with some plans of the Triple Alliance, or a "League of Peace" as the association was euphemistically called in the contemporary discussion, caused an interpellation in the House of Commons, August 19, 1889. As reported in the *Times* of the following day, the answer was negative, but not convincing: "Her Majesty's Government have entered into no engagements fettering their liberty in that respect . . . namely, that the action of Her Majesty's Government, in the event of war breaking out, will be decided, like all questions of policy, by

⁴⁷ Final chapter. The details of the "plot" included a sudden invasion of Belgium, which Leopold II. was to permit in return for pecuniary compensation and the annexation of the neighboring departments of France. Benevolent neutrality was expected of Great Britain in return for a free hand in Egypt. The signal for action was to be given, as in 1914, in the Balkans, where Ferdinand was to proclaim the independence of Bulgaria and thus precipitate an aggressive move by Russia and France.

circumstances of that particular time and the interests of the country."

Meanwhile, Europe wondered also at the effusive efforts of William II., late in 1890 and early in 1891, to win the friendship of France—or to allay her suspicions. Why the imperial condolences on Meissonier's death, the cordial invitation for French participation in the Berlin art exhibition, and especially the visit, most unusual in its character, of the Empress Frederick to Paris in February, 1891?⁴⁸ Petrograd apparently regarded these demonstrations as serious enough to call for a timely reminder to France. In a despatch sent by Giers to Mohrenheim at Paris, it was stated that Russia assumed the liveliest interest in the incidents of the empress's visit. "The entente cordiale which has so fortunately been established between France and Russia is the best guarantee of peace. While the Triple Alliance is ruining itself with armaments, intimate accord of our two countries is necessary to maintain in Europe a just 'pondération des forces'."⁴⁹

In transmitting these sentiments to the French Foreign Office, Mohrenheim added that the accord between the two countries is now solid "comme du granit", and Ribot replied, "Nous sommes reconnaissants du gouvernement russe d'avoir choisi pour nous rappeler la nécessité de cet accord l'occasion des derniers incidents". Apparently it was Russia who was especially concerned about the "pondération des forces". Here again is reference to the fact that the entente has been in existence for some time. But no information is vouchsafed as to the exact, or even approximate, time at which either the French or the Russians made the move for a definite establishment of the understanding. It is fairly clear that the question of a visible manifestation of the entente was discussed as early as 1889, which means presumably that the actual accord preceded, dating perhaps, as has been indicated above, from 1887.⁵⁰

The visible manifestation under discussion in 1889 was the project of the visit of the French fleet to Russia. To have the first move appear to come from France may have explained why the suggestion emanating from Laboulaye, and perhaps originating in the Russian Foreign Office, was not taken up actively in Paris. Frey-

⁴⁸ Albin, p. 281 ff. Freycinet, p. 458, states that so seriously did the emperor consider the possibility of an affront to his mother that he sent preliminary mobilization orders to General von Waldersee, the chief of the general staff.

⁴⁹ *Documents Diplomatiques: l'Alliance Franco-Russe*, no. 2, March 9, 1891, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Hansen, *Alliance*, p. 57.

cinet states⁵¹ that in conjunction with Barbey, minister of marine, he sent instructions, toward the end of 1890, to the military attaché at Petrograd to bear in mind the recent *rapprochement* of the army officers of the two countries and carefully to observe opportunities for bringing about a similar relationship of the naval officers. The formation of the Freycinet cabinet, March, 1890, with a strong backing in the Chamber, made possible a step which was certain to pave the way for the "visible manifestation" and the alliance itself. Upon May 29, at the request of Petrograd, the French police arrested several Nihilists who were plotting against the tsar. Further arrests were made subsequently. And soon after, in June, the question of the visit of the fleet again came up and was approved in principle by the cabinet. It might be assumed, therefore, that Russia was even more desirous of an alliance than France.

Three days before the French fleet put in at Kronstadt, July 18, 1891, a despatch, the whole of which is apparently not printed, from Laboulaye to Ribot, reports an intimate conversation of the ambassador with Giers, at Petrograd, apropos of the renewal of the Triple Alliance (March, 1891). In view of the "accession indirecte de l'Angleterre" to the Triple Alliance, Giers inquired of Laboulaye, "si la situation nouvelle faite par cet événement à la France et à la Russie ne rendrait pas désirable un pas de plus dans la voie de l'entente".⁵²

Obviously, it is Britain's shift of position which threatens the *pondération* of forces, and it is Russia whom this shift most affects. France had known British enmity before, for the inclusion of Britain in the iron circle about the republic is one of the master-strokes attributed to Bismarck's policy, and Fashoda was not yet on the map. Russia also had met British opposition, but not in conjunction with Germany, Austria, and Italy in the field of the Eastern Question.

Following the inquiry of Giers, exchanges were undertaken which led to the project of an alliance.⁵³ The European equilibrium is already affected, says this first project, by the treaty which has again united the Central Powers, a treaty which, however pacific the intentions of its authors, threatens serious complications because of the conditions upon which the Triple Alliance has been renewed. The expected prolongation of the engagements of this alliance, which are carefully kept secret, coincides with certain exchanges of views between England and one of the allied powers, the character

⁵¹ Freycinet, p. 443 ff.

⁵² *Documents Diplomatiques*, no. 3, July 18, 1891, pp. 3-4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1891, p. 6.

of which has not been definitely established, but which appears to have the effect, in specified matters, of assuring the Triple Alliance of the more or less direct support of Great Britain.⁵⁴

Another factor in the suspected upset of the equilibrium, and one which is perhaps not unrelated to the details of Notovich's "complot", was the suspicion, indicated by implication in the Franco-Russian correspondence, that a sudden attack on the peace of Europe might be meditated. Ribot wrote to Laboulaye, July 24, 1891, that the renewal of the Triple Alliance under the circumstances known to have accompanied it, ought naturally to encourage the two governments to realize the importance of an intimate *rapprochement* to protect "contre toute surprise la paix générale dont cet équilibre demeure, à leurs yeux, la plus sûre garantie".⁵⁵

Indeed, Ribot stated, and included in the preliminary project for the alliance, that "if one of the powers of the triple alliance should mobilize its forces, France and Russia, without the necessity of preliminary agreement, shall immediately . . . mobilize theirs". At this point in the negotiations, the French are distinctly pushing the Russians for a clear, definite arrangement. They may have been more fully cognizant of danger, or they may have been acting simply with the precision of French logic.⁵⁶

The tsar, on the other hand, appeared to be inclined to proceed more slowly in committing himself to a definite, written agreement. He may have felt that such would have been to give *carte blanche* to the French party of Revanche, which he greatly feared, or he may have hoped, by delay and negotiation, to secure the best of the bargain, and commit France to more than a narrow defensive arrangement.

Russia certainly desired to go further than France in the scope of the alliance. Laboulaye wrote to Ribot, August 5, 1891, that he felt that the Russian government wanted a broader field for the action of the entente; the agreement should be for the maintenance of peace in general, not peace restricted to Europe. "La paix, m'a dit M. de Giers, peut être troublée en Égypte, en Chine, par des calculs qui visent cependant la situation en Europe; je ne parle pas, a-t-il ajouté, de la Turquie, puisqu'elle compte au nombre des puissances européennes." Giers was also unwilling to have the entente operative only in case of the peace being endangered by the "initiative" of one of the powers of the Triple Alliance.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Documents Diplomatiques*, July 23, 1891, p. 6.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 5, July 24, 1891, p. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 7, August 5, 1891, p. 8.

Ribot clearly appreciated the Russian objective, as he indicated in a report to Freycinet in which he emphasized Russia's wish for a general understanding extending the "peace beyond Europe". "Russia is evidently preoccupied with eventually securing our assistance against England, whom she affects to consider as already bound up with the Triple Alliance."

Giers feared that the peace would in fact be disturbed in Egypt by calculations already evident, and dreaded lest the sultan become too readily reconciled to the British solution of the Egyptian situation.⁵⁸ On August 9/21, 1891, he informed Mohrenheim that the tsar had approved the principles of the entente and viewed with favor their adoption by the two governments.⁵⁹

On the basis of these principles, Giers transmitted instructions to Nelidov, ambassador at Constantinople, December 14, 1891, which contain a clear expression of Russia's relation to the Dual Alliance. After emphasizing the prime importance of the Eastern Question, he states that the alliance has not altered the situation respecting the Turkish Empire.

We must renew our efforts to maintain the *status quo* and with this object, to assure the Sultan of the freedom of his decisions, and to prevent others from exercising an influence upon him contrary to our desires. You, yourself, have frequently advised us of efforts made by certain powers of the Triple Alliance, backed by England, to intimidate the sovereign of Turkey and, profiting by the attacks of fear and weakness to which he is unfortunately inclined, to force him into acts which would be of a nature to compel Turkey to depart from the path of strict neutrality.⁶⁰

Nelidov is therefore to assure Abdul Hamid, encourage him, and convince him that the new alignment of forces in Europe has re-established the equilibrium, and that the union of Russia and France is capable of guaranteeing him, henceforth, against any possible aggression by the other group of powers. Russia's intentions are not aggressive; she desires only the *status quo*. Her ally, France, does not harbor designs against Tripoli; she is, on the contrary, disturbed by the presence of British troops in Egypt and the British disposition to upset the equilibrium in the Mediterranean to the advantage of Italy. Russia intends no interference in Bulgaria and calls the attention of the Porte to the real, increasing influence of Austria in Bulgaria and Macedonia, particularly in the direction of Salonica. France is in accord with Russia on the policy of non-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 10, August 6, 1891.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, annex to no. 17, p. 16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 24, December 14, 1891, p. 28.

interference in Bulgaria, and of no recognition for the present "illegal government".

The sultan cannot remain unaware, Nelidov is instructed to point out, of the significance of the repeated appearance of British naval forces, recently in conjunction with Italian units, in Ottoman waters. Their presence, indeed, in the Levant, has become almost permanent.

That Russia has succeeded in deriving some satisfaction in her ambition to secure assistance for her eastern policy, by entering the Dual Alliance, is shown not only in these instructions just cited, but also from almost identical instructions sent by Ribot to Paul Cambon, French ambassador at Constantinople,⁶¹ in January, 1892, emphasizing the French interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* and the equilibrium, as well as the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Cambon is to warn the sultan of the efforts of the Central Powers to disturb the situation and to destroy the existing peace. A division of the French Mediterranean squadron will be stationed permanently in Levantine waters.

Thus, if there was a definite scheme on the part of the Triple Alliance to precipitate the Great War in 1891 or thereabouts, it had to be postponed in the face of the Dual Alliance. France was relieved from her isolation and given some assurance of her national safety, and Russia saved her position in the Eastern Question from isolation and acquired the support of France.

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

⁶¹ *Documents Diplomatiques*, no. 25, January 16, 1892, p. 32.

THE PURCHASE OF ALASKA

CASSIUS M. CLAY, minister of the United States to Russia, wrote on May 10, 1867, to Secretary Seward that in 1863 Robert J. Walker, who had been secretary of the treasury in Polk's Cabinet, had told him that "the Emperor Nicholas was willing [supposedly during Polk's administration] to give us Russian America if we would close up our coast possessions to 54° 40' ".¹ If such a proposal was actually made, there is not a word regarding it in the Russian diplomatic papers of that time and not a hint that the ministers of Alexander II. had ever heard of it. The first intimation of a possible transfer of the territory was made just before the outbreak of the Crimean War, and that was merely a "make-believe". Russia had no fleet in the American waters to protect her colonies and there was reason to suppose that England would seize them. In order to prevent this act of war the agent of the Russian American Company, P. S. Kostromitinov, devised a fictitious sale of the territory to a San Francisco concern known as the American Russian Commercial Company, represented by Lucien Herman, its vice-president.

The contract, with blank spaces for the insertion of the date of the sale and the purchase price, was sent from California on January 18/30, 1854, for approval to the Russian legation at Washington. In due time it reached the minister, Stoeckl, who consulted with Marcy, secretary of state, and Gwin, United States senator from California, as to the wisdom of making the transaction public. They were of the opinion that England could see through it and would not respect it, and left him to draw his own conclusions.

While the Russian agents in America were busy trying to snatch Alaska from the hands of Great Britain, the Russian American Company at Petrograd was engaged in a somewhat similar undertaking. Having obtained imperial authorization, the head of the company addressed a letter to the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company

¹ *House Ex. Doc. 177*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 12. [Where no other indication is given, the statements made in the article rest on passages in the correspondence of Edward de Stoeckl, the diplomatic representative of Russia at Washington from 1854 to 1868, with the Russian ministry of foreign affairs. When Mr. Golder was preparing his *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, published in 1917 by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, he was allowed to examine the correspondence of the Russian Foreign Office with its diplomatic representatives down to the year 1854; at a subsequent time, however, his permission was extended to 1870. Ed.]

proposing that the neutrality of each other's possessions and ships in northwestern America be guaranteed. On March 23, 1854, the Hudson's Bay Company, on the advice of the Foreign Office, accepted the offer in so far as it related to the territory, but reserved for the English fleet the right to capture any Russian ship in the North Pacific, no matter to whom it belonged, and to blockade the Alaskan ports.

When the neutrality agreement became known the talk of selling the territory was naturally dropped. In order, however, to protect the ships Stoeckl asked Kostromitinov to send them south to San Francisco "to be sold only in form to the American Russian Commercial Company", which should use them to trade with Sitka and Kodiak. Judging from his answer it would seem that the president of the American company, Beverly C. Sanders, threw cold water on the proposal, believing that England would in the end secure possession of Alaska and that under the circumstances it would be to the interest of his organization to keep on the right side of the victor.

Though the real nature of the transaction did not become generally known, yet reports came out that Russia was anxious to sell Alaska to the United States. That part of the press which was friendly to England and France made use of this rumor and of a certain amount of circumstantial evidence, such as the arrival of one Dr. Cotman at the Russian legation in Washington, to show that the tsar's government was in such dire financial straits that it was obliged to sell its possessions. In the course of time the papers succeeded in convincing a number of people of the truth of this assertion. Even Marcy and Gwin, who knew about the fictitious sale, began to wonder whether after all there might not be something in the report; and one day they went to Stoeckl and told him that if Russia would sell, the United States would buy, and pay handsomely. Stoeckl assured them that there was not a grain of truth in the newspaper talk and asked them to forget about it. He feared, however, that they would not and that the idea would implant itself too firmly in the minds of the Americans to be easily uprooted. "*Ils sont des voisins dangereux et nous devons éviter de leur donner la moindre prise*", he wrote to his government. He probably would have felt more kindly toward the newspapers had he known then what he learned later from Marcy, that it was this very rumor and fear that Russia might sell Alaska to the United States which influenced England to agree to the neutralization of the British and American possessions in the Northwest, a wholly one-sided arrangement and altogether favorable to Russia.

The real promoter of the sale of Alaska was no other than the Grand-duke Constantine, brother of the Tsar Alexander II. On March 23/April 4, 1857, he wrote a letter to Gorchakov urging the transfer of the Russian American possessions to the United States. He gave three reasons why this should be done: (1) the small value of the colonies to Russia, (2) the great want of money, and (3) the need of the territory by the United States to round out its holdings in the Pacific. He suggested that in order to determine the worth of the property the retired officers of the company, Baron Wrangell and others whom he named, should be consulted, but he cautioned against taking their figures too seriously, since they were stockholders of the company. The matter was referred to Wrangell, and he put the selling price of the colonies² at 7,442,800 rubles silver, one-half of it to go to the company in payment for its 7484 shares and the other half to the government.

In the course of a month Gorchakov made a report to the grand-duke based on the opinion and estimates given by Wrangell. He explained the necessity of caution and secrecy in order not to injure the interest of the Russian American Company. At that time the company was having some misunderstandings with the American Russian Commercial Company of San Francisco about a contract made in 1853, and Gorchakov proposed to let the matter rest until these differences were adjusted.

Stoeckl in Washington was having trouble in protecting the interests of the Russian American Company. Each year more and more Americans were settling in the Oregon Territory, and this colonization made him uneasy. "*L'établissement des Américains*", he wrote to Nesselrode in January, 1856, "*dans le voisinage de nos possessions Nord Ouest mettra ces derniers dans un danger réel et deviendra une source d'embarras et de tracasseries entre les deux gouvernements.*" In November, 1857, he reported to Gorchakov that the situation was becoming very embarrassing. According to the treaty of April 5/17, 1824, between Russia and the United States, it was agreed "that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the Northwest coast". Russia enforced this article of the treaty; the United States did not. The Russian American Company's ships could enter San Francisco and its agents could open offices and stores there, but American

² The Alaska mainland, the Aleutian, and the Kuril Islands.

vessels and agents were not allowed the same rights in the Alaskan ports. The Americans were naturally and justly indignant and threatened more than once to close their harbors not only to the company's but to all Russian ships, which by treaty they claimed a right to do. Each year the complaints became louder, and Stoeckl predicted that in the near future this one-sided arrangement would bring on strained diplomatic relations between the two nations.

The grand-duke learned of this report and taking it as a text he sent (December, 1857) another note to Gorchakov impressing upon him more strongly than before the necessity of getting rid of the colonies. He was no friend of the Russian American Company and its high-handed methods. He condemned its monopolistic charter which made it trader and administrator at the same time and gave it control over the resources of the territory and power over the lives of its inhabitants. He ended by recommending that a commission be ordered to Alaska to report on the doings of the company.

In his reply, Gorchakov agreed to the proposal for a commission, but put obstacles in the way of an immediate sale. In the first place, he said, it was not fair to the company, and in the second place, if there were to be a sale the initiative in the matter should come from the United States and not from Russia. He assured the grand-duke that Stoeckl would be instructed to bring about an offer from Washington and that a commission would be sent to Alaska two years before the expiration of the company's lease (1861) to gather data, after which the government would be in a position to act.

About this time indirect pressure to sell Alaska came from an unexpected quarter. In a letter to Gorchakov, dated Washington, November 20/December 2, 1857, Stoeckl related a conversation he had had recently with Buchanan about Brigham Young, the Mormons, and the report then current that they planned to settle either in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company or in that of the Russian American Company. Stoeckl asked the President whether the Mormons were going as conquerors or as colonists. To this the President laughingly replied that it mattered little to him which, provided he got rid of them. On the top of this came a letter from the company's agent in San Francisco asking for information on the subject of the Mormon migration to Alaska. Stoeckl was somewhat worried by these rumors and did not know just how much importance to attach to them. He did not fail, however, to call the attention of his government to them and to remark that if the Mormons should come, Russia would be obliged either to fight them or to give up territory to them. Stoeckl's letter made quite an impression on

the emperor and on the margin of it he made this note, "Cela vient à l'appui de l'idée de régler dès à présent la question de nos possessions Américaines."

At some time during 1858-1859 Stoeckl went to Petrograd on his vacation and while there discussed Alaskan affairs with Gorchakov. It was agreed between them that if America should make another move to purchase the territory it should be considered seriously. Towards the end of 1859 the move came. On January 4, 1860 (N. S.) Stoeckl reported that Gwin had approached him recently on the matter of the sale of Alaska and had assured him that the President was ready to buy. A few days later Gwin brought up the subject again and told Stoeckl it was Buchanan's wish that the Russian government should be sounded on the question and that, for the present, discussion on the subject should be with the assistant secretary of state, Appleton, and not with Cass, the secretary, who was purposely left in the dark. In the course of the conversation Gwin incidentally mentioned that the United States would be willing to pay as high as five million dollars. To Stoeckl this seemed a large sum, more than the colonies were then worth or would ever be worth from the point of view of revenue, and probably as much as the United States would ever be willing to give. Without directly recommending the sale Stoeckl nevertheless managed to slip in indirectly a few telling arguments in its favor. He pointed out that the situation on the Pacific had completely changed in the course of the century. The fur-trade which at one time held a commanding position was becoming a thing of the past, and in its place agriculture, commerce, and industry were rapidly developing. But the Russian American possessions, because of their geographic position, could not hope to grow along these lines and would therefore drop behind the other parts of the coast. If the company should in the future, as in the past, dominate the colonies, the situation would undoubtedly grow worse; and if the government should take them over no one could be certain that it would improve. Then again, the colonies were of no importance to Russia and could not be protected; any naval power at war with Russia could get them by going after them. Finally, and this was the shot intended to reach home, by the handing of Alaska to the United States England would be greatly discomfited. The conquest of California by the Yankees was the first effective blow to Great Britain's ambitions in the Pacific, and the acquisition of Alaska would put an end to them altogether. Sandwiched in between Oregon and Alaska, British Columbia could have no great future.

Among the documents in the Russian ministry of foreign affairs there is a paper on the Russian colonies, dated February 7, 1860, written by some one who had been in California and Alaska. There is reason to believe that the author was Rear-admiral Popov, who had cruised in the North Pacific about that time. He frequently wrote to the Grand-duke Constantine, who took a leading part in guiding Russia's naval affairs and who probably transmitted copies to Gorchakov. The report paints in black colors the great misery the Russian American Company had brought on the natives of Alaska, the harm it had done to that territory, and the injury it had caused to Russian commerce. All the company thinks about, says the report, is dividends, and the only people who profit by its existence are the shareholders. It has a monopoly of the trade in the North Pacific and this is deeply resented by the Americans who live there; and were it not for Stoeckl, Senator Gwin would have brought the matter to the attention of Congress before now. Not only is the company not advancing the interest of Russia, but it is actually alienating the good-will of a friendly people. It is easy enough, the writer goes on to say, for Europeans to sneer at the Monroe Doctrine and "Manifest Destiny", but if they were better acquainted with the Americans they would know that these ideas are in their very blood and in the air they breathe. There are twenty millions of Americans, every one of them a free man and filled with the idea that America is for Americans. They have taken California, Oregon, and sooner or later they will get Alaska. It is inevitable. It cannot be prevented; and it would be better to yield with good grace and cede the territory to them. Let them have the Alaskan mainland, the Aleutians, the islands in the Bering Sea—geographically all these are American—but let us retain the Commander Islands so as not to have the Yankees too near us. Russia, too, has a manifest destiny on the Amur, and farther south, even in Korea. Expansion in that direction will not weaken us in a military way.

Notwithstanding this eloquent statement of the case made by Stoeckl and Popov, Gorchakov remained cold. In his communication of May 14, 1860 (O. S.), he said that personally he could not see that from the political point of view it would be to Russia's interest to cede the American possessions. The only argument that could persuade him to sell would be financial, but the five million dollars offered was entirely inadequate and much below the real value of the colonies. He instructed Stoeckl to keep the negotiation pending and tell Appleton and Gwin that they would have to come up on the price. In the meantime the minister of finance would send a com-

mission to Alaska to study conditions on the spot and make a report, and on this report the future Alaskan policy would be based.

Knowing that Appleton would soon leave office, Stoeckl said little to him on the subject other than that Russia would not discuss the question of sale until after the expiration of the lease of the Russian American Company. But with Gwin the conversation was prolonged and the subject of finance was taken up. The California senator assured the Russian minister that the Pacific Coast representatives would be willing to offer a higher figure, but he doubted whether the other members of Congress would be of their mind. They would have to be reached by special arguments, such as the detriment to England's prestige and interest by the purchase, and the amount of money in the Treasury. In any case, concluded Gwin, negotiations were out of the question for the time being and could not be resumed before the end of 1861 or the beginning of 1862, when the new administration and Congress would be in; for the present Congress would not pass any measure, no matter how praiseworthy, that was recommended by the Buchanan Cabinet.

During the years immediately succeeding the above conversation both Russia and the United States had all they could do to retain the territory they already held without busying themselves with selling or buying additional possessions. The Russian commission which was sent to Alaska returned in 1861 with a report which was not favorable to the company, but the opportunity for selling was gone. Numerous conferences were held by the ministers on the subject of the disposition of the colonies and finally, not knowing what else to do, they allowed the company, under certain minor restrictions, to exploit Alaska for a time longer.

But it was an uphill and losing fight. As Stoeckl had pointed out in one of his reports, the fur-trade was declining and no new industries were successfully developing to take its place. The company had tried coal-mining and had failed; it had engaged in the ice and lumber business and had failed equally. Its credit gradually declined, and its shares of stock, which Wrangell valued in 1854 at about five hundred rubles, could not find buyers in 1866 at seventy-five. The company was drifting towards bankruptcy and appealed to the minister of finance to save it. Something had to be done and that quickly. The government did not wish to take over the colonies nor to hand them over to another gang of exploiters. In this predicament the minister of finance, Reutern, turned to Stoeckl (who happened to be in Petrograd during the late autumn of 1866) and asked him if the United States would now buy the colonies. The

Grand-duke Constantine sounded Stoeckl on the same subject. Stoeckl told them of the former offer and of the mistake made by Russia in refusing it, but held out some hope that it might be renewed. This time the grand-duke did not write to Gorchakov but, with Reutern, went straight to the emperor and laid the matter before him. Alexander called in the minister of foreign affairs and told him to look into the matter of selling Alaska.

Gorchakov proceeded in a methodical way. Early in December he asked the Grand-duke Constantine, Reutern, and Stoeckl, to submit their opinions in writing as to the best solution of the problem. The grand-duke merely repeated what he had said so often before, that the colonies should be handed over to the United States, and that Russia should devote her energies to the development of the Amur. Reutern discussed the situation from the point of view of the treasury. He said that the company was either unfortunate or inefficient, but, whatever the reason, there was no question but that it had come to the end of its resources. For the government to take over the colonies meant more sacrifices and burdens, which it could not afford. He therefore agreed with the grand-duke to sell Alaska. Stoeckl said again what he had said at other times, that Russian America was a breeder of trouble between America and Russia and that the sooner it was disposed of the better.

These memoranda were submitted by the chancellor to Alexander II. on December 12 with the gentle suggestion that His Majesty call together a committee of ministers composed of the Grand-duke Constantine, the minister of finance, and himself, minister of foreign affairs, to discuss (under the emperor's presidency) the Alaska question. It was also intimated that Stoeckl might be invited to be on hand to give information in case it was wanted. Three days later, December 15, Gorchakov wrote again to the emperor, at the request of the grand-duke, that it would be well to have present at the conference Vice-admiral Krabbe, minister of the marine.

At the meeting which took place on December 16 at the palace all the above-named persons were present. Reutern went into details about the poor financial condition of the company. Discussion followed in which all took part, and in the end they agreed to sell the colonies to the United States. When this was decided upon, the emperor turned to Stoeckl and asked him if he would not like to return to Washington and conclude the deal. It was not what Stoeckl wanted, for he was then slated for the Hague, but of course he had little choice in the matter and said that he would go.

The grand-duke gave him a map on which the frontiers were

traced, and the minister of finance told him not to take less than five million dollars. These were practically all the instructions Stoeckl had, or as he put it, "Au fond on m'a expédié en me disant voyez si la chose peut se faire et comment elle peut se faire?"

Stoeckl landed in New York some time about February 1, 1867, and remained in that city about six weeks, partly because of illness. He was of the opinion that nothing would be gained by pushing negotiations before the new Congress convened. He used the interval in maturing his plans and paving the way for the American government to make the first move. With this idea in mind, he put himself in touch with one of Seward's political friends and had him see the secretary and impress upon him the value of Alaska. When the minister reached Washington early in March, he called on the secretary, as was customary. The two engaged in conversation in the course of which Stoeckl remarked that his government regretted its inability to grant the concessions asked for by Mr. Clay, the American minister in Petrograd, in behalf of certain Californians.³ Seward then told him that he too had a favor to ask in behalf of the citizens of Washington Territory who desired permission to fish in Alaskan waters.⁴ To this Stoeckl replied that his government could not possibly grant it. After these preliminaries had been gone through, Seward came to the point and inquired whether Russia would sell Alaska to the United States. Stoeckl had gained his object; America had taken the first step in the transaction. After this the conversation proceeded more easily, and the two men agreed that a transfer of the territory would be of mutual advantage. It was decided that before going more deeply into the subject Seward should see Johnson. When they met again a day or two later, the secretary was somewhat non-committal and reported that the President was not enthusiastic but was willing to leave the affair to the judgment of the Cabinet. Seward consulted his colleagues and they authorized him to negotiate.

At the following meeting the two men got down to the discussion of ways and means. Stoeckl was desirous of enlisting the support of his friends in the two houses of Congress and having the initiative in the purchase come from the Capitol, but Seward would not hear of it. He gave his reasons, that it was an administrative measure which required secrecy, and that it was "à lui de régler cette affaire". Stoeckl expressed some doubt whether the Senate

³ *House Ex. Doc. 177*, 40 Cong., 2 sess., p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4. Memorial of the legislature of Washington Territory to the President, received February, 1866.

would ratify the treaty when made, but Seward assured him that there would be no difficulty on that score.

The next question was the price. Seward's first offer was \$5,000,000, but when he saw the cold look in Stoeckl's face he raised it another \$500,000 and added that this was the best he could do. Stoeckl shook his head and demanded \$7,000,000. In his communication of March 6/18 Stoeckl told Gorchakov of the progress that had been made up to that date and said that he hoped to get \$6,000,000 and possibly \$6,500,000, and that he expected to report definitely within a fortnight.

They met again probably two or three times in the course of the week that followed. Seward showed such an eagerness to buy that Stoeckl took advantage of it and would not lower the price. The secretary added one half-million after another, insisting each time that he had gone to the limit, that he had exceeded the instructions of the President and the Cabinet, but the minister stood by his \$7,000,000, and "*grâce à l'intervention de quelques personnes influentes, j'ai réussi à les obtenir*".

When the question of price had been settled, there were still two other obstacles of lesser importance to be removed. Stoeckl had been advised by cable to demand that the money should be paid in London and that the United States should take over certain obligations of the Russian American Company. Seward would not accept these conditions. In the end a compromise was reached. Seward added \$200,000 to make up for the loss in exchange, and Stoeckl gave up the stipulation about taking over the obligations and agreed to cede the territory "free and unencumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants," etc.

Seward was in a great hurry to push through the deal before Congress adjourned, and he therefore asked Stoeckl to cable the outline of the treaty to Petrograd at the expense of the United States.⁵ This was done on March 13/25. Four days later a reply came, "*L'Empereur autorise vente pour sept millions de dollars, ainsi que signature du traité*". During the night of March 29-30 the treaty was put in final form and signed by the Secretary of State and the Russian minister.

So secretly and so rapidly were the negotiations carried through that few were aware of what was going on. It was only after the signing of the treaty that the Secretary of State gave out the news to the papers friendly to him, and through them the public learned

⁵ It cost the United States 45,000 francs.

of the purchase. Opposition manifested itself at once. Senators came to the Russian minister and informed him that they would not vote for the treaty, not because they had anything against it but simply because it bore Seward's name. Sumner asked Stoeckl that he withdraw the treaty, for it had not the least chance of being confirmed. To all these men Stoeckl replied that it would be dishonorable on the part of his government to withdraw. It was the United States that took the initiative and made the offer, and it was for the United States to see the affair through. The numerous friends of Russia, in and out of Congress, became active among the senators and pointed out to them the disgrace to the United States and the insult to Russia in failing to ratify the treaty after having drawn Russia into it. This idea gradually took hold and one by one the senators became more friendly, and on the final vote on April 9 thirty-seven voted in favor of ratification of the treaty and two against it. As to payments, both Seward and Thaddeus Stevens assured Stoeckl that the money would be voted just as soon as Congress assembled.⁶

Stoeckl, Gorchakov, and Alexander II. were greatly pleased at the outcome of the negotiations. On one of the minister's accounts of the sale the emperor wrote: "Pour tout cela il mérite un 'spasibo' [thanks] de ma part", and instructed the chancellor, "Remerciez-le particulièrement de ma part", and to reward him with 25,000 rubles,⁷ and Bodisco, the secretary of the legation, with 5,000. Gorchakov himself heartily congratulated Stoeckl and expressed his belief that the transfer of title to the territory was of mutual benefit to the two nations, and ended his laudatory epistle by saying, "Je prends ma part de responsabilité dans la cession de nos colonies Américaines".

Stoeckl was not only pleased but greatly relieved, for the task had not been an easy one. Now that it was over he planned to bid "un éternel adieu à l'Amérique le printemps . . . prochain". Had he known of the troubles ahead of him he would not have been so light-hearted. It was understood that when Congress convened in December it would appropriate immediately the necessary funds to meet the obligation of the sale. In January, 1868, it became evident that there was a movement on foot to block the Russian payment,

⁶ "Que le jour même où le congrès sera réuni il [Stevens] fera passer l'allocation et mettra l'argent à notre disposition."

⁷ Stoeckl was disappointed with the smallness of the reward, considering that he had secured \$2,000,000 more than was expected.

by a group of men who supported the so-called Perkins claims against Russia.⁸

An American named Benjamin Perkins had asserted that in 1855 he made a contract with Stoeckl and a year or two later with one Rakielevicz, who passed himself off as an agent of the Russian legation, to deliver a certain amount of powder and ammunition to Russia. Stoeckl denied that he had ever made the contract and disowned Rakielevicz, who was a discredited Russian spy. The case was carried to the supreme court of New York, where it was dismissed. Perkins accepted two hundred dollars and promised that he would drop the matter. He did not. He took it to Cass and to Seward, but neither of them supported him. During the twelve years that had intervened (1855-1867) Perkins and Rakielevicz had died, and Stoeckl had forgotten about the affair. But when the heirs of Perkins learned of the purchase of Alaska they renewed the agitation. They enlisted in their behalf members of the House of Representatives,⁹ senators,¹⁰ lawyers, newspaper editors, lobbyists, and others, and set to work to force the Russian government to pay. Their first manoeuvre was to bring the case before the judiciary committee of the Senate and get favorable action, and then to demand that the sum due them be withheld from the \$7,200,000. But after reflection, and perhaps investigation, they came to the conclusion that they could not count on the committee. Their next move was to propose that the question be arbitrated, on the condition that the amount involved be held back by the American government. The Senate leaders would not agree to this. Stoeckl refused to consider it because no particular proposal of arbitration was suggested and because he felt that he could not arbitrate with men of that type.

Having failed in the Senate, the managers of the case turned to the House of Representatives. Their plan was to block action on the bill in the hope that Russia would buy them off. According to Stoeckl the backers of the claim were well organized and had some kind of agreement that three-fourths of the \$800,000 should go to the backers and the other fourth to the Perkins heirs.

Thaddeus Stevens, who in the spring of 1867 pledged the honor of his country to the payment, was one of the first to champion the

⁸ The writer has not investigated the merits of the claims. His only sources of information on the subject are the diplomatic papers.

⁹ Among whom was "Butler [qui] est intéressé pour 30,000 dollars dans l'escroquerie Perkins".

¹⁰ "Des Sénateurs, des avocats, etc., sont intéressés dans cette escroquerie."

cause of Perkins, but after Seward and Stoeckl had a talk with him he changed sides.¹¹ Notwithstanding his attitude, the Perkins crowd was putting up a desperate fight and was able to block action. The impeachment trial of Johnson and the Republican convention also helped to delay matters. For a time it seemed as if the claimants would succeed in tacking on an amendment to keep back the \$800,000 from the Alaska purchase money. It was certain that such a proviso would not be acceptable to the Senate and consequently the bill would have to be referred to a conference committee. In that case R. J. Walker, Stoeckl's lobbyist, thought that it would be necessary "to manipulate some members of that committee".

Stoeckl was greatly worried. Not only were his reputation and the dignity of his country involved, but the friendly relations between the two nations, which he had done so much to build up, were at stake. By the end of March, 1868, he thought that the case was almost hopeless, and he asked for additional instructions. As far as he could see there were only two dignified courses to pursue: (1) to tell the United States that Russia had done her part and that if the United States were unwilling to pay for Alaska they could have it without paying; (2) to send a strong but a courteous note which would touch the American pride. The reply written by the minister of foreign affairs and approved by the emperor favored doing the second, but not the first for fear that the offer would be taken up.¹² Russia insisted on keeping the two issues separate. She requested that payment for Alaska should be made first, and after that the two governments could take up the Perkins claim.

When week after week passed without any noticeable progress Stoeckl became almost desperate. Johnson wished to send a special message to Congress, but Stoeckl, working through Seward, dissuaded him from doing so for fear it might result in more harm than good. For the same reason he asked Seward to remain in the background, for, even as it was, many congressmen were lined up against the bill out of enmity towards him. "Toutefois", wrote the Russian minister, "Mr. Seward n'est pas resté inactif et nous avons agi ensemble sur les membres du Congrès par l'entremise d'hommes influents¹³ et d'avocats, et à force d'efforts inouïs, nous sommes

¹¹ "Je compte sur l'influence de Stevens qui le premier a soulevé cette affaire, mais qui maintenant travaille assidûment en notre faveur."

¹² "Mais vous n'ajouterez pas un mot sur une cession sans compensation. Je trouve imprudent d'exposer la cupidité Américaine à cette tentative."

¹³ "J'ai en mon emploi quelques personnes sûres, entre autres le Sénateur [R. J.] Walker, homme très influent et en qui je puis placer pleine confiance. . . . Seward travaille de son côté et de concert avec Walker assidûment et emploie

parvenus à obtenir un résultat satisfaisant contre mon attente." On July 14, 1868, the bill carrying the appropriation was passed.

It is clear that congressmen were bought,¹⁴ but there is no direct and conclusive evidence in the Russian archives to warrant the accusation of any congressman by name.¹⁵ The men who sold themselves were undoubtedly those who were interested in the Perkins claims. We must, however, be careful to differentiate between them and others who voted against the bill from pure motives. Stoeckl himself realized that the purchase of Alaska was not popular and that it was regarded by many as a worthless and an expensive investment.¹⁶

The mental strain, the corruption and the dirty work which had to be done in order to get the bill through made Stoeckl sick at heart. As soon as it was all over he pleaded with his foreign office to take him from Washington, to send him anywhere it pleased, he did not particularly care where, provided it took him from the American capital.¹⁷ But though discouraged and disgusted with the lawmakers at the Capitol, he yet kept to the very last his high opinion of the American people and predicted that the time was not far off when even congressmen would be honest.

From the above study it is evident that Russia sold Alaska not out of enmity to England, not out of friendship for the United States, but out of a desire to get rid of a territory which had become valueless and burdensome. No one will question, even to-day, that from the point of view of Russia that was a wise thing to do.

Why the United States bought Alaska is not quite so clear. It was not done with the object of catering to the Pacific Coast states

toute sorte de moyens auprès membres pour les ranger de notre côté quand vote aura lieu. Tous deux agissent avec la plus grande circonspection et de manière à ne pas me compromettre en rien."

¹⁴ This Perkins affair "a déjà entraîné des frais qui absorberont une grande partie des deux cents mille dollars qui m'ont été donnés la veille de la signature pour couvrir les dépenses secrets".

¹⁵ See Professor Dunning's article "Paying for Alaska", in *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1912.

¹⁶ Even the Pacific Coast states, said Stoeckl, "ne se sont montrés que modérément enthousiastes et je puis assurer à Votre Excellence que si ce traité était à refaire aujourd'hui, nous n'aurions pas obtenu une million, si même nous aurions réussi à le conclure".

¹⁷ "Je ne peux pas vous donner une idée des tribulations et des désagréments que j'ai dû supporter avant de finir cette affaire. J'ai besoin urgent d'un repos de quelques mois. Ne me dites pas de rester ici parce qu'il n'y a pas de place ailleurs à me donner, mais laissez-moi la faculté de respirer pendant quelque temps une atmosphère plus pure que cette de Washington et puis faites de moi ce que vous voudrez."

or of pleasing Russia. Questions of friendship between America and Russia had nothing whatever to do with the selling or with the buying of Alaska, at least not with the state departments. In reality no one but Seward was deeply interested in the purchase of that territory; and the question is, why was he eager to buy. Some say that it was because he was a far-sighted statesman and foresaw the political and economic importance of Alaska. Stoeckl did not think so. He was of the opinion that Seward was interested in the purchase because he hoped that it would bring him once more into popular favor, and in order to show the importance of his act he helped to spread the reports that Alaska was sold and bought to embarrass England, to counterbalance the Canadian Confederation, and for other such reasons.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

THE MINERS' LAWS OF COLORADO

To the student of governmental institutions in the United States, government based upon social compact is a familiar conception. As a basis of state-making in the West the idea has received the attention of many historians and needs no elaboration here. But less attention has been given to the social compact as a basis of local government. The object of this paper is to present the salient features of the beginnings of organized governmental units in what is now the state of Colorado.

It has long been known that when the principal mining areas of the Far West were first developed, the miners, finding themselves beyond the long arm of the law, found it necessary to lay off mining districts, to organize governments, and enact laws.¹ Historians who have dealt with the subject have not examined the sources critically, and have usually been content with stating the content of the law of some one district, citing this as typical of all the districts. Furthermore, a systematic search for the records of the mining districts, with the exceptions of California, Nevada, and Colorado, has not been made. It has been the belief of most investigators that the records of the mining districts of Colorado could never be recovered, a view which is probably traceable to Hollister who in 1867 said, "It is impossible to get complete copies of these laws now, some of them having been lost, together with the boundaries of the districts".² The Colorado State Historical and Natural History Society has obtained the printed laws of five districts and the minutes of a single district, and with these, investigators appear to have been content.

In the summer of 1918 I undertook the work of bringing to light the original sources. The clue to their location was found in a territorial law of November 7, 1861, which reads,

A copy of all the records, laws and proceedings of each mining district, so far as they relate to lode claims, shall be filed in the office of the County Clerk of the county in which the district is situated, within the boundaries of the district attached to the same, which shall be taken as evidence in any court having jurisdiction in the matters concerned in such record or proceeding.

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *Works*, XXIII. 397-400; XXV. 127, 407; XXXV. 240-247; Thompson and West, publishers, *History of Nevada*, p. 62; Coutant, *History of Wyoming*, p. 642; O. J. Hollister, *Mines of Colorado*, pp. 75-82.

² Hollister, *Mines of Colorado*, p. 82.

The law also stated that all rights of occupancy, possession, or enjoyment of any tract or portion of the said public domain acquired before November 7, 1861, should be ascertained, adjudged, and determined by the local law of the district or precinct in which such tract was situated.³ The substance of these provisions was also incorporated in a revised statute of 1867.⁴

An examination of the contents of the vault of the county clerk of Boulder County resulted in the discovery of thirty-one volumes of mining district records. They disclosed the fact that during 1859-1861 eight districts were organized. Twelve volumes contained records of claims, four were indexes of claims and transfers, nine were laws and minutes, and the rest were miscellaneous records.

At Central City, the county seat of Gilpin County, 124 volumes of mining records from twenty-seven districts were found. Seventy-nine volumes contained records of mortgages, deeds, conveyances, attachments, pre-emptions, sales, and claim locations. Twenty-one volumes contained indexes, three were docket books, and twenty-two volumes contained laws and minutes. On the wall of the office of the county clerk hung a map of the county made in 1866, showing the mining districts as they then existed.⁵

A third survey was made at Georgetown, the county-seat of Clear Creek County. Here the records of twenty-seven districts were found. The volumes totaled 164. Ninety-five contained records of claims, mill sites, lodes, and deeds. Twenty-five were indexes, two were docket books, and forty-two contained laws and minutes. A map of the survey of 1866 was also located.⁶

Of the district records the most valuable are the laws and minutes. Out of sixty or more districts in the three counties, the laws and minutes were intact for about forty districts. It was evident

³ R. S. Morrison, *Mining Rights in Colorado* (third ed.), pp. 3, 4; Colorado Territory, *General Laws, Joint Resolutions, Memorials, and Private Acts, passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly*, pp. 167-168, sec. 12; *ibid.*, pp. 168-169, sec. 4. The validity of the laws of the mining districts was recognized by a United States law of May 10, 1872. See *Statutes at Large*, XVII. 91.

⁴ Colorado Territory, Legislative Assembly, 7 sess., *Revised Statutes*, p. 466, sec. 11.

⁵ This map is now at the University of Colorado.

⁶ Through the kindness of Mr. Frank A. Maxwell, the county treasurer, this map was loaned to the University of Colorado. Through Mr. Hal Sayre of Denver, the University has recently become permanently possessed of one of these rare maps. Gilpin, Clear Creek, and Boulder counties were the most important centres of Colorado mining during 1859-1861, but there were other rushes into Summit and Park counties, along the Upper Arkansas, and into the San Juan country. The records of these latter regions have not been examined. If funds are available, the surveys will be made during 1920.

that the law of 1861 had been violated, that some of the records had not been deposited with the county clerks, or that careless officials had allowed the records to be taken from the archives. Fortunately some of the missing records have been found. Many of the districts printed their laws and four sets of these printed laws, the originals of which are not in the county archives, are in possession of the State Historical and Natural History Society. One manuscript of minutes is also held by the Society. Mr. Jesse S. Randall, the editor of the *Georgetown Courier*, loaned me three sets of manuscript laws. The papers of Senator Teller and of Mr. Hal Sayre were recently acquired by the University,⁷ and among these were found the printed laws of five districts and the manuscripts of laws and minutes of seven districts. The early files of the *Rocky Mountain News* have also been examined and from them several lacunae in the records have been filled.

The records of the older districts reveal the fact that the first codes to be adopted were simple, and that as conditions changed, the miners found it necessary to revise, amend, and recodify the laws. The later enactments were more complex and more technical than the earlier laws, and new offices with clearly defined functions were created. The records of Gregory Diggings, one of the earliest and largest districts in Gilpin County, show how the laws of a district evolved.

At a meeting of the miners held on the North Fork of Clear Creek on June 8, 1859, Wilk Defrees was elected president and Joseph Casto secretary. The miners then adopted nine resolutions. The first defined the boundaries of the district and the other resolutions constituted a simple mining code. The second resolution provided that no miner should hold more than one claim, except by purchase or discovery, and in case of purchase, that the same should be attested by at least two disinterested witnesses, and should be recorded by the secretary, who should receive one dollar for the work of recording each claim or purchase. The third resolution provided that title to a claim would not be valid unless the claim were staked off with the owner's name and with a description of the property. When the claim was held by a company, the name of each member was to appear conspicuously. The fourth resolution stated that each miner should be entitled to hold one mountain claim, one gulch claim, and one creek claim for the washing of gold. Mountain claims were to be one hundred feet long and fifty feet

⁷ These papers were obtained largely through the efforts of Professor James F. Willard.

wide, and gulch claims one hundred feet "up and down the river or gulch, and extending fifty feet". According to the fifth resolution, mountain claims, unless worked within ten days from the date of staking, would be forfeited. The sixth resolution provided that when a company was working one of its claims, other claims could be held without being worked if a notice were put up. The seventh provided that a discovery claim must be marked as such, and was to be held whether worked or not. The eighth was to the effect that priority of claim had to be respected. The ninth provided that when two parties wished to use water on the same stream or ravine for quartz mining, the water was to be equally divided.⁸

Within a month the miners discovered that their laws were insufficient to protect their rights. A codification committee was therefore appointed. On July 9 a report was made to a miners' meeting at which a single resolution was adopted to the effect that the officers of the district were to be a president, a recorder of claims, and a sheriff, who were to be elected by ballot and were to hold office for a year. Captain Richard Sopris, after whom Mt. Sopris was named, was elected president.⁹

On July 16 a new code was adopted, the resolution of the previous meeting being incorporated as number one. The sheriff was to have power to serve notices and executions, to summon parties and jurors, to put parties in possession of property given them by court decisions, and to do "such service as a sheriff could do in any other place". The recorder was made keeper of the district records and was to make all legal records. His books were to be open to public inspection and were never to be taken from his possession. Claims then being worked were not to be recorded unless the owner saw fit to do so. If lead claims could not be worked to advantage that season because of lack of water or machinery, by filing a statement of reasons with the recorder claims could be held without working until the following June. Water claims were to be recorded within ten days from the claim date or be forfeited. All bills of sale or conveyances of claims were to be witnessed by two disinterested persons and recorded.

Previous laws relating to trials concerning disputed claims were repealed and a new law adopted. When any person was aggrieved in regard to a claim, he was to file with any commissioned justice

⁸ Gilpin County, Laws and Regulations of the Mines of the Gregory Diggings District.

⁹ Mountain City, now parts of Central City and Black Hawk, was laid out by Sopris. He began to build the first house in the town on May 22, 1859. See Bancroft Library MS., Sopris, Settlement of Denver, p. 6.

of the peace, or in his absence with the president of the miners' association, a statement of his grounds of complaint with the names of the parties of whom complaint was made, and a prayer that they be summoned to appear and answer. The justice or president was then to issue a summons to the adverse party to appear and answer within three days. If he failed to appear, the complaint was to be taken as true and execution issued. If he appeared and answered, a venire of nine persons was to be summoned, from which number each party was to strike off three, and the remaining three were to hear the evidence, with or without counsel, "and try the case". If the losing party felt aggrieved by the decision, he could appeal to a jury of twelve men selected by the justice or president, and their decision was final. The defeated party was liable for all costs of the suit and the justice or president was to issue execution for the same, which were to be collected from any property the party so liable might have, with the exemption of tools, bedding, clothing, and provisions necessary for three months.

The code provided that any person might, by recording, take up a building lot forty feet front by one hundred feet deep, but this property, if found rich in gold, might be mined by another party who must, however, protect the house against damage. Any person or company intending to erect a quartz-mill might select a location 250 feet square. He might also claim the right to cut a race from any river and could hold the water provided that he did not interfere with vested rights.

Gulch claims were to be one hundred feet up and down and fifty feet wide following the meanderings of the stream, and were to be worked within ten days if water could be obtained. If a miner held both a gulch and a lead claim, if one were worked the other could be held by recording it. Water companies were to have the right of way and could pass over any claim, road, or ditch, but were to guard against injury to any party over whose ground they passed.

Companies formed for tunneling could stake off 250 feet "each way from the tunnel and running as the tunnel is intended to run"; after that all new leads discovered in tunneling belonged to the company to that extent, provided that claims already taken were respected. If work on a tunnel were stopped for one week at any time, the tunnel claim was forfeited.¹⁰

This code sufficed until February, 1860, on February 11 a new committee being appointed to amend the laws. The work of the committee was approved on February 18 and 20. The amended

¹⁰ Gilpin County, Gregory District, Book A.

code provided that within four days the recorder must post three notices in each of the adjoining districts inviting the citizens of those districts to send three delegates from each district to "a meeting to be held at the City Hall in Mountain City" at two o'clock P. M. on March 1 to fix permanently and accurately the boundaries of Gregory District. After the determination of the boundaries, no changes were to be made without the consent of the citizens of the district; in the future if any persons desired to change the boundaries, or to erect a new district within Gregory District, or to annex territory, twelve notices were to be posted in conspicuous places giving ten days' notice of a public meeting to consider the matter.

The code defined the terms lode, gulch, patch or placer, tunnel, ditch, water, building, and ranch claims. No person was to hold more than one lode, gulch, or patch claim except by discovery or purchase, nor more than one water, building, or ranch claim except by purchase. Any person owning a quartz-mill claim upon which he had a mill or was preparing to erect one, might claim the right to cut a race or ditch from any stream to bring water to his mill, provided that he did not interfere with vested rights, all claims held under previous laws being regarded as vested property. When water was claimed for gulch and quartz-mining purposes on the same stream, and the water was insufficient for all, priority of claim was to determine who should have the water. All questions arising out of the riparian rights of proprietors which were not covered by the provisions of the code were to be settled in accordance with common law. Rules and regulations observed in mining regions within the United States regarding the digging for gold under building lots or upon ranch or other claims were to be observed in the district. Upon the location of a tunnel for discovery purposes, the owner was to file with the recorder a specification which should state the place of commencement and the terminus of the tunnel, with the names of the owners. A "four squair" stake was to be placed at the tunnel mouth, "having written thereon the same things hereby made necessary to record". Persons working a tunnel were given priority of right to all leads discovered in the line of the tunnel and were given the right of way through all leads which might be along the course of the tunnel.

Another act related to the officers of Gregory District. This act provided that the officers were to be a president, a judge of the miners' court, and a recorder who was to be *ex officio* secretary and treasurer of the district. These officials were to hold office for one

year unless removed by the citizens for misconduct. The sheriff of Arapahoe County was appointed *ex officio* sheriff of the district. The franchise was also fixed by the law, every person who owned a recorded claim being allowed to vote.

An act was also approved to establish a miners' court and regulate its jurisdiction. The act provided that a regular term of court was to be held at some convenient and proper place in the district on Monday of each week. The officers of the court were to be a judge, a clerk, the sheriff of Arapahoe County and his deputies, and the "attorneys of said court regularly admitted as such". The duties of the judge were specified and under certain conditions the president of the district might preside in place of the judge. The miners' court was to have equity as well as law jurisdiction and could grant injunctions. The court could fine for contempt in a sum not exceeding fifty dollars. It could appoint its own clerk who was to have such powers as a clerk of record had in Kansas.

The jury for each term of court was to be drawn upon the Thursday next preceding each term. The sheriff or his deputy placed the names of one hundred "good and suitable" men in a box, and the judge or clerk then drew the names of eighteen who were to be summoned for the next term of court.

The citizens also passed an act regulating practice in the miners' court. Section 1 provided that if any person wished to commence a suit or action in the miners' court, he should file with the judge or clerk a written statement setting forth his grounds of complaint. Such statement, if in equity, was to be in the nature of a petition, and if in law of a complaint. Upon the filing of a petition or complaint, the court or the clerk was to issue a writ of summons to be served upon the defendant or defendants to appear and answer. Other sections dealt with answers, demurrers, pleadings, depositions, foreclosures, and garnishee process. Pleadings in equity and rules of evidence, with certain stated exceptions, were to follow the practice in United States courts.

In cases of judgment for partition of claims between joint owners, three disinterested commissioners were to be appointed by the court to effect the partition. In cases of attachment and replevin, the practice recognized by the laws of Kansas was to be observed. In all cases where the liability of persons in actions founded upon contract, tort, or mixed actions was not defined by the laws of the district, the common law was to apply.

Still another act related to trials. The law provided for the filing of bonds to cover costs in civil suits. When a jury was de-

manded, the court or clerk was to call nine persons from the jurors summoned, and each party was to strike off three names. Jurors were to hear evidence in cases in equity as well as in law. Appeals from the decision of the jury must be perfected within three days and the trial take place at the next regular term of court, unless the parties agreed to an earlier date. All trials on appeal were to be decided by a jury of twelve, and their verdict was to be final.

A previous act had provided that there be exempted from levy and sale upon execution tools, bedding, clothing, and provisions necessary for three months. A new enactment included among the exemptions cooking utensils, and in case of a man residing in the district with his family, a lot and dwelling-house not exceeding five hundred dollars in value, necessary furniture, a Bible, family pictures, and relics.

Another act dealt with crimes and nuisances. All crimes committed in the district were to be punished as a jury of twelve might direct. Persons who caused any nuisance which might affect the health of the inhabitants were liable to be sued by the district. Damages were not to exceed one hundred dollars and costs. Any person placing an obstruction on a highway, or digging a pit and leaving it open so as to endanger life or limb along a road or trail was liable for damages.

An act containing general provisions for the government of the district was also passed at this time. The judge was to pay weekly to the district treasurer any money which he had received in his court, and the treasurer was not to pay out any of it except upon a "fairly complete" vote of the citizens. All previous laws, except where pending suits might be affected, were repealed by the acts of February 18 and 20.¹¹

These laws were enacted in the winter time, when there was little activity in the mines. But with spring came new groups of miners and changed conditions which required the amending of the laws. On May 25, 1860, at a meeting of the citizens held at Mountain City several resolutions were adopted. These resolutions were primarily intended to make it possible to hold claims until machinery might arrive or until sufficient water could be obtained.

Up to this time no adequate law had been made for the administration of estates of the deceased. This gap in the laws was now filled by a resolution to the effect that in case of the death of any person owning property in the district, the president was to appoint an administrator who would close up the estate according to the

¹¹ Gilpin County, Gregory District, Record A 2d.

laws of Kansas. The president, in all such cases, was to perform the duties of a probate judge.¹²

The laws of Gregory District remained without change until February 16, 1861, when the code was again amended. It was then provided that each discovery claim was to be plainly marked and staked, with the name of the discoverer on the stake, and that a shaft should be sunk to the crevice. Discovery claims were to be described plainly on the records, and if the stake or landmark were removed, a penalty of ten dollars was to be imposed upon the guilty party. All claims henceforth were to be held as real estate.

The criminal law had been very general. The lawmakers now made provision for the punishment of minor crimes. Any person found guilty of a crime no greater than petit larceny was to be fined and to pay costs of the suit. If he failed to pay these, he was to be put to work upon the public streets or roads.¹³

In May, 1861, the citizens decided to repeal that part of the act of February 20, 1860, which had given power to the sheriff of Arapahoe County. They now created the office of sheriff of Gregory District. They also passed an act regarding change of venue, and made it possible to summon jurors from outside the district if an accused party believed that the citizens were so prejudiced against him that he could not have a fair trial by the people of the district.¹⁴

The final act in the series provided for the combining of Enterprise and Gregory districts. Five citizens of Gregory District were appointed as commissioners to meet representatives of Enterprise District. The joint commission was to revise and harmonize the laws of the two districts and to report a complete set of laws at a meeting to be held at Gregory Point on June 1 "at early candle light". The report of the commissioners and the harmonized laws have not been found, and we are left in ignorance as to whether or not the districts were united.¹⁵

The impression has been created by Hollister that when new districts were formed they copied their laws and customs from Gregory District with certain modifications.¹⁶ An examination of the records shows that Hollister gave undue credit to the Gregory District lawmakers. At least seven districts were formed in 1859. While there are certain similarities in the laws, they vary so greatly in important particulars that a generalization as to their source is questionable.

¹² Gilpin County, Gregory Dist., Record C.

¹³ *Id.*, Book B 2d.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Id.*, Grantee Index.

¹⁶ Hollister, *Mines of Colorado*, p. 82.

The laws of 1859 were very simple, but during 1860 the codes became more complete and something like uniformity prevailed. Laws or portions of laws formulated in one district were sometimes adopted by one or more districts, but with few exceptions districts did not have duplicate codes. The object of this part of the paper is to show some of the more important variations.

Let us first consider the subject of district offices. The laws of 1859 show marked differences in this respect. The Gregory law of June 8 provided for a president and secretary, but on July 9 a resolution created the offices of president, recorder, and secretary.¹⁷ The Bay State District law of July 19 provided for a president, one or more vice-presidents, a secretary, a sheriff, and a judge.¹⁸ The law of the Gold Hill District, adopted July 30, created the offices of president, justice of the peace, constable, and recorder.¹⁹ The Pleasant Valley Number 10 District law of September 3 created the offices of president, recorder, and stakemaster.²⁰ It is evident that, in this particular at least, the districts in 1859 were working along independent lines.

In 1860 the Downieville, Coral, Montana, and Trail Creek districts adopted the Gregory organization of July 9, 1859, with the three offices of president, recorder, and sheriff,²¹ but other districts showed wide divergencies. Lower Union District had a president, three vice-presidents, and a recorder.²² Jackson District had a recorder, justice of the peace, and sheriff.²³ Upper Fall River laws provided for the offices of president, recorder, sheriff, judge, and treasurer.²⁴ In the Hawk Eye District the only elected officer was a recorder.²⁵ In the Climax District the offices were president, recorder, constable, and stakemaster.²⁶ In the Wisconsin District the law of February 13, 1860, provided for a president, secretary, and stakemaster. In May the office of constable was added.²⁷ After the Climax District united with Wisconsin District, the revised law pro-

¹⁷ Gilpin County, Laws and Regulations of the Mines of the Gregory Diggings District.

¹⁸ *Id.*, Bay State Dist., Book A.

¹⁹ Boulder County, Gold Hill Dist., Laws of 1859.

²⁰ Gilpin County, Pleasant Valley Number 10 Dist., Laws and Minutes.

²¹ Clear Creek County, Downieville Dist., Book A; Coral Dist., Laws enacted September 17, 1860; Randall Papers, Montana Dist., Laws; Trail Creek Dist., Law Book.

²² Clear Creek County, Lower Union Dist., Book A.

²³ *Id.*, Jackson Dist., Laws of June 16, 1860.

²⁴ *Id.*, Upper Fall River Dist., Book D.

²⁵ Gilpin County, Hawk Eye Dist., Book A.

²⁶ *Id.*, Climax Dist., Laws, in Wisconsin Dist., Book C.

²⁷ *Id.*, Wisconsin Dist., Book B.

vided for the offices of president, recorder, sheriff, and stakemaster.²⁸ The Gold Hill law of 1860 provided for a president, vice-president, recorder, justice of the peace, constable, and road commissioner.²⁹ In Sugar Loaf District the office of treasurer was created.³⁰ The Central Mining District had only two officers, a recorder and a surveyor;³¹ and in Ward District the only officers were a president and a recorder.³²

The laws of 1861 show fewer variations than in previous years, but still the tendency to act independently was as powerful as that of uniformity. In the Silver Lake District the only regularly elected officer was a recorder, all other officers being appointed by the miners when in session.³³ In Wisconsin District a special arrangement was made for the miners of Erick Gulch, the privilege of electing a justice of the peace and a sheriff, to serve in that portion of the district, being granted in a miners' meeting on July 24, 1861.³⁴ The Snowy Range District provided for a president and recorder only,³⁵ and the Ward District added the offices of sheriff, surveyor, road commissioner, and three road viewers.³⁶ Spanish Bar District had a president, recorder, constable, justice of the peace, surveyor, and collector of taxes.³⁷

Upper Union District took a unique step in lawmaking on October 21, 1861, when a miners' meeting decided to have a legislative body of seven or more men who in future would legislate for the district.³⁸ This meant that the pure democracy was to give way to a representative system. The organization of territorial government in 1861 checked the development of the institutions that had sprung into being in the mountain gulches, but had they continued to develop along normal lines, it seems probable that the step taken in the Upper Union District would have been a natural one in other districts.

Bancroft tells us that in the Gregory District disputes were to be settled by arbitration, and the impression that he leaves is that this

²⁸ Gilpin County, Wisconsin Dist., Records.

²⁹ Boulder County, Gold Hill Dist., Laws.

³⁰ *Id.*, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book.

³¹ The Central Mining District records are in Boulder County, Gold Lake Mining Dist., Book of Laws.

³² *Id.*, Ward Dist., Book A.

³³ Gilpin County, Silver Lake Dist., Lode Book.

³⁴ *Id.*, Wisconsin Dist., Records. Erick Gulch was also known as Middle Gulch or Twelve Mile Diggings.

³⁵ Boulder County, Snowy Range Dist., Laws of June 7, 1861.

³⁶ *Id.*, Ward Dist., Book A.

³⁷ Clear Creek County, Spanish Bar Dist., *Revised Laws*.

³⁸ *Id.*, Upper Union Dist., *Laws*, 1861.

was the usual method used by the miners in the settlement of difficulties.³⁹ An examination of the records discloses the fact that in this, as in other particulars, the laws of the districts show many variations. In Wisconsin District the law of February 13, 1860, provided that in cases of dispute between miners the president was to act as judge. Either party to a suit could have the privilege of a jury of three or six, and appeals could be carried to the miners. The law of July 12, 1860, declared that the miners were the highest tribunal and from their decision there was no appeal. The law of December 13, 1860, provided that if the judge were absent or for any reason disqualified, or if the parties believed that a fair trial could not be had before him, or if there was more business than could be attended to, three arbitrators could hear the case, and their decision would be final.⁴⁰ When a dispute occurred in Russell District, a meeting of the miners was called, and the chairman of the meeting appointed a jury of six who decided the dispute.⁴¹ In Pleasant Valley Number 10 District difficulties were taken up before a jury of three or six, and appeals were made "to the miners in general".⁴² In Lake District disputes between joint owners were settled by three commissioners who were chosen by the disputants.⁴³ In South Boulder District it was optional with disputing parties whether the case be tried by the president, the justice of the peace, or a jury. Appeals were made to a jury of twelve whose decision was final.⁴⁴ In the Bay State District disputes at first were settled by the miners or by arbitrators chosen by the disputants.⁴⁵

In the Snowy Range District the president was to act as judge in all claim disputes.⁴⁶ Appeals from his decision were made to the miners, whose decision was final. In Grand Island District any party to a civil suit was entitled to a jury trial. Appeals were made to the president, vice-president, and recorder, who constituted a court of appeals whose decision was final.⁴⁷ In the Ohio and Grass Valley districts all civil cases were tried by a jury of three or twelve and from the decision there was no appeal.⁴⁸ In Shirt Tail District all

³⁹ Bancroft, *Works*, XXV. 378, note 32.

⁴⁰ Gilpin County, Wisconsin Dist., Book B. Most of the disputes occurred over the boundaries of claims.

⁴¹ *Id.*, Russell Dist., *Laws*.

⁴² *Id.*, Pleasant Valley Number 10 Dist., *Laws* of September 3, 1859.

⁴³ Sayre Papers, Lake Dist., *Laws*.

⁴⁴ Gilpin County, South Boulder Dist., *Revised Laws*.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, Bay State Dist., Book A.

⁴⁶ Boulder County, Snowy Range Dist., *Laws* of June 7, 1861.

⁴⁷ *Id.*, Grand Island Dist., Book B.

⁴⁸ Clear Creek County, Ohio Dist., Book B; Grass Valley Dist., Book A.

disputes regarding claims were settled by the miners on the lode where the disputed claim was situated.⁴⁹

The miners did not intend to allow technicalities or tricks of lawyers to defeat justice, and several of the districts passed laws aimed at the legal profession. The Ward District law of April 4, 1861, stated that substantial justice should be the rule of practice in all cases and that no technicalities would be allowed to defeat the ends of justice.⁵⁰ The Sugar Loaf District law of March 4, 1861, provided that no practising lawyer or other person who had been admitted to practise law in any state or territory would be allowed to appear in a pending cause as attorney unless he himself were a party to the suit, in which case the opposing party would be allowed to employ counsel.⁵¹ The Hawk Eye and Independent districts had similar provisions.⁵² In the Banner District the law stated that no "lawyer or pettifogger" should be allowed to plead in any court in the district,⁵³ and a Trail Creek District resolution provided that no lawyer, attorney, "counselor, or pettifogger" be allowed to plead in any case before any judge or jury in the district.⁵⁴ Lower Union District went a step further and provided that if a lawyer practised in any court in the district he should be punished by not less than twenty nor more than fifty lashes, and be banished from the district.⁵⁵

The criminal laws do not show as great variation as other portions of the codes. The usual method of trying a case was by a jury of twelve, but occasional departures from this method may be found. For the crime of murder the guilty party was usually punished by hanging. Upon being found guilty of grand larceny or perjury the criminal was usually punished by whipping and by banishment from the district, the principal variations being in regard to the number of lashes to be applied. In some districts the punishment of all crimes was left to a jury. Occasionally vigilance committees were appointed by the district presidents to examine into and report on criminal violations of the law. Such committees usually held office for three months, or until displaced by the president.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Clear Creek County, Shirt Tail Dist., Book 1.

⁵⁰ Boulder County, Ward Dist., Book A.

⁵¹ *Id.*, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book.

⁵² Gilpin County, Hawk Eye Dist., Hawk Eye Law; Independent Dist., *Laws . . . revised and adopted February 5, 1861.*

⁵³ Clear Creek County, Banner Dist., Laws.

⁵⁴ *Id.*, Trail Creek Dist., Law Book.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, Lower Union Dist., Book A.

⁵⁶ Boulder County, Sugar Loaf Dist., Sugar Loaf Book; Gilpin County, Independent Dist., *Laws.*

Those who have founded their impressions of life in the mining camps on the stories of Bret Harte, or the modern Wild West tale, or the motion picture, will be somewhat surprised to find that many of the districts passed laws to keep out saloons, gambling dens, and houses of prostitution. The Sugar Loaf District law of May 4, 1861, provided that any gambling place or house of ill fame should be considered as a public nuisance and prosecuted as such.⁵⁷ The Gold Hill District had a law against the sale of liquor, and though several attempts were made to annul it, the law remained on the statute book.⁵⁸ The Climax miners passed a law forbidding saloons and gambling houses in the district.⁵⁹ The Lincoln District law provided that any person selling spirituous liquors, except for medicinal or manufacturing purposes, was to be fined not over fifty dollars for the first offense, twenty-five for a second, and be banished for a third offense.⁶⁰ In Banner District a keeper of a house of prostitution, or of a liquor or gambling establishment, was to be prosecuted for committing a nuisance, and if found guilty was to be fined not to exceed one hundred dollars, the fine to be determined by a jury of six men, and the nuisance was to be removed within twenty-four hours.⁶¹ In Jackson District the law of March 9, 1861, provided that no post house or tent where spirituous liquors were sold should be allowed to stand. A first offense was punishable by a fine of twenty dollars, a second offense by a fine of forty dollars, and a third by a fine of eighty dollars and such other punishment as a jury might decide.⁶²

It is obviously impossible in a short paper to give a complete digest of the numerous codes, or to point out their multitudinous variations, or to discuss the influence of the miners' laws upon the mining law of the state; but the writer hopes that he has given some idea of the nature of the laws of the mining districts, and that he has broken down some of the erroneous impressions created by earlier writers. Those who desire to make a more complete analysis of the codes will soon have an opportunity, for preparations are now under way to publish the texts in the *Historical Collections* of the University of Colorado.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

⁵⁷ Boulder County, Sugar Loaf Dist.. Sugar Loaf Book.

⁵⁸ *Id.*, Gold Hill Dist., Laws.

⁵⁹ Gilpin County, Climax Dist., Laws, in Wisconsin Dist., Book C.

⁶⁰ Clear Creek County, Lincoln Dist., Laws.

⁶¹ *Id.*, Banner Dist., Laws.

⁶² Randall MSS., York Dist., Laws.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

WHEN the International Association of Academies held its first session, at Paris in 1900, nearly every country in Europe either had one or more general academies, embracing in their care the whole circle of the sciences, though usually divided into "philosophical-historical" and "mathematical-physical" sections, or else had separate academies for these two broad fields of investigation and study. In Great Britain, however, while all the physical sciences were amply represented by the Royal Society, there was no single body having a similar position in respect to what are commonly called the humanistic studies. Yet it was strongly desired that British interest in those studies should equally have its representation in the membership and work of the International Association of Academies, and out of this exigency arose the movement which led to the incorporation, in 1902, of the British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies. Since then, the British Academy, as it is commonly called, a body of eminent scholars, limited to one hundred in number, has endeavored to care for the general interests of such studies in Great Britain, after much the same manner as that in which the Royal Society cares for the interests of the physical sciences, though as yet with resources far less than those which two hundred and fifty-eight years of existence have brought to the Royal Society. In common language, the one represents science the other learning, and the British representation in the International Association of Academies was thereafter made up by action of both bodies. .

The International Association of Academies did various useful things, of a sort which, either from their nature or their magnitude, called for co-operation of scientists and scholars of various countries. A typical illustration of its undertakings in the humanistic field would be the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by an international committee, and contributed to by Arabists of all countries, and of which the first volume was published in parts from 1908 to 1913. While the war broke up this international academic association, nothing can destroy the need or desire for international co-operation in intellectual fields, and before the war was ended measures for

union were already in operation, but the new organization has come about in a quite different way. In the case of the physical sciences, the war brought about common consultations and common action in investigation to an extent far beyond anything known before. Each of the belligerent countries had organized a national research council, or something of the sort; but the problems important to warfare which they attacked were common to all, and the resulting inventions or discoveries were needed, and needed quickly, by all the allies alike. Upon the initiative of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, the national research councils of the allies united in forming, in 1918, the International Research Council, to which presently, after the armistice, the scientific academies of the neutral countries were admitted on equal terms, for the uniting of scientific effort, which was indispensable in war-time, is as desirable as it ever was in times of peace. The result is, that now the scientific academies of the allied and neutral countries, or the scientific sections of their general academies, are united in a representative international council which holds regular meetings and makes plans for common action upon common problems of science.

Though warfare had not compelled a similar international union of the representatives of learning in humanistic studies, the thought naturally arose, after the formation of this scientific organization, that there ought also to be some like body in which the representatives of history, economics, political and social science, archaeology, philology, and philosophy, should come together for common consultation and action. Accordingly, two of the academies in Paris, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres and the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences, united in calling a conference in May, 1919, which resulted in the formation of the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale). The plan was cordially taken up, and the Union Académique Internationale ("UAI") is now a "going concern". It has already had one meeting in October, 1919, and will have another in May, 1920. The regular place of meeting will be the Palais des Académies at Brussels and the permanent secretariat will be established there. M. Émile Senart, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, president of the Asiatic Society of Paris, distinguished in Indo-Chinese and Pali learning, was chosen as the first president. M. Théophile Homolle, of the same academy, director of the Bibliothèque Nationale, served as secretary at first, but in the permanent organization it is provided that the president, the two vice-presidents, the secretary, and the two adjunct secretaries shall all be from different countries.

The humanistic academies (or humanistic sections of general academies) of France, Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Greece, Poland, Russia, and Japan are all represented in the "UAI", each country having two delegates and two votes. The Spanish Academy of History, the Rumanian Academy, and those of Portugal and Finland and Czechoslovakia will soon join. That of Sweden, characteristically, "will be glad to join the union when it is possible to invite all the countries to participate in it", that is to say, whenever it votes to admit the German and Austrian academies. Naturally, some time must elapse before that can be brought about, though of course it must ultimately occur. Normally, science and learning are international elements in modern civilization and have a natural inclination to ignore national boundaries and proceed to do their part in drawing the world together. According to the constitution of the Union, a majority of three-fourths of all the votes of its members, in a secret ballot, is requisite for the admission of new members.

But now arose, for American well-wishers to the Union, a dilemma like that which confronted the British scholars in 1900; and it has been solved in a similar way, by the creation of a new organization representing the whole group of the humanistic studies. Everyone would wish that the United States should have a part in any such international organization. It would not be presumptuous to suppose that its scholars could be helpful in such an amphictyony, and in any case we ought to wish that America should bear its share of the expense of whatever international undertakings, in fields of learning, it is thought worth while to pursue. Indeed, no right-minded man could wish otherwise than that America, which has emerged from the Great War so much less damaged than other countries, so much the richest of all, should be moved to bear much more than its proportionate share of the world's expenditure for purposes of learning. But just as in 1900 Great Britain lacked any body representative in a general manner of the humanistic studies, and forming a complement to the Royal Society, so in America in 1919, though American science was amply represented by the National Academy of Sciences, American learning had no such general representative body.

The mode chosen for meeting the dilemma was characteristically different. On the whole, the sentiment of American scholars would not be in favor of the attempt to create a select academy, whether of forty immortals or of a hundred mortals, whose mortal quality might be only too clear to those who were not co-opted. In all

probability such a group could not be invested with sufficient prestige or power or material resources to perform great services to American learning. As an instrument for the union of forces, or for securing representation in an international union, we should prefer something more literally representative. Better than with any national academy of learned men, we are contented with the machinery by which we deal with such matters now, namely, by having, for each of the chief humanistic studies, or divisions of learning, a national society of specialists, not limited to small numbers, but embracing all who are strongly enough interested in the particular study to join the national society.

If then the United States was to be at all represented in the International Union of Academies, and many scholars desired that it should be, the best way to achieve it, in view of our actual existing form of organization, was to draw together these specialist societies into some form of loose federation for the purpose. This has now been brought about, chiefly through the efforts and organizing skill of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, secretary hitherto of the American Historical Association. On September 19, 1919, a conference of representatives of ten societies of the variety indicated (thirteen were invited) was held at Boston, at which a constitution for such a federation was formed. It provides for a body to be called the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies (American Council of Learned Societies, for short), which should be composed of two delegates from each of the national learned societies in the United States devoted to the advancement, by scientific methods, of the humanistic studies, and which should elect the two delegates to represent the United States in the UAI. With a little more leniency than was observed in 1787, it was provided that this constitution should go into effect when ratified by seven of the thirteen societies invited to be constituent; but nine of them have already accepted this constitution, mostly at annual meetings held at Christmas-time, and two more are expected to pass similar votes at annual or semi-annual meetings soon to be held.

Delegates having been at the same time appointed, the first meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held on February 14, in New York, at the rooms of the Institute of International Education, which for the present makes generous provision of quarters and of clerical assistance. Delegates from eleven societies were present—the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia), the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston), the American Antiquarian Society, the American Philological Association, the

Archaeological Institute of America, the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Oriental Society, and the Modern Language Association of America. The American Historical Association was represented by Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, and J. F. Jameson. Organization was effected as follows: Professor Haskins was made chairman; Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania, a Latinist, and one of the representatives of the American Philological Association, was chosen as vice-chairman; Professor George M. Whicher, of Hunter College, secretary of the Archaeological Institute of America, was made secretary. The executive committee consists of these three and of Professor Allyn A. Young, of Cornell University, and Professor Hiram Bingham, of Yale University, representatives respectively of the American Economic Association and of the American Antiquarian Society. To represent the United States at the approaching meeting of the UAI, the Council chose Professor James T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, and Mr. William H. Buckler, of Baltimore, archaeologist.

But what is there for such a council, or for an International Union of Academies, to do? It should be premised that, quite apart from international co-operation, the Council may find some modest fields of activity within the national boundaries of the United States. Content as we may be with the present organization of separate societies of specialists, there are some respects in which they may well be thought to work too much in isolation; there are ways in which they might well co-operate more largely, to the real benefit of learning in the United States. The twelve societies upon whose loose union the Council rests, themselves rest upon a total membership of more than 10,000, which ought to be no inconsiderable force in the promotion of learning, in any ways in which learning can be promoted by common action. But now as to international tasks. It is probable that the UAI, like the International Research Council or the International Association of Academies which existed before the war, will more often operate by way of consultation and advice, in forming projects the execution of which will be left, by partition of labor, to the scholars of individual nations, than by carrying out large tasks by machinery and means of its own. But of tasks which require, or are appropriate for, international co-operation there is no lack.

There are some undertakings in the field of scholarship which cannot well be left to one nation alone, lest the rights of other na-

tions in the matter be slighted or infringed. A capital instance is the matter of permits for excavation in the territory formerly belonging to the Ottoman Empire. Such permits have hitherto been marked by favoritism, interruption, and caprice. Now, it seems, excellent regulations framed by an international committee will be attached to the Turkish treaties and to the mandates of the mandatory powers, which will put the exploration of Western Asia on a just and rational basis, safeguarding the rights of excavating nations and of the new countries. Again, the UAI affords good means for the organization of national historical and philological congresses. Through it scholars can join to press upon their respective governments a more uniformly liberal policy regarding the dates to which diplomatic archives can be open for inspection, or can support the preparation of fuller and more uniform guides to archival material or works of reference in diplomatic or international history. Again, in many cases where it is just as well that each nation should do its own scholarly work for itself, there is advantage in having the forms of publication standardized by some international body. The best method of bringing down to date the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* would be for the scholars of each country that was embraced in the Roman Empire to publish whatever Latin inscriptions have been in recent decades found within its borders, yet a uniform mode of presentation, and so far as possible uniform volumes, should be arranged for by joint agreement, and executed under general supervision of a joint committee. Still closer co-operation would be appropriate in the case of a proposed general collection of early Christian inscriptions, or of those early inscriptions in Europe which are neither Greek nor Latin nor Semitic.

The UAI may also, if the means can be found, carry out large compilations of its own, for the service of the scholars of all nations—a general current bibliography of the humanistic sciences, perhaps, or cyclopaedias of certain sorts, like the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* already mentioned, or dictionaries of such languages as Arabic and Pali, or a modern edition of Du Cange. The American Council of Learned Societies might itself, conceivably, undertake such a project as that of a scholarly dictionary of American biography, a project long talked of. There is no lack of interesting projects, many of which have already been laid before the Union.

The amount which the Council or the UAI can achieve depends largely upon the amount of pecuniary support which can be secured. European academies have their funds, and may look to their governments for their increase. The American Council of Learned

Societies is provided, under its constitution, with a small annual revenue, for running expenses, supplied by the constituent societies. Each society contributes the modest sum of five cents a member, no society to pay less than \$25. This will yield \$600 or \$700. The American Historical Association, further, enters into the combination with the Andrew D. White Fund, a nest-egg of \$1000, at its disposal for purposes of international historical work approved by its representatives in the Council. Evidently, however, in order to do anything large, the Council will have to obtain money, from some one of the ten thousand members of its societies or from some other source. But at all events an interesting, and in some ways an inspiring, beginning has been already made.

J. F. J.

THE ARREST OF PROFESSORS FREDERICQ AND PIRENNE

IN the *Nederlandsch Archievenblad*, XXVIII. 1, there has come to us an account, taken from the *Indépendance Belge*, of the means by which the arbitrary arrest, by German authority, of the two distinguished Belgian historians, Professors Paul Fredericq and Henri Pirenne of Ghent, was made known immediately to the outside world of scholars. We are sure that the following extract will be interesting, not only to the many friends of those two scholars who interested themselves in the American efforts to secure their release, but to medievalists and historical students generally, as showing how their simple arts can be put to practical use in an emergency. The allusions to M. Pirenne's children require no explanation, but it should be explained that "Paul le Beau" was the phrase by which the two archivists who figure in the correspondence were wont (with justice) to designate their friend Fredericq. It was through the action of Mr. Muller (the *molendinarius Ultrajectensis* indicated below) that the immediate appeal from the 179 Dutch academicians and professors to the Prussian Academy was organized, upon which followed the appeal of 100 American historical professors through our Department of State; and Mr. Muller throughout the captivity of our two colleagues was the unwearied agent for all communication with them.

Le lendemain de l'arrestation de MM. Fredericq et Pirenne, Mme. Pirenne envoya un messenger à un vieil ami de son mari, l'archiviste général du royaume, Cuvelier, pour qu'il prévint immédiatement son collègue, le célèbre archiviste d'Utrecht S. Muller, qui servait d'intermédiaire entre les fils Pirenne, au front, et la famille en Belgique. Mais

comment faire connaître en Hollande cette nouvelle, que les Allemands avaient tant d'intérêt à tenir cachée? M. Cuvelier eut recours au moyen le plus simple. Sur une carte postale, recommandée, il écrivit à M. Muller:

Mon cher collègue:

Puis-je vous demander de collationner le texte suivant dans la *Chronique d'Utrecht*, dont le manuscrit est conservé dans votre dépôt à l'année CMXV Idibus Martii (ancien style):

Hodie apprehenderunt Henricum, patrem parvi Petri, sociumque Paulum dictum Pulchrum et in partes que teutonice dicuntur Oostlant, missi sunt. Mater Jacobae Henricaeque molendinarium Ultrajectensem moneri petit.

Je crois, que Lamprecht—que vous avez consulté dans le temps—aurait pu nous édifier sur la lecture exacte, mais il est mort. Ne connaissez-vous pas l'archiviste de Crefeld [premier endroit de détention de M. Pirenne], qui doit posséder une copie plus moderne de ce texte? ou quelque autre académicien savant, qui saurait en démêler le sens?

Dans l'espoir, etc.

Quelques jours après M. Cuvelier reçut la réponse suivante:

Mon cher collègue:

J'ai consulté le manuscrit que vous me désignez; c'est le numéro 288 de l'inventaire sommaire. J'y trouve une notice, qui manque à votre texte et qui me semble intéressante:

Quibus statim nuntiatis in partibus inferioribus, magna ibi crevit emotio. Trajectenses imprimis operam dare conabantur. Molendinarius quidam, per confidentiam matris elatus, dixisse fertur, sperare ut eventus eum ea dignum monstraretur.

Le texte n'est pas très clair et d'une latinité peu édifiante; pourtant, le fragment ne me paraît pas sans quelque intérêt. Mater se rapporte peut-être à la mère qui est mentionnée dans votre texte. On m'a envoyé encore un manuscrit de La Haye, que j'ai étudié, mais il me paraît sans grand intérêt; ce qu'il dit ressemble fort à ce que j'avais déjà deviné en consultant mon manuscrit, qui est plus ancien.

Adieu, mon cher collègue; j'espère que votre édition de la chronique réussira. Nos amis se portent très bien et vous saluent.

(Signé) S. MULLER.

Les doctes Allemands n'avaient rien compris à la correspondance.

DOCUMENTS

Spanish Policy toward Virginia, 1606-1612; Jamestown, Ecija, and John Clark of the Mayflower

[Miss Irene A. Wright, of Seville, author of *The Early History of Cuba*, sends to the *Review* the following contribution, accompanied by numerous documents from the archives of Seville and Simancas, of which three are selected for publication. Thirty years ago the late Alexander Brown obtained from Simancas some eighty or ninety documents relating to this same matter, and printed translations of them in his *Genesis of the United States* (1897). They were a wonderful find, illuminated early Virginia history with a fresh light, and added to it many picturesque details. The translations, however, which he entrusted to Professor Schele de Vere, were often faulty.¹

Few of Miss Wright's Simancas documents are identical with Mr. Brown's, though sometimes they run parallel, for in that archive, in the division called *Secretaría de Estado*, there are two widely separated sections devoted to the "Negociación de Inglaterra", and Mr. Brown's documents were almost all taken from one of these, while Miss Wright's come from the other.² She also has found many pertinent documents in the Archives of the Indies, in Seville, mostly in the division called "Indiferente General".

The reasons for choosing, from Miss Wright's large series of documents, the three here presented, are sufficiently indicated below. After selecting them, the editor has made appropriate modifications in her introduction—without opportunity to consult her, but he trusts without marring her work—and has added such foot-notes as the lack of American books in Seville prevented her from supplying.

It has not been the custom of this journal to add translations of documents in Spanish, or other foreign languages, but an exception has been made in the case of the documents here presented, because they make their appeal not solely to students of Spanish-American history, presumed to be able to read Spanish, but also to many whose pursuit is the history of Virginia, or who, especially in this tercentenary year of 1920, are interested in any of the personages of the *Mayflower's* voyage.

In printing the Spanish texts, proper punctuation has been inserted, and the use of *u* and *v* and of *i* and *j* has been normalized. All dates are of new style.—ED.]

DOCUMENTS preserved in the General Archive at Simancas, in Spain, show that, from the commencement, Don Pedro de Cúñiga,

¹ Professor Schele de Vere's statement of the difficulties of translation, Brown, *Genesis*, I. 43-44, is greatly exaggerated.

² Miss Wright's from the section comprising *legajos* 806-846; Mr. Brown's from that comprising *legajos* 2511-2604 (Biaudet's 10 and 49 respectively). See Díaz Sánchez, *Guía*, pp. 69, 74; Biaudet, *Les Archives de Simancas*, pp. 52, 60.

Spanish ambassador at London, kept his government informed concerning English activities in "a part of America called Virginia";³ other documents preserved in the Archive of the Indies at Seville show that, despite strenuous recommendations to action from its council of state, the Spanish government nevertheless took no steps toward hindering those activities. Not even when he was assured that Virginia constituted a peril, not only to his treasure galleons in the Caribbean, but even to his rich mines at Zacatecas, to Peru, and to all his business in the Pacific, did Philip move "to cut the thread" of English colonization in the New World.⁴ He underestimated the menace of it. He considered that the English were wasting money on a worthless region; and he was well pleased to see them do so.

For its own protection, the garrison in Florida was not, in 1608, reduced to 150 from 300 men, as had been intended,⁵ and in 1609 and again in 1611 expeditions were despatched to reconnoitre the region and to spy out details of the English settlement itself, but beyond this, regardless of the recommendations of his council of state that he use force to dislodge dangerous heretics from land which lay "within the demarkation of the crown of Castile", the Catholic king took no measures to upset the new-laid cornerstone of British empire; he contented himself with seeking information concerning it. Of the two reconnaissances made, additional information can now be presented.

On December 24, 1606, Don Pedro de Cũniga wrote that the King of England had issued patents to two colonies, conceding to them all the mainland of North America between 32° and 55°, from the coast inland for 100 leagues. The settlers were free "to plant their religion in that part". They were to rob nobody, on penalty of forfeiting the king's protection, which, otherwise, they were to have. The second colony was not to be within 100 leagues of the first, "but he does not speak", the ambassador remarked, "of the distance they should be from your majesty's ships", passing, he meant, through the Bahama Channel en route from the colonies to Spain, with rich cargoes of silver and of other valuable merchandise. Officers were being sworn in, and, with the assistance of the Spanish king's rebel vassals of the Low Countries, the English meant, Don Pedro declared, to send two thousand settlers into Virginia.⁶

³ *E.g.*, Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 843, f. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, leg. 844, f. 21.

⁵ Seville, Archivo General de Indias, 147-5-16, Indiferente General, junta de guerra de Indias, January 26, 1607, July 8, 1608.

⁶ Cũniga to king, December 24, 1606, *ibid.* (printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 88-90).

With this despatch in view, the council for war in the Indies on March 14, 1607, recommended that "all necessary force should be employed to hinder this project, and by no means should opportunity be afforded to foreign nations to occupy this land, for it was discovered by the crown of Castile and lies within its demarkation. Moreover, their proximity would, as is obvious, worry all the Indies and Indian trade, the more so if they introduce there the religion and liberty of conscience which they profess. This alone is what most obliges [us] to the defense, next after [our] reputation, which is so imperilled." The council further advised that Don Pedro de Cũniga be instructed to investigate carefully and if he found that the plans he had outlined were being carried into effect, he was to "lay the matter before the king of England, complaining that he permit his vassals to attempt to disturb the peace of the seas, coasts and lands of your majesty, and that, through him, the rebels and other nations be favored in this project".⁷

On August 21, 1608, his council of state, having seen a report by the Jesuit, Father Cresuelo, and certain advices submitted by Colonel (Sir William) Stanley, assured Philip "that this matter of Virginia is not to be remedied by any negotiation, but by force, punishing those who have gone there, for to do so will not break the peace".⁸ On October 22, 1608, the council for war in the Indies advised the king "that an armada should be assembled, with all possible speed, to go hunt them and drive them out from wherever they may be, punishing them exemplarily, and because at present there is in Spain no armada which can be used for this purpose, nor means nor inclination to assemble one, the council proposes to your majesty the ten galleons which have just been built at Dunkirk for the coasts of Flanders. . . ." They were in a convenient port; 50,000 ducats might be appropriated from the silver which the armada was bringing from the Indies, to arm, man, and provision them. Juan Gutierrez de Garibay, already designated to command these vessels, knew the Florida coast, and might at the last moment be ordered to proceed to Virginia, with confidence "that God will give him success on this occasion". The king confined himself to decreeing that the galleons (*galeoncetas*, he called them) be brought to Spain; "as for the rest, I will be considering it".⁹

He referred the suggestion of the council for war to the council

⁷ Junta de guerra de Indias, March 14, 1607, *ibid.* Rebels of the Netherlands are meant.

⁸ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, ff. 10, 11.

⁹ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16, *consulta* based on Cũniga's letter of March 28, 1608, for which see Brown, *Genesis*, I. 147.

of state and on November 22, 1608, that body expressed agreement with them; "that it will be well to bring here the ten *galeoncetas* which have been built in Dunkirk, and when they shall have arrived, to see, according to the condition of affairs then, what may be most convenient to do; and in order that no time be lost in bringing the said *galeoncetas*, that your majesty deign to order to be provided at once the money recommended by the council; and that inquiry be made whether General Juan Gutierrez de Garibay is available for this undertaking".¹⁰ Regardless of whether he was, or not, the undertaking itself seems never to have materialized.

The crown desired further information concerning Virginia. At this same time (October 22, 1608) Martin de Aroztegui, who was at San Sebastian, was ordered, through the council for war in the Indies, "to inform himself (with great secrecy and skill) from pilots and persons who have recently arrived from Newfoundland in San Juan de Luz and other parts of that province, whether en route going or coming they met or sighted any vessels belonging to English or other northern nationalities who may have gone to those regions, and particularly to Virginia which is toward the coast of Florida, and if they have learned anything of their designs, and in what latitude they met them", etc., etc. He was to report if there were two small vessels available, with pilots and mariners acquainted with those western waters, estimating the expense of sending them out to reconnoitre Virginia. Aroztegui reported on November 1. The council had written of Virginia; his reply was all New France. Canada and the northwest passage occupied his horizon.¹¹

On November 8, 1608—perhaps immediately upon receipt of Aroztegui's prompt response—a *cédula* was issued, through the council for war in the Indies, to Pedro de Ybarra, governor of Florida, bidding him explore "the bays and ports which are in Virginia and its coasts", and discover "what English or rebels have gone there and with what designs and if they have established and fortified themselves in any part and with what people and forces". He was to report promptly. It had evidently been decided that the reconnaissance could be made most cheaply and most expediently from Florida. The text of this *cédula* echoes Don Pedro de Cufiiga's despatch of December 24, 1606, and the views thereon expressed by the council for war in the Indies, but without diminishing the menace they described, for the *cédula* estimates the Englishmen about to pour into Virginia at 2500 or 3000, whereas the ambassador had

¹⁰ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 21.

¹¹ Seville, A. G. I., 140-2-9, junta de guerra; 143-5-2, Aroztegui.

reckoned the possibilities at 2000 only! The king suggested that Governor Ybarra despatch upon this mission Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, who, in 1605, had been commissioned to explore the coast north of the Florida settlements, and in execution of that commission had gone as far as Cape San Roman. He was to make a very thorough reconnaissance of the country and report in detail upon it and upon what the English, or the rebels, had accomplished there.¹²

Through the next two years and more the ambassador at London, Don Pedro de Cũniga, and his successor, Don Alonso de Velasco, continued to report the varying fortunes of the Virginia venture, and the council of state continued to assure the crown that the matter was important and should be attended to "very much in earnest".¹³ Nothing was done—not even when, writing on June 14, 1610, Don Alonso de Velasco reported that "the English who went to Virginia are besieged by the Indians, most of them having died, and the rest are eating each other for hunger, on account of which that enterprise is cooling down, and it would be easy to undo it completely by sending a few ships to finish off the survivors". In vain the council of state urged Philip to take advantage of this "excellent opportunity" to obliterate the English from the New World.¹⁴

Toward the end of 1610, according to the despatches of the Spanish ambassador at London, the Virginia enterprise revived; and early in 1611 it was evidently felt that further information in the matter must be had. Don Francisco de Varte informed the council for war in the Indies that he knew a Catholic Englishman who could be relied upon to go to Virginia, from England itself, investigate, and report.¹⁵ When, in April, 1611, the council was of a mind to use him, this man was not available;¹⁶ by the time (June) that he became so, the council had altered its plans and ordered de Varte to drop negotiations with him.¹⁷ Possibly Governor Ybarra had meanwhile been heard from.

¹² Seville, A. G. I., 87-5-2, Audiencia de Mějico, Virrey, Registro de Oficio, Reales Ordenes.

¹³ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 26, *consulta* of April 7, 1609, based on Cũniga's letters of March 5 and 15, the former of which is printed in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 243-247; and leg. 844, f. 14, *consulta* of July 28, 1609, based on Cũniga's letters of April 22 and 29 and May 20, from the last of which an extract is printed in Brown, I. 310.

¹⁴ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, ff. 44, 50, *consultas* of July 3 and November 2, 1610. Velasco's letter of June 14 is in Brown, I. 392.

¹⁵ Velasco's letters of September 30 and December 31, 1610, in Brown, I. 418, 442. Secretary of council to Varte, April 30, 1611, Seville, A. G. I., 140-2-9.

¹⁶ Same to same, June 7, 1611, A. G. I., *ibid.*

¹⁷ Same to same, June 21, *ibid.*

Now, before January, 1611, the Spanish council for war, either being uninformed of what the council for war in the Indies had done in this matter, or considering that it had not done enough, decided that it was advisable to send over a competent person to make a thorough reconnaissance of that region and to investigate carefully into English accomplishment in colonization. The council of state was of the opinion that the governor of Cuba, too, should be ordered to look into the strength of the enemy in Virginia.¹⁸

The council for war in the Indies was indignant at the national council's incursion into its domain. It had before it Governor Ybarra's report on his compliance with the *cédula* of November 8, 1608. The reconnaissance which the council for war was now ordering made, had been made already, and the council for war in the Indies petitioned the crown to avoid a repetition of it. This the king declined to do. He decreed that letters he had ordered written through the council for war to the governors of Florida and Cuba should be sent regardless, bidding them to favor the second reconnaissance party;¹⁹ these letters were despatched, presumably under date of March 22, 1611, and the expedition they concerned cleared forthwith from Lisbon.²⁰

Although the council for war in the Indies had said in March that it had Ybarra's report before it, not until May 5, 1611, was the king informed of what Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija had done. Their *consulta* of that date is the document printed below with the number I.²¹ Captain Ecija's own report, full and elaborate, with summaries of the speeches made by him and his officers on various occasions, is in existence,²² but the *consulta* sets forth nearly all it contains that is of any importance as respects the Virginian settlement. Governor Ybarra had also sent a *derrotero* (pilot-book) of

¹⁸ Simancas, Secr. de Estado, leg. 844, f. 56, *consulta* of January 22, 1611.

¹⁹ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16, *consulta* of March 23, 1611, and *resolución* of the king.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *consulta* of council for war in Indies, October 31, 1611, and "the Duke" (of Lerma) to Antonio de Aroztegui, December 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 147-5-17.

²² Brown speaks of this relation, I. 326, stating that Dr. Shea declined to let him use the copy which Buckingham Smith had bequeathed to the New York Historical Society. There is now also a copy in the Library of Congress, Lowery Collection, Florida, vol. VI., which the editor has used in interpreting our documents. It is marked as from Seville, "A. G. I., Simancas, Real Armada, Gobierno, Papeles pertenecientes . . . 1567 a 1609, Patronato, 2-5- $\frac{3}{8}$ ", is a manuscript of some 12,500 words, and (with Ybarra's preceding orders) is entitled, "Orden del Gobernador D. Pedro de Ybarra (de S. Agustín de la Florida) a el Capitan Francisco Fernandez de Ecija para reconocer las costas del norte de aquella Provincia, y Relacion de este viage llevado a cabo por el mismo Capitan".

Ecija's voyage, made by his pilot, and describing sea-marks, coast-line, harbors, and soundings.²³ The *consulta* shows the opinions which the report inspired in Ybarra and in the council. Upon it the king wrote: "Since a man has been sent to reconnoitre that port, await what he shall bring who went."

"He . . . who went" was Captain Diego de Molina. He was called *alcaide* (warden) for he was to have been warden of a fort in South America had not an expedition in which he had been active, and at expense, been abandoned, leaving him without employment, and seeking compensation, when the council for war sought a man to visit Virginia.²⁴

Through the council for war, as has been said, a *cédula* dated March 22, 1611,²⁵ was issued to the governors of Florida and Cuba, Ybarra and Gaspar de Pereda; I have not seen this document, but under date of March 30 another was addressed to these governors through the council for war in the Indies which, I take it, was to the same effect—a confirmation, that is, by their immediate superiors, of the commands of the council for war. The *cédula* of March 30 informs Pereda and Ybarra that the *alcaide* Don Diego de Molina and the *alférez* (standard-bearer, ensign) Marco Antonio Perez have been ordered to go "in a caravel which has been equipped for them, on account of the Atlantic squadron, to reconnoitre the port and land called Virginia which is on the coast of Florida". Both governors were instructed to lend all possible assistance.²⁶

On pretense that they were going to recover the artillery of a wrecked ship, Molina and Perez cleared from Lisbon April 13; a "confidential" Englishman, married in that city,²⁷ accompanied them. It is possible that he had served as pilot in the Spanish navy under Don Luis Fajardo. In their caravel, *Nuestra Señora del*

²³ Of this also there is a copy in the same volume of the Lowery Collection, "Derrotero que hizo Andres Gonzalez piloto en la Florida, del viage que verificó por mandado de Pedro de Ybarra, Gobernador y Capitan General de aquellas Provincias, al Xacan", a transcript of nearly 8000 words, marked as from Seville, "A. G. I., Simancas, Florida, Patronato, 1-1-¹⁶¹¹ Ro. 31". It is of value for identifying place-names, and has been used in annotating the documents here printed. It appears from a remark in Shepherd's *Guide to Spanish Archives*, p. 80, that there is also a map by Gonzalez, in the same section of the Patronato.

²⁴ Seville, A. G. I., 145-1-3.

²⁵ A. G. I., 54-1-16, and the documents referred to in notes 19 and 20, above.

²⁶ A. G. I., 87-5-2, Audiencia de Méjico, Virrey, Registros de Oficio, Reales Ordenes.

²⁷ Francis Lymbrý; see Brown, II. 650, 739, and *passim*. Dale hanged him on his voyage to England in 1616. Purchas, IV. 1713, and Smith, *Generall Historie*, who says, p. 119, that the man had been a pilot for the Spanish Armada in 1588.—The date of sailing is given in Brown, I. 511.

Rosario, Amador Lousado, master, they arrived in Havana on May 24, 1611. In obeying his instructions to their satisfaction Governor Pereda delivered to them a Biscay shallop, with munitions, provisions, etc., "of all which they had great need". With both vessels they cleared from Havana for Virginia on June 2.²⁸

The story of their voyage may be followed by means of various documents in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, especially a report enclosed in a letter of the Duke of Lerma to Secretary Antonio de Aroztegui, November 13, 1611.²⁹ That report gives us at second hand the substance of what is given at first hand in the documents printed below, under the numbers II. and III. No. II.³⁰ contains the declaration of "the Englishman from Virginia" whom the narrative shows to have been captured there, and a declaration, apparently not quite complete, made jointly by the master, the pilot, and a mariner of the caravel which had taken Molina, Perez, and the English *confidente* up to the Virginian coast. These declarations were made in Havana on July 23, 1611, the day after the caravel's return to that port.³¹ No. III.³² is a later declaration by the same man, "confession of the English pilot from Virginia", taken down in Madrid, February 18, 1613. There are significant differences in one or two details: he was "thirty-five years old and of the religion of his king" when he arrived in Havana; he was forty, a year and a half later when he got to Spain, and a Catholic! But what lends exceptional interest to his depositions is that this English pilot, captured at Point Comfort, was none other than that John Clark who in 1620 was mate of the *Mayflower*. It appears that he was in Malaga in 1609; sailed from London for Virginia with Sir Thomas Dale in March, 1611; was a prisoner in Havana till 1612 and in Spain until 1616, when he was released; made a voyage to Virginia in 1619; was with the *Mayflower* in 1620; was made free of the Virginia Company in 1622; went to Virginia in 1623, and died there soon after.³³

²⁸ Seville, A. G. I., 54-1-16, 81-6-7, and 147-5-16, *consulta* of October 31, 1611.

²⁹ Simancas, Estado, leg. 2588, ff. 81, 82; Brown, I. 511-522.

³⁰ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

³¹ Brown, I. 518; re-examined later, I. 522.

³² From the next *legajo*, 147-5-17.

³³ Brown, II. 854 *et passim*; (royal order for transfer to Spain, January 17, 1612, A. G. I., 78-2-2, vol. 6, p. 135; arrival at Seville before December 22, 1612, Simancas, leg. 844, f. 152; at Madrid before February 9, 1613, Lerma to Salinas, A. G. I., 147-5-17; released January 26, 1616, Contreras to Vergara, February 1, A. G. I., 140-2-9 III.); Neill, *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 132-133; Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*, ed. Ford, I. 116, 277; *Records of the Virginia Com-*

Governor Pereda had detained the crew of caravel and shallop, in hopes that a punitive expedition, which he stood ready to lead in person, would be formed in Havana; if it were, experienced men would come in handy. Or if such an expedition were sent from Spain they could join it at Puerto Rico, where doubtless it would call.³⁴ A year later, because he felt the expense to which he was being put, because he had received no orders concerning it, and perhaps because he had lost hope that any action would be taken against the English, the governor sent the caravel to Spain in company with the treasure galleons.³⁵

The council for war in the Indies on October 31, 1611, recommended that the Spanish ambassador in London be instructed to seek the release of the three men whom the English had held in Virginia, and the crown so ordered. It was to be argued that it was unjust to hold them, for they had gone to that coast to recover the artillery of a wrecked ship; this was the same story Molina told the English captain at dinner at the fort at Point Comfort!³⁶ London agreed, or perhaps proposed, to exchange the Spaniards for John Clark, and on January 17, 1612, Governor Pereda was ordered to send him at the earliest safe opportunity to the Casa de la Contratación at Seville. It was specified that he was to be well treated and there is evidence that he was so. Despite this early agreement to exchange prisoners, John Clark was not delivered to the British ambassador at Madrid until February, 1616; on receipt of evidence that he had been so delivered, Don Diego de Molina was to be handed over to the Spanish ambassador in London, who was then Don Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña (afterward count of Gondomar).³⁷ The English were slow to give him up (Perez had died in

pany, I. 599, February 13, 1622, "Mr. Deputy acquainted the Court that one mr. Jo. Clarke beinge taken from Virginia longe since by a Spanish Shippe that come to discover that Plantacion by whome he was carried to Spayne and there deteyned fower yeares thinkinge to have made him an instrument to betray that Plantacion, That for somuch as he hath since that time donn the Companie good service in many voyages to Virginia and of late went into Ireland for transportacion of Cattle to Virginia he was an humble Suitor to this Court that he might be admitted a free Brother of the Companie and have some shares of land bestowed upon him", which was done; *ibid.*, II. 32, 75, 90, May 22, July 3, 1622.

³⁴ Pereda to the crown, August 12, 1611, A. G. I., 147-5-17; September 11, *ibid.*, 54-1-16; *consulta* of the junta de guerra, October 31, *ibid.*, 147-5-16.

³⁵ Pereda to the crown, August 28, 1612, *ibid.*, 54-1-16.

³⁶ No. III., below; Contreras to Lerma, December 5, 1611, and Lerma to A. de Aroztegui, December 15, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

³⁷ *Real orden* of January 17, 1612, A. G. I., 78-2-2, vol. 6, p. 135; *consultas* of the junta de guerra, January 19, December 22, 1612, January 24, February 23, 1613, July 6, 1614, July 9, 1615, in A. G. I., 147-5-17; of the council of state,

captivity), but by the end of that year Molina was in Spain, welcoming a thousand ducats given to him by his government "in consideration of his long and good service, and the great need in which he finds himself because of his long detention in Virginia".³⁸ He was then planning to go with caravels to reconnoitre and sound the Straits of Magellan.³⁹ It is to be presumed that what information he had concerning Virginia was stale by the time he was permitted to deliver it to his government.

Clark's depositions gave a picture—especially of cannon and fighting force—which may well have inspired respect, and misgiving. In many more advantageous situations, Spaniards had not accomplished in a hundred years as much as John Clark declared that the English had done at Jamestown in half a decade.⁴⁰ And now the ambassador in London said⁴¹ that in response to the Virginia governor's appeals for help, against Spanish attack which he foresaw for that spring, the company of merchants behind the Virginia enterprise was about to send over eight hundred more men, well armed, well clad, with supplies and munitions for a year. The Spanish ambassador assured the king that one hundred went early in March, 1612, and others were expected to follow in April to a total of not over a thousand.⁴²

There was wide divergence in the views of his counsellors as to what the king of Spain ought to do about it. The council for war in the Indies recommended the despatch, in March, 1612, if possible, of an expedition to consist of as many as four thousand men, "to turn the English out" of Virginia. There was discussion whether this expedition should be raised wholly in Spain, or whether resources available in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo should

December 22, 1612, October 31, 1613, January 11, 1614, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, ff. 152, 172, 175-177; Ledesma to Portugal, November 13, 1612, A. G. I., 152-1-3, vol. 10, p. 135; Contreras to Vergara, December 24, 1612, February 1, 1616, to the prison-keeper, February 26, 1613, to Çiriça, February 18, 1616, *ibid.*, 140-2-9; Lerma to Salinas, February 9, 1613, *ibid.*, 147-5-17. Cf. instructions of Philip III. in Brown, II. 533, 603, 631, 657, 663, and letters of Molina, *ibid.*, pp. 652, 737-744.

³⁸ A. G. I., 140-2-9 IV., p. 105

³⁹ A. G. I., 140-2-9 IV.

⁴⁰ For instance, outside Havana, a very important place, where a garrison of 450 men was maintained, and civilians trained in arms raised the fighting strength to approximately a thousand, there was no settlement in all Cuba to compare with Jamestown, as John Clark described it. But Clark somewhat exaggerated the population; see note 70, below.

⁴¹ *Consulta* of council of state, February 14, 1612, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, f. 113.

⁴² *Id.*, and *consultas* of March 17 and May 15, *ibid.*, ff. 112, 119.

be called upon; evidently Governor Pereda and the Marques de Salinas had discussed this matter when the latter passed through Havana, and with the marques the council for war in the Indies conferred on his arrival in Spain. There was much talk as to what ships should be used; while the council wanted a large enough force sent to avoid humiliating defeat, it was not desired that the undertaking appear so formidable, or so formally a government enterprise, that the King of England would feel obliged to break the peace on account of it. There were those who held that if the ruff-raff who had gone to Virginia were only killed quietly enough, James would conclude that it was their own fault, because they had gone there! In favor of raising this expedition largely in the Indies it was argued that it would provide the King of Spain with the excuse that it was done without his sanction by residents in the Indies alarmed for their own safety. Only one voice in the council for war in the Indies, and that speaking feebly, decried the importance of the English settlement, belittling the desirability of putting an immediate end to it.⁴³

On the contrary, in the council of state the *comendador mayor* of Leon voiced what was now that body's opinion⁴⁴ when he declared that he did not consider the English colony dangerous, nor Virginia valuable, since neither gold nor silver had been found there; it was thought that Clark's testimony showed the settlement to constitute no menace to Spanish commerce. The idea grew that it was clever policy to encourage the English to waste their money. It was even suggested that another vessel be sent to reconnoitre, to worry them and force them to further expenditure.⁴⁵ And this was indeed the policy which Spain adopted, in 1612, toward Virginia.

It will be recalled that in 1565 Philip II. had just given Florida up as hopeless, and had announced his intention to have no more to do with it, when he learned that Frenchmen were succeeding there, where Spaniards had failed. In response to their challenge, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés fared forth—the very spirit of the Spain of his time, sword in one hand and cross in the other—for Christ Our Lord, for the Catholic king, and for the merchants of Seville—to enforce Spanish religious, political, and commercial monopoly in the Indies. Now, precisely when he was wearied of that north country and fain to check the drain it made upon his

⁴³ *Consulta* of January 19, 1612, A. G. I., 147-5-17.

⁴⁴ *Consulta* of council of state, February 14, 1612, Simancas, Estado, leg. 844, f. 113.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, and *consulta* of August 31, 1612, *ibid.*, f. 146.

patience and his purse, the English had arisen to menace another Philip in exactly the same fashion, from Virginia.

But times had changed, and men with them. The day of the religious fanatic—the day of Menéndez and of Drake—had passed, and no zealot arose to serve the Holy Catholic Faith as devoutly in Virginia as it had been served in Florida, a generation before, despite the fact that the king's councils lamented the proximity of heresy and in plain words recommended slitting the throats of the Protestants of Virginia as those of the Calvinists had in all piety been slit in Florida. Though Philip was still jealous of his political supremacy “within the demarkation of the crown of Castile”, he was prudently so; after all, it was a worthless country which the King of England had made bold to assign to his subjects, for it contained neither gold nor silver mines. The Catholic king had had more than enough of war with Englishmen; Philip harbored no desire to break the peace—certainly Virginia was not worth it. Though Spain still maintained the pretense of monopoly of Indies trade, Philip II. himself had confessed, to his son, that the English could not be kept out of it;⁴⁶ to “clean the seas” in the Indies had been too great a task even for the convictions and the ability of Pedro Menéndez. But to protect her lion's share of the profits from the Indies Spain had built her a navy to match and more than match the sea-power of England; though it did not prevent him from being always a-tremble in his royal shoes for the safety of his merchant fleets and of his treasure-galleons, possession of that navy must have operated to persuade Philip that Jamestown meant less to Spanish commerce than had Port Royal.⁴⁷ The Spaniards took little stock in hopes of finding a northwest passage.⁴⁸ It is doubtful whether the suggestion that the settlement at Jamestown constituted a danger to Mexico, the Isthmus, Peru, and the China trade, appeared preposterous to Philip; he possessed no accurate map with which to compare it, and Drake and Essex had demonstrated that there was nothing whatsoever impossible to men of their nationality. But, lacking the spur of religious fanaticism, feeling no deep fear of Virginia in any commercial aspect, for once Spain failed to respond to that which usually moved her effectively; she failed to react to the threat of foreign aggression. Philip was content in 1612 to try to keep himself informed concerning Virginia,⁴⁹ and meanwhile

⁴⁶ See Corbett, *The Successors of Drake*, p. 238.

⁴⁷ See Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II. 367.

⁴⁸ Council of state, January 3, 1612, Simancas, leg. 844, f. 91.

⁴⁹ Council of state, May 15, 1612, May 9, 1613, *ibid.*, ff. 119-120, 165; junta de guerra, January 24, 1613, A. G. I., 147-5-17.

to let the English spend there all the money they would waste upon a region he considered undesirable.

IRENE A. WRIGHT

I. CONSULTA OF THE COUNCIL FOR WAR IN THE INDIES, MARCH 5, 1611.⁵⁰

Junta de guerra de Indias A 5 de Marzo 1611.—Con lo que se ofrezca acerca de la virginia que los yngleses la ban ocupando.

don diego de ybarra.

don diego brochero.

don fernando Giron.

Licenciado don francisco arias maldonado.

doctor bernardo de olmedilla.

licenciado don francisco de tejada.

Señor: Vuestra magestad, por cedula de ocho de noviembre de 608 despachada Por esta Junta de guerra, mando a Pedro de ybarra governador y capitan general que entonçes hera de la florida ordenase al capitan francisco fernandez de ecija, o a otro de quien

tubiese satisfacion, fuese por la Costa del Norte y pasando el Cavo de san Roman reconociese todo lo que toca a la virginia y los puertos, bayas y escollos que ay en su Costa en los sitios que se puedan fortificar, y si los yngleses o otras naciones an pasado a aquellas partes y si an hecho pie y fortificadose en alguna y en donde y como y con que gente y fuerzas, o si an poblado algun lugar y porque derrota an ydo, y de que sustancia es aquella tierra y lo que della pueden sacar estas naciones y con que yndios se Comunican y que distancia ay desde la florida a la Virginia o a la parte donde an hecho asiento, y con que prevençiones y fuerzas se podrian hechar de alli y estorvarles sus yntentos y castigarlos. en cuyo cumplimiento despacho el governador al dicho capitan ecija en Una çabra con 25 personas de mar y guerra y una yndia natural y lengua de aquellas provinçias casada con Un soldado español y algunas azadas y otras cosas de hierro que le dio para grangear las boluntades de los yndios y Rescatar a Un franzes que havia muchos años le tenia preso Un Caçique de aquellas partes para que tamvien les sirviese de lengua, y por la ynstrucion que le dio le hordenó hiziese la diligencia que vuestra magestad mandava hasta llegar a la altura de 37 grados y medio, que es el parage a donde entendia estava la poblacion de los yngleses, y que no los allando alli pasase hasta la mina del oro que es a los 44 grados y medio, Reconociendo el gran Rio de gama que es en 43 grados, y el dicho capitan ecija salio del puerto de san agustin de la florida a Hazer esta diligencia en 26 de Junio de 609 y fue Reconociendo y sondando todos los puertos y bayas que havia en la costa, y haviendo llegado al Rio que llaman del Jordan a los 8 de Julio se ynformo alli del yndio mandado[r] y otros y tubo noticia que a quatro dias de camino pasado el llano de san Roman estan a la poblacion de los yngleses en Un pueblo que se llama guandape, Junto a Un Rio que sale a la mar, y es en una isla çercada de agua que de una banda se sirve con la tierra firme, y que de hordinario ay en este puerto navios y habria tres meses que salieron siete, y los seis tomaron la buelta del norte y el otro la del sur, y en el puerto quedavan siempre algunos de Respeto y cada dia yban y venian otros muchos de

⁵⁰ A. G. I., 147-5-17. In the margin the king has written, "Pues se ha embiado a Reconocer aquel puerto esperese a lo que trugere el que fue", *i.e.*, "Since a man has been sent to reconnoitre that port await what he shall bring who went".

la buelta del norte, y que tenian hecho un fuerte pero que hera de madera y estavan confederados con los caciques Comarcanos y a ocho de ellos los Comunicaban como amigos y los regalavan mucho y les davan vestidos y herramientas y los mandavan sembrar, sin que los mismos yngleses se ocupasen en esto sino en su fortificaçion, y en la parte donde de todo esto se ynformo el capitan eçija Rescato al franzes (llamado Juan corbe) natural de have de graçia y, Con el salieron en seguimiento de su Viaje a los 15 de Julio, y a los 25 del llegando a la baya del Jacan (que por otro nombre llaman la Virginia) Reconoçio un navio surto en ella y por ser de mucho mas porte que el que ellos llevaban, porque traya dos velas de gavia y una gran bandera de tope, y haver hechado de ver que deseava enpeñarlos en la baya donde pudiese ser señor porque se ybà Retirando, no se atrevieron a seguirle ni a cerrar con el, y asi pasaron luego hasta 35 grados y medio de donde por tormentas y estar el tiempo adelante para aquellos mares dieron la buelta para el Jordan, y alli se bolvieron a ynformar de los yngleses, Y Ratificando los yndios en lo que antes havian dicho añadieron que junto a la fuerza de madera hechavan mucha piedra el agua a media pierna y que la trayan con unos barcos y havia muchas mugeres y niños que yban a pasear por los canpos y casas de los yndios cercanos, y que desde el Rio Jordan a la poblaçion por Camino derecho por tierra ay poco mas de 50 leguas, y a sant agustin de la florida 100, de manera que desde ella a la parte donde los yngleses se ban fortificando ay 150 leguas, y el françe que Rescataron declaro. que de los yndios del pueblo en que estubo cautibo, que yban y venian de Hordinario a la poblaçion de los yngleses, supo que tenian hecho un fuerte de madera y su pueblo formado de lo mismo y dos navios gruesos artillados a manera de Castillos en guarda del fuerte y otros dos en guarda y centinela de la barra, sin los que yban y venian, y que todos los años yva un navio de ynglaterra Cargados de bastimentos y Municiones; y con esta Relaçion ynvio el governador pedro de yvarra un derrotero del Viaje que Hizo el dicho capitan eçija, hecho Por el piloto que fue con el, diziendo las señas y la calidad de los puertos y bayas que ay desde la florida a la parte donde llegaron, y el governador dize en su carta que le pareçe que el disignio que llevan estos yngleses, a lo que a podido entender, es fortificarse en la dicha baya del Jacan, que tiene quatro leguas y mas de boca y apartandose de tierra desde su entrada un tiro de piedra veinte brazas de fondo donde menos, y entrar la tierra adentro trayendo para esto gente sufiçiente hasta llegar a la nueva mexico, nueva galicia, y Vizcaya y çacatecas, que estan en su misma altura, y pasar a la otra mar del poniente atravesando la tierra, porque de la parte de la florida suben grandes Rios la tierra adentro y de la otra mar tanvien se tiene notiçia que salen otros no menores y que ay poca distancia de los unos a los otros, y subiendo el enemigo por los de la banda del este podrà abaxar por los del Ueste y fortificarse en los puertos de la mar y hazer alla navios y armadas y correr toda la Costa de la nueva españa, tierra firme, peru y china en gran daño de la Corona y basallos de vuestra magestad, y que antes que se apodere mas de la tierra ymporitaria tratar el hecharle della, porque como a los naturales no les quitan nada de sus Ritos, que es lo que ellos mas quieren, y Juntamente los acariçian y Regalan, aun que con cosas de poco valor, los tienen muy gratos y contentos y se les ban allegando todos, y en aquella Costa del norte Podran poblar la barra de cayagua que es estremado sitio 70

leguas del presidio de la florida en 33 grados y medio, a donde pueden venir por tierra desde su poblacion y ay Cantidad de yndios muy vien proveydos de frutos de la tierra y otros mantenimientos.

y aviendose Visto todo en la junta de guerra, Juntamente con otros papeles que ynçidentemente se llevaron a ella aun que de poco credito, y que vuestra magestad en respuesta de una consulta de 23 de marzo deste año, sobre que se suspendiese la execuçion de la diligençia que por el Consejo de guerra se ynviava a Hazer en rrazon de Reconoçer la Virginia y que esto Corriese por la junta pues le tocava y hera materia que estava yntroduçida en ella, manda se Cunpla lo que por el dicho Consejo de guerra tenia resuelto y que si a la junta se le ofreçiere otra Cosa que convenga prevenir para la execuçion de lo que se a de hazer se le consulte, y considerando los daños e ynconvenientes grandes que se prometen de la vezindad destos yngleses y el cuydado en que pondrian a todas las yndias occidentales y contrataçion dellas, mayormente si plantan en aquellas partes la Religion que profesan, a paresçido que al servicio de dios y de vuestra magestad y vien universal de sus Vasallos conviene mucho atajarles desde luego sus yntentos, hechandolos de alli antes que echen mas Raizes y se apoderen mas de la tierra y se fortifiquen y tengan mayores fuerzas y se estiendan Por otras partes como lo yran procurando, pues no es otro su disignio, y si esto no se Haze con tiempo sera despues muy dicifil, mas para que se pueda hazer con efecto, porque las notiçias que se tienen no se juzgan por bastantes, sera bien Cobrarla çierta y entera de todo lo que ay en la Virginia y para esto, demas del medio que por el Consejo de guerra se tomo y se mando executar, se a ofreçido otro, y es que siendo vuestra magestad servido se podrian ynviar dos Religiosos del seminario de yngleses que mas satisfacion se tenga para que vayan a ynglaterra y se embarquen en la Primera ocasion de navios que de alli se ynvia a la Virginia, y enterados de los Vezinos poblacion y fortificaciones y la calidad y disposiçion del puerto o puertos donde se ban fortificando se buelban a inglaterra en los mismos navios del trato y de alli a españa Con la mayor y mas entera noticia de todo que se pueda, para que teniendo la neçesaria por anbas Vias se ponga en execuçion el yr con fuerzas suficientes a Hecharlos de alli.

don diego de ybarra y don fernando xiron, presupuesto que conviene mucho no se pierda ningun tienpo en cosa que tanto ynporta, son de pareçer que mientras se Hazen estas diligençias se bayan Juntando (dando yntento que son para otro algun efecto del servicio de vuestra magestad) hasta quatro o cinco mil hombres y los baxeles necesarios para ellos que sean muy buenos y aproposito para este efecto, con marineros plasticos de aquella navegacion, que llevando Cabeza de la esperiençia noticia y satisfacion que Conbenga para semejante enpresa Juzgan seran bastantes fuerças para Conseguir lo que se pretende, demas de que si las nuevas notiçias que se tubieren obligaren a que sean mayores se podran acreçentar con brevedad, para que estando todo a punto salga a navegar la armada para fin de marzo del año que viene de 612, que es el tiempo mas aproposito para el viaje que an de hazer, porque entrado el verano corren en aquellos mares bientos Contrarios y así yrian muy aventurados y por lo menos seria ynfructuosa la costa que se hiziese pues no podran hazer ningun buen efecto. Vuestra magestad lo mandara ver y probeher lo que mas se sirva. en madrid a 5 de Mayo 1611. (Hay seis rubricas.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Council for War in the Indies, March 5, 1611; with what is offered concerning Virginia, which the English are occupying.

Don Diego de Ybarra.

My Lord:

Don Diego Brochero.

Don Fernando Giron.

Licenciado Don Francisco Arias Maldonado.

Doctor Bernardo de Olmedilla.

Licenciado Don Francisco de Tejada.

Your Majesty, by *cédula* of November 8, 1608, transmitted through this council for war, commanded Pedro de Ybarra, at that time governor and captain general of Florida, to order Captain Francisco Fernandez de Ecija, or some other that he found satisfactory, to go

along the coast northward, and, passing Cape San Roman,⁵¹ to reconnoitre all that relates to Virginia and the ports, bays, and reefs along its coast in the places that can be fortified, and see whether the English, or other nations, have gone to these regions, and whether they have set foot and fortified themselves in any, and where and how and with what people and forces, or whether they have settled any place, and by what route they have gone, and of what quality that land is, and what these nations can obtain from it, and with what Indians they communicate, and what is the distance from Florida to Virginia or to that place where they have settled, and with what measures and forces they can be driven from there and frustrated of their designs and punished. In pursuance of which the governor despatched the said captain Ecija⁵² in a pinnace with twenty-five sailors and soldiers and an Indian woman, a native of those provinces and having their language, married to a Spanish soldier,⁵³ and some hoes and other things of iron which he gave him to obtain the good-will of the Indians and to rescue a Frenchman whom a cacique of those regions had for many years held captive, in order that he also might serve them as interpreter; and by the instructions that he gave him he ordered that he should use the diligence which Your Majesty commanded, until he should come to the latitude of 37½ degrees, which is the place where he understood that the settlement of the English was, and that if he did not find them there he should go on to the gold-mine that is in 44½ degrees,⁵⁴ examining the great Rio de Gama

⁵¹ Cape Fear. The various identifications suggested in these notes are made with the aid of the detailed *derrotero* mentioned in note 23, above, but are not advanced too positively.

⁵² Ecija was captain of one of the two companies of soldiers maintained at St. Augustine, had been there thirty years, and was a man of about sixty-five; so it appears from depositions in the Lowery Collection, Florida, VI., concerning a certain Alonso Sancho Saez de Mercado and his wife, depositions derived from A. G. I., Sim., Sec., Aud. de S. Domingo, 54-5-9. He had accompanied Ybarra in 1604 to Guale, or the Port Royal region (relation in Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos Históricos de la Florida*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 169, 176, 182, 185), and had been at the Rio Jordan (Santee) in 1605, as appears from his report here summarized; see note 22, above.

⁵³ Maria de Miranda, wife of Juan d'Espinosa.

⁵⁴ The notion of a gold-mine at 44° 30' N. was probably based on Champlain's mention of copper-mines visited by him in 1603 near the present Minas Basin.

which is in 43 degrees;⁵⁵ and the said Captain Ecija went out from the port of San Agustin de la Florida to carry out this undertaking on June 26, 1609,⁵⁶ and went along reconnoitring and sounding all the ports and bays that he found along the coast, and having come to the river which they call Jordan⁵⁷ on July 8 he there obtained information from an Indian chieftain and others, and was told that at four days' journey, having traversed the plain of San Roman, they were at the settlement of the English in a village which is called Guandape,⁵⁸ lying beside a river which runs into the sea, and it is on an island surrounded by water, which on one side is joined to the mainland, and that ordinarily there are ships in that port, and three months ago seven departed from it, and six of them took the course to the north and the other to the south, and in the harbor there remained always some on guard, and every day many others came and went, up the coast to the northward, and that they had made a fort but that it was of wood, and they had made a league with the neighboring caciques, and that with eight of them they associated as friends, and they entertained them much and gave them clothes and tools and ordered them to sow grain, although the English themselves did not occupy themselves with this but with their fortification, and in the place where information was had of all this Captain Ecija rescued the Frenchman, called Juan Corbe, a native of Have de Gracia,⁵⁹ and with him they set sail, on July 15, pursuing their voyage, and on the 25th, having come to the Bay of Jacan (which by another name they call Virginia) he perceived a ship anchored in it, and since it was of much greater tonnage than that in which they were, for it carried two topsails and a great banner at its masthead, and since he had perceived that it desired to entrap them in the bay where it could be master, because it withdrew before them, they did not venture to follow it nor to close with it, so they went thence to 35½ degrees, whence, because of storms and because the season was advanced for those seas, they returned to the Jordan, and there they again sought information respecting the English, and the Indians confirmed what they had said before and added that alongside the wooden fort they had cast much stone into the water, mid-leg deep, and that they brought it in boats, and that there were many women and children who went about through the fields and houses of the neighboring Indians, and that from the Rio Jordan to the settlement by a straight path overland it was little more than fifty leagues, and to Sant Agustin de la Florida one hundred, so that from there to the place where the English are fortifying them-

In his *Des Sauvages*, already published in 1604 (p. 59 of Laverdière ed., *Oeuvres de Champlain*, II.) he locates the mine "par les 44 degrez et quelques minutes", though in reality the whole basin is well above 45°.

⁵⁵ Apparently Estevan Gomez's Rio de los Gamos; the Bay of Fundy. Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, pp. 187, 193.

⁵⁶ They embarked at St. Augustine, in the pinnace *La Asuncion de Christo*, after mass on Sunday, June 21, but passed the bar on June 26.

⁵⁷ Santee. The day before, they picked up an Indian Alonso whom Ecija had seen at the Jordan in 1605, and who could talk with Maria.

⁵⁸ Jamestown. Guandape was the name of the place where Ayllon attempted settlement in 1526. Shea, *Catholic Church*, I. 107.

⁵⁹ Havre de Grace.

selves it is 150 leagues;⁶⁰ and the Frenchman whom they rescued declared⁶¹ that from the Indians of the town in which he was kept captive, who frequently went and came to the settlement of the English, he had learned that they had built a wooden fort and a town made of the same and had two large ships with guns, guarding the fortlike castles, and two others as guards and sentinels of the bar, in addition to those that went and came, and that every year a ship came from England laden with provisions and munitions; and with this relation the governor Pedro de Yvarra sent a pilot-book of the voyage, which the said Captain Eciija caused to be made by the pilot that was with him,⁶² stating the sea-marks and the character of the harbors and bays that there are from Florida to the place to which they went, and the governor says in his letter that it appears to him that the plan the English entertain, as far as he has been able to learn, is to fortify themselves in the said bay of Jacan (the mouth of which is four leagues and more across, and a stone's throw off from its entrance you have twenty fathoms at least), and to make an expedition into the land, taking for that purpose sufficient people, until they shall come to Nueva Mexico, Nueva Galicia, and Vizcaya, and Çacatecas, which are in the same latitude, and to go across the land to the other sea at the west, since from that part of Florida great rivers go up into the land and from the other sea also it is known that others go up, not smaller, and that there is little distance from the one set of rivers to the other, and the enemy could go up through those of the east coast and go down through those of the west, and fortify themselves in the ports of that sea and there make ships and fleets and overrun the whole coast of New Spain, Tierra Firme, Peru, and China, to the great damage of the crown and subjects of Your Majesty, and that before more of the land is seized upon it would be expedient to manage to drive him from it, since as to the natives they do not deprive them of any of their religious ceremonies, which is what they most cherish, and at the same time they appease and entertain them, though with things of little value, and keep them very pleased and contented and are attaching them all to themselves, and on that northward coast they will be able to settle at the bar of Cayagua, which is a good position, seventy leagues from the garrison of Florida, in 33½ degrees,⁶³ to which they can come by land from their settlement, and there there are many Indians very well provided with the fruits of the earth and other supplies.

And having examined all this in the council (*junta*) for war, together with other papers which were brought to it incidentally, though of little credit, and seeing that Your Majesty, in response to a *consulta* of March 23 of this year⁶⁴ (to the effect that one should suspend the execution of the project which had been sent out by the council (*consejo*) of war to consider a reconnaissance of Virginia, and that this

⁶⁰ Nearly 200, in a straight line.

⁶¹ They could not begin questioning him till July 26, after they had left the Chesapeake, because he "had lost his French speech and spoke Indian and could not be understood".

⁶² See note 23, above.

⁶³ Charleston harbor. All Eciija's latitudes, in report and pilot-book, exceed the actual, by about the same amount.

⁶⁴ In A. G. I., 147-5-16.

should be in the hands of this council (*junta*) because it concerned it and was matter that had been introduced in it) commanded that that which had been resolved upon by the said council (*consejo*) of war should be done, and that if to this council any other thing occurred which ought to be prepared toward the carrying out of what is to be done it should be consulted, and considering the damages and great inconveniences which are to be expected from the neighborhood of these English and the anxiety to which they would put all the West Indies and their trade, especially if they plant in those regions the religion which they profess, our opinion has been that it would be greatly to the service of God and of Your Majesty and the universal good of your subjects to break up their plans at once, driving them from there before they take more root and possess themselves of more land and fortify themselves, have greater forces and extend through other regions, as they will go on to do, since none other is their design, and if this is not done in time it will afterward be very difficult.

But that it may be done successfully, because the information now possessed is not thought sufficient, it will be well to obtain certain and complete information of all there is in Virginia, and for this purpose in addition to the means which the council (*consejo*) of war has taken and ordered to be taken, another method is suggested, which is that if Your Majesty would be pleased to send two religious of the English Seminary,⁶⁵ that more satisfaction may be obtained, by their going to England and embarking on the first occasion that any ships are going from there to Virginia, and having informed themselves of the inhabitants, settlement, and fortifications, and the character and form of the harbor or harbors where they are fortifying themselves they should return to England in the same trading ships and from there to Spain, with greater and more complete knowledge of all that is possible, in order that, having obtained whatever information is necessary through both channels, a plan may be put into execution to go in sufficient forces to drive them away.

Don Diego Ybarra and Don Fernando Xiron, inasmuch as it is highly important that no time should be lost in a matter of such consequence, are of the opinion that while these measures are being taken we should proceed to bring together (giving out that they are for some other purpose of the service of Your Majesty) some four or five thousand men and the ships necessary for them, which should be good and proper for this purpose, with sailors experienced in that navigation, that, taking into view the experience, knowledge, and adaptedness that are suitable for such an enterprise, they should think to be sufficient forces to carry out what is desired; moreover that if the new information obtained should require that these forces should be larger they may be rapidly increased, so that, all being ready, the fleet may put to sea by the end of March of the coming year 1612, which is the season most suitable for the voyage they have to make, since when the summer begins contrary winds are customary in those seas, and so they would go at great hazard,

⁶⁵ There were at this time two seminaries in Spain for English Catholics, both under Jesuit management: that of Valladolid, established in 1589 and still in existence, and that of Seville, established in 1592. Each at this time had ten or twelve priests, and sent several each year to England. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, VII. xxvi, xxxv.

and at least the costs incurred would be wasted because they would not be able to have any good effect. Your Majesty will order inquiry and the providing of what is most pleasing to him. Madrid, May 5, 1611. (Six rubrics.)

II. DEPOSITIONS OF JOHN CLARK AND OTHERS, AT HAVANA, 1611.⁶⁶

Relacion de lo que resulta de las declaraciones que hicieron en la havana el ingles que truxeron alli de la Virginia y el maestre y piloto y un marinero de la caravela que por horden de su magestad se despacho para descubrir lo que alla y las fuerzas que tienen l^{os} ingleses.

declaracion del ingles de la Virginia.

que se llama Juan clerg y es natural de londres piloto de hedad de 35 años y que es de la rreligion de su rrey, y por el mes de marco deste año salio del puerto de la dicha ciudad para la Virginia con tres navios el uno de 300 toneladas otro de ciento cincuenta y el otro de noventa, y que el viaje que hizieron fue por la dominica y las niebes donde hizieron aguada, y de alli rreconociendo a portorico tomaron su derrota al norte y la primera tierra que descubrieron fue doze leguas azia hueste del puerto de la Virginia, y que otras vezes no suelen yr a la dominica a hazer agua sino ban por 22 grados governando hazia el hueste Vesnurueste sin rreconozzer tierra y tomar yslas de Varlovento, y que la costa es limpia y a 40 leguas corriendola por el sur deste al huessudueste tiene 60 brazas de fondo, a 30 leguas 50, y a veynte leguas 36 y a 10 leguas 18 y a 5 leguas 15 braças y 5 leguas para tierra la menos agua que ay es de 5 a 4 braças y en la propia voca de la vaya ay de 12 a 14 braças y a la banda del sur del puerto esta un baxio que no tiene mas de una braça a braza y media de agua y al norte del en la propia boca de la Vaya, arrimado al puerto ay 10 y 12 braças de agua y desde la una punta del puerto y la otra ay de 8 a 5 braças de agua y dentro buen surxidero para naos y abrigado de todos bientos y dentro de la propia baya ay cinco Rios que ban a diferentes partes y de los quatro dellos no tiene noticia de la manera que son.

que a la voca del dicho puerto en el un Rio ay quatro fortificaciones a la parte del norte todas en una rribera y que el primer fuerte esta a la boca del Rio donde asisten 50 personas entre hombres y mugeres que las 40 seran de tomar armas y que el fuerte es de estacas y madera sin piedra ni ladrillo y tiene siete piezas de artilleria, dos de a treynta y cinco quintales y los demas de a treinta, veinte y dies y ocho, y todas de yerro colado, y que el segundo fuerte esta de alli dos tercios de legua y otro a un tiro de mosquete y el quarto a otro tiro de mosquete con cada una pieza de fierro colado para defensa de los indios, y la poblacion principal donde ay otra fortificacion esta veinte leguas del primer fuerte el Rio arriva, y en ella ay 16 piezas y esta tanvien cerrado destacas y las casas de la poblacion son de madera y las piezas de hierro colado como las demas, y llegan navios de alto bordo asta la dicha poblacion.

que por donde menos en la canal del Rio ay tres brazas y media de agua mas que esto se muda con las abenidas algunas bezes, si bien lo que se diferencia con las crecientes y menguantes no pasa de media braça, y que 30 leguas mas arriba del pueblo, que es 50 de la voca del puerto, llegan las varcas.

⁶⁶ Seville, A. G. I., 147-5-16.

que por la Rivera no se puede caminar por tierra y que de lo ultimo del Rio hasta la mar del sur abra diez y seis o diez y ocho jornadas, segun lo avian entendido de los indios naturales, y que no sabe que se rrecojan en el dicho puerto y Rios piratas ni navios de ningunas partes y que en todas las poblaciones y fortificaciones abra cosa de mil personas, las seiscientas dellas para tomar armas y las demas mugeres, niños y viejos.

que no sabe que se tenga desde inglaterra mas trato que aver traydo alguna comida y vestidos y otras cosas para la gente que alli asiste, y en rretorno buelben cargados de madera para pipas y para navios y palo de salsafra, y que así mismo an traído cien bacas, docientos puercos, cien cabras, y diez y siete yeguas y cavallos, y que entiende ay alguna mina de oro que es la caussa porque su Rey da permission para que nabeguen de ynglaterra a aquellas partes, si bien hasta agora no avian hallado ninguna de oro ni plata aunque las avian buscado, ni los indios trayan nada desto, y nego aver confessado al maestre que se allavan pedacos de oro.

que aquella tierra a governado un hermano del conde nontonborlan, nombrado perse, que acavo su gobierno con la yda de un cavallero que se llama don thomas que fue en los tres navios en que hizo su viaje el declarante y que gobierna por orden del Rey de ynglaterra.

que Por agosto deste año esperaban quatro navios con alguna gente y cantidad de ganado a cargo de don thomas guies y que los que navegan a aquellas partes y se rrecojen alli es gente perdida que solian vivir de ser piratas.

que no a estado mas de una vez en la Virginia y que de presente avia alli seis navios, los tres que fueron con el y de los otros tres los dos fabricados en la bermuda, a donde arrivo con tenporal uno de inglaterra con mas de ciento y cinquenta personas y entre ellas algunos oficiales, y como llevaban fierro, brea y lo demas necesario, los fabricaron agora dos años el uno de setenta toneladas y el otro de 25, y que el ultimo de los dichos vaxeles hera una barca de cossa de doze a treze toneladas fabricado en la dicha Virginia, donde estavan haziendo una galera de veinte y cinco bancos, pero que no se acabaria tan presto, rrespetto de aver poco que se comenco y no tener la gente necesaria, y que abra cinco años que se començo a poblar aquella tierra y que todos los que ay y ban a ella son ingleses.

que los indios de la tierra estan algunas vezes de paz y otras de guerra y andan vestidos de cueros de benado y con sus arcos y flechas que son gusamar, y los frutos que tienen son maiz y nuez, y la tierra adentro ay muchos venados y los ganados que an llebado de inglaterra, y de lo que es pescados en ocasiones ay abundancia y otras vezes ay muy poco.

y acerca de la forma que le prendieron declaro que haviendo llegado al dicho puerto de la virginia una caravela fue azia tierra una barca della con algunos hombres, de los quales saltaron tres en tierra, dos españoles y un ingles, a quien este declarante conosco porque agora dos años le vio en la ciudad de malaga que servia de piloto en la armada de don luis faxardo, y que a todos tres los llebaron los soldados que salieron a la playa con el capitan de la fuerca, que se llama david, y comieron todos juntos, y luego le dixeron al declarante con otros tres o quatro se fuesse a mater la caravela en el puerto, y el vino a la chalupa y uno de

los marineros le metio en el batel, llebandole en hombros, y quando le bieron dentro no le dexaron salir y llebaron a bordo de la caravela, donde le tuvieron toda la noche, y a la mañana le volvieron a hechar en el varco juntamente con el maestre de la caravela y otra gente y se fueron azia tierra para ablar con los ingleses y pedirles sus tres hombres, como lo hizieron, diziendo que les darian por ellos al declarante, a que rrespondieron que asta que diesen quenta al governador de aquella tierra que estava en la poblacion no podian hazer nada, y viendo esto el maestre y gente de la caravela, temiendose de que no les hiziesen daño los navios que estavan en el puerto, sin querer esperar mas se fueron a la havana a donde le llebaron consigo.

declaracion del maestre, piloto y marinero.

que luego que salieron del puerto de la havana, que fue un dia despues de corpus christi, les dixo don diego de molina que llebava a su cargo la caravela que yban a buscar la artilleria de un navio que se havia perdido en la costa de la florida y que assi birasen para alla (como lo hizieron), y se fueron al puerto de san agustin de aquellas provincias, donde estuvieron con el governador cinco dias, y de alli salieron a los 15 o 16 de junio y tomaron su derrota corriendo la dicha costa y sondaron hasta llegar a 37 grados donde hallaron la vaya Grande, y alli dixo don diego de molina que hera la parte que yban a buscar, y que haviendo entrado y sondado la vaya hasta la mitad hallaron que a la entrada tenia 15 braças y despues de 10 hasta 4 y vieron que estava un navio surto junto a una punta donde havia una fuerça como trinchea, y cerca de alli fueron en una chalupa a tierra y saltaron en ella (con sendas escopetas) Don diego de molina y el alférez marco antonio perez y el piloto ingles confidente cassado en lixboa que llebavan, y al maestre declarante le hordenó Don diego que se hiziese a la mar con toda la gente y que no allegasen a tierra ni saltasen en ella en ninguna manera, sin que ellos les avisasen, y que estando a la mira de lo que subcedia bieron salir en tres o quatro tropas de una ensenada como 50 hombres ingleses flamencos a su parezer, y los prendieron y quitaron las armas y los llebaron a un fuerte, y de alli a una hora volbieron como 20 ingleses en tres quadrillas y llamaron al maestre declarante y le pidieron que se llegase a tierra, y el les dixo que le truxesen primero a su capitan, y los ingleses le rrespondieron que no hera posible, y estando en esto vinieron otros con el ingles confidente que havian prendido, y viendo que el maestre no queria llegar a tierra le dixerón que el le llamase, asegurándole no le harian daño y que antes seria rregalado, y aunque por cumplir con ellos lo hizo, assi con algunas señas y su senblante triste le dio a entender que estava preso y que assi se hiziese a fuera, y estando en esto hordenó a un marinero que se hechase a nado y saliese a tierra y procurase saver algo del capitan, al qual no le dejaron ablar con el ingles confidente, y luego vinieron otros ocho, y uno dellos dixo que queria hablar al maestre, y el marinero se encargo de llebarle en hombros (como lo hizo) y llegado que fueron a la caravela procuro Reduzir por vien al maestre a que llegase a tierra, y el no solo no quiso hazer esto, mas viendo que no le querian traer a su capitan y los otros dos sus compañeros, dio la buelta a la mar con el ingles y aunque se quiso echar de la caravela le detuvieron y le llebaron a la havana, y en el viaje le preguntaron algunas cosas y entre otras dixo que 100 leguas la tierra adentro havia una sierra de donde trayan pedaços de oro.

(Al parecer incompleta.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Relation of the result of the declarations made in Havana by the Englishman whom they brought thither from Virginia, and the master and pilot and a sailor of the caravel which by order of His Majesty was despatched to discover what was going on there and the forces which the English have.

Declaration of the Englishman from Virginia.

That he is called Juan Clerg and is a native of London, a pilot, thirty-five years of age, and that he is of the religion of his king, and in the month of March of this year sailed from the port of the said city for Virginia with three ships, the one of 300 tons, another of 150, and another of 90, and that the course they took was for Dominica and Niebes,⁶⁷ where they took in water, and from there, sighting Porto Rico, they took their course to the north, and the first land they discovered was twelve leagues to the west of the port of Virginia, and that at other times they are not accustomed to go to Dominica, to get water, but sail for 22 degrees, steering to the west [and] west-northwest without sighting land or making the Windward Islands, and that the coast is clear, and at forty leagues, running from the southeast to the west-southwest, there are sixty fathoms, at thirty leagues fifty, at twenty leagues thirty-six, at ten leagues eighteen, and at five leagues fifteen fathoms, and five leagues off the land the least water there is is from five to four fathoms, and in the mouth itself of the bay there are from twelve to fourteen fathoms, and along the south shore of the harbor is a shoal which has not more than one fathom to a fathom and a half of water, and on the north side of it, in the mouth itself of the bay alongside the harbor, there are ten or twelve fathoms of water, and from one point of the harbor to the other there are from eight to five fathoms of water, and within there is a good roadstead for ships, well sheltered from all winds, and within the bay itself there are five rivers, flowing in different directions, and of four of these he has no knowledge as to what kind they are.

That at the mouth of the said harbor, in one of these rivers, there are four fortifications on the north side, all on one bank, and that the first fort is at the mouth of the river,⁶⁸ where there are fifty persons settled, men and women, of whom forty are fit to bear arms, and that the fort is of palisades and timber, without stone or brick, and has seven pieces of artillery, two of them of about thirty-five hundredweight and the rest of thirty, twenty, and eighteen, and all cast-iron, and that the second fort is two-thirds of a league from there, and another at a distance of one musket-shot, and the fourth at another musket-shot, each having one cast-iron piece for defense against the Indians, and the principal settlement,⁶⁹ where there is another fortification, is twenty leagues up the river from the first fort, and in it there are sixteen pieces, and it is also surrounded by palisades, and the houses of the settlement are

⁶⁷ Nevis. Clark sailed with Sir Thomas Dale, who left the Land's End March 17, 1611, and arrived at Point Comfort May 12; see his letter of May 25 in Brown, *Genesis*, I. 489-494.

⁶⁸ Algernon Fort, at Point Comfort. Of those next mentioned, two were "the two Princes Forts at Kecoughtan" (Forts Henry and Charles at Hampton); Dale, in Brown, I. 503.

⁶⁹ Jamestown.

all wood and the cannon of cast-iron like the rest, and ships of deep draft go up to the said settlement.

That where there is least water in the channel of the river there are three fathoms and one half of water, but that this changes sometimes with the freshes, although the difference between flood and ebb is not more than half a fathom, and that barges go thirty leagues farther up from the town, that is, fifty from the mouth of the harbor.

That it is not possible to journey by land along the river bank, and that from the uppermost part of the river to the South Sea would be sixteen or eighteen days' journey, as they have understood from the native Indians, and that he does not know that pirates or ships from any region gather in the said port and river, and that in all the settlements and fortifications there are about 1000 persons, 600 of them fit to bear arms and the rest women, boys, and old men.⁷⁰

That he does not know that there is any further trade with England than that some provisions and clothing and other things have been brought for the people that are settled there, and on the return voyage they go back laden with wood for hogsheads and for ships, and sassafras wood, and that also they have brought over 100 cows, 200 pigs, 100 goats, and 17 mares and horses, and that he understands that there is a certain gold-mine which is the cause why his king gives permission to sail from England to those parts, although up to the present time they have not found any gold or silver, though they have sought for it, nor do the Indians bring any of it, and he denied that he had confessed to the master that pieces of gold were found.

That that land has been governed by a brother of the Conde Nontonborlan, named Perse,⁷¹ who brought his government to an end at the coming of a knight who is called Don Tomas, who was in the three ships in which the deponent made his voyage, and who governs by the order of the king of England.

That in August of this year they expect four ships with some people and a quantity of cattle, under command of Don Tomas Guies,⁷² and that those who sail to these regions and gather there are abandoned people, who are accustomed to live by piracy.

That he has been only once in Virginia, and that at present there were six ships there, and the three that went with him, and of the other three, two were made in Bermuda, where one from England came ashore in a storm, with more than 150 persons, and among them some officials,⁷³ and taking the iron, pitch, and what else was necessary, they

⁷⁰ This is probably somewhat exaggerated. De la Warr says he left "upwards of two hundred" men there, Purchas, IV. 1763; the *Hercules* had brought some, Brown, I. 439, 441; Dale had brought 300, *ibid.*, I. 453, 506.

⁷¹ George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, was president of the council ruling in Virginia from the departure of Captain John Smith, in October, 1609, to the arrival, not of Sir Thomas Dale, as Clark seems to say, but of Sir Thomas Gates, May 23, 1610. Neill, *Virginia Company*, pp. 32, 34. In the parallel passage in Brown, I. 520, Professor Schele de Vere translates *nombrado perse*, "appointed for himself", instead of "named Percy"!

⁷² Gates. He arrived in August.

⁷³ Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, wrecked in the *Sea Venture*, July 28, 1609.

made them two years ago, the one of seventy tons and the other of twenty-five,⁷⁴ and that the last of the said vessels was a barge of about twelve or thirteen tons, made in the said Virginia, where they were also making a galley of twenty-five benches, but that it would not be finished very soon, because of having little that is prepared and not having the necessary men. and that it is five years since they began to settle that land, and that all those who are there or go to it are English.

That the Indians of that land are sometimes at peace and other times at war, and go clothed in deer skins and with their bows and arrows, which are *gusamar* [?],⁷⁵ and that the produce they gather is maize and walnuts, and up in the land there are many deer and the cattle that they have taken from England, and as to fisheries at times there is abundance and at others very little.

And as to the manner in which they took him, he declares that a caravel having come to the said harbor of Virginia a boat came ashore from it with some men, of whom three landed, two Spaniards and an Englishman, the last of whom this deponent knew, because two years ago he saw him in the city of Malaga serving as a pilot in the armada of Don Luis Faxardo,⁷⁶ and that the soldiers who went down to the shore with the captain of the fort who is called David,⁷⁷ took all three, and they all ate together, and then they ordered the deponent with three or four others to go and bring the caravel into the port, and he went to the shallop, and one of the mariners put him into the boat, carrying him on his shoulders, and when they saw him in it they would not let him go, but carried him on board the caravel, where they kept him all night, and in the morning they set him in a boat together with the master of the caravel and other men and went to the land to speak with the English and to ask them for their three men, which they did, saying that they would give them the deponent in return for these, to which they replied that until they should have given account to the governor of that land, who was at the settlement, they could not do anything, and the master and the people of the caravel, seeing this, feared that the ships which were in the port might do them some harm, and being unwilling to wait longer went away to Havana taking him with them.

Declaration of the master, pilot, and mariner.

That when they sailed from the port of Havana, which was one day after Corpus Christi,⁷⁸ Don Diego de Molina, who had command of the

⁷⁴ The *Deliverance* and the *Patience*, whose building is fully narrated in William Strachey's "True Reportory", Purchas, IV. 1734-1756; the two next mentioned were the *Discovery* and the *Virginia*, Brown, I. 406.

⁷⁵ The editor has not found this word in any dictionary. George Percy, in his "Observations", says, "Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially." Purchas, IV. 1688-1689. But possibly the reading may be *sus armas*, "their arms".

⁷⁶ Captain-general of the ocean fleet, who in 1609 sailed with a great fleet against the Barbary corsairs and burned twenty-two of their ships in the harbor of Tunis. Duro, *La Armada Española*, III. 324.

⁷⁷ Captain James Davis.

⁷⁸ June 3, 1611. Pereda says June 2.

caravel, told them that they were going to seek the artillery of a ship which had been lost on the coast of Florida, and that they should sail in that direction, which they did, and came to the port of San Agustin of those provinces, where they remained with the governor five days, and from there they sailed on the 15th or 16th of June and took their course up along the said coast, sounding, until they came to 37 degrees, where they found a great bay, and that Don Diego de Molina said that this was the place which they were to seek, and that having entered and sounded the bay up to the middle of it they found that at the entrance it has fifteen fathoms and then from ten to four, and that they saw that there was a ship anchored⁷⁹ near a point where there was a fort like an intrenchment, and near it they went ashore in a shallop, and Don Diego de Molina and the ensign Marco Antonio Perez and the English pilot they had taken with them, a spy (*confidente*) married in Lisbon, jumped ashore, having their muskets, and Don Diego ordered the master, this deponent, to put to sea with all the people, and that they should not come to land nor disembark in any manner unless they should so signal to them, and that being in sight of what went on they saw some fifty men, English or Flemish as it appeared to them, come out in three or four squads from a cove, and they seized them and took away their arms and took them to a fort, and an hour later twenty Englishmen returned in three squads and called to the master, this deponent, and requested him to come to land, and he said to them to first bring back his captain, and the English replied that it was not possible, and while this was going on others came with the English spy whom they had taken, and seeing that the master would not come to land they told the latter that he should call him, assuring him that they would not do him damage, but that he should be regaled, but that although to comply with their orders he did it, yet by some signs and by his sad countenance he gave him to understand that he was taken prisoner, and that consequently he should go away and thereupon [this deponent] ordered a sailor to swim ashore and try to learn something concerning the captain, but they would not let him speak with the English spy, and then eight others came, and one of them said he wished to speak to the master, and the sailor undertook to carry him out upon his shoulders, and did so, and when they had come to the caravel he tried to persuade the master to come to land, and he not only would not do it but, seeing that they would not bring back his captain and the other two companions, he put out to sea with the Englishman, and although the latter tried to escape from the caravel they detained him and brought him to Havana, and on the voyage they asked him certain things, and among other things he said that a hundred leagues up into the land there was a mountain from which they obtained pieces of gold.

(Apparently incomplete.)

III. EXAMINATION OF JOHN CLARK, AT MADRID, FEBRUARY 18, 1613.⁸⁰

confesion del Piloto yngles de la virginia.

En la Villa de madrid A diez y ocho dias del mes de hebrero de mill y seis cientos y trece años, el señor licenciado don francisco de texada del qonsejo real de las yndias de su magestad y de su junta de guerra de

⁷⁹ The *Prosperous* or the *Elizabeth*. Brown, I. 497.

⁸⁰ A. G. I., 147-5-17.

yndias, para algunos efectos tocantes al servicio de su magestad, hiço traer ante si a un hombre yngles de nacion que estava en poder del capitan don Alonso flores por orden de la dicha junta de guerra, del qual en presencia de mi el presente escribano su merced tomo y recibio del juramento en forma de derecho y el le hiço bien y cunplidamente y haviendo jurado se le hicieron las preguntas siguientes.

Preguntado como se llama, dixo que se llama Juan clarque.

preguntado de donde es Vezino y natural, dixo que es vezino de la ciudad de londres en ynglaterra.

preguntado si es catholico romano, dixo que si.

Preguntado que officio y profesion tiene, dixo que piloto y que a quatro años que usa este officio aunque antes trataba de saberlo porque a quatro años que navega en diferentes partes del mundo.

Preguntado quando hizo biaje a la Virginia y con quien y para que efectos y como della fue traído a la ciudad de la havana, Dixo que el año pasado de seis cientos y once a los primeros de marzo partio del puerto de londres en un navio de trescientas Toneladas en que yba por piloto con otros dos navios, el uno de ciento y cinquenta y el otro de noventa toneladas, en que yban trescientos hombres de guerra fuera de los marineros y seis cientos barriles de harina y cinquenta de polvora y algunas caxas de arcabuzes, todo despachado por cuenta De los mercaderes de londres para la Virginia, de que yba por general don Tomas diel que avia de avedar, como quedo, por governador de la Virginia; y tardaron en el viaxe dos meses y medio, y la derrota que llevaron fue desde ynglaterra fueron navegando al sudueste hasta ponerse en la altura de las yslas de canaria, que fue en veinte y ocho grados, y desde alli navegaron al oeste sudueste hasta la altura de la dominica en catorze grados y medio, donde hizieron agua y se detuvieron dos dias, y de alli navegaron al nor norueste a la isla de las niebes, donde estuvieron quatro dias refrescando la gente, por llevar algunos enfermos, y desde alli al norueste quarto al norte al Pasaxe, por donde embocaron hasta que rreconocieron la costa de la Virginia entre el cavo del engaño y cavo Enrrique, y que la causa de gobernar al norueste quarta al norte y al nor norueste algunas vezes era por causa de las corrientes que les hechava al nordeste y la bariacion de la aguxa que le davan de resguardo de siete a ocho grados, y de alli navegaron al nor nõrueste hasta estar sobre el cavo Enrrique, que es una de las puntas por donde se entra a la baya, donde entraron y pasaron a surgir dentro del Rio en una punta que en yngles llaman Punt Confort, que en castellano quiere dezir punta de consolacion. y alli hecharon la gente en tierra, y los marineros llevaron los tres navios por el Rio arriva hasta el lugar prinçipal que llaman Jacobus, a donde dieron fondo, porque no pueden pasar adelante Navios del dicho porte, aunque navios de quarenta o cinquenta toneladas que demanden dos baras y media de agua pueden pasar treinta leguas adelante, y que estando este que declara en compañía de los yngleses porque avia benido del lugar principal a traer un barco con arina, de la que traya en los navios, para la provision de los yngleses que estan en guarda de los fuertes que estan en la Punta de consolazion, llego una falua en que benian doce a trece hombres, de los quales saltaron tres en tierra, y haviendo salido a ellos el capitan del fuerte con una esquadra de soldados Pregunto a los tres hombres, que el uno conocio este que declara que era yngles y piloto, Por averle visto en una casa quando

don luis faxardo fue a quemar los galeones de Tunez, que a que benian alli; y respondieron que a buscar un navio del Rey de españa que se avia perdido en aquella Costa, y el capitan le dixo que tenia necesidad de dar quenta a su governador de su llegada, que estava en el lugar principal llamado Jacobus, veinte leguas de alli, y assi lo hiço en un barco, y dixo a uno de los tres que porque no se perdiese la caravela en la baya a donde avia dado fondo la metiesen dentro del Rio y punta de consolacion donde estaria segura; y aviendole respondido que quien quedava En ella no sabria hazerlo y que le diesen Piloto para ello, ordeno El capitan a este que declara que, en la misma falua en que avian benido los tres, fuesen a meter en la dicha caravela, y assi lo hiço, y llegando a ella dixo el maestre que no queria entrar sino volvian por ella los que faltavan, y no queriendolos dar, aunque otro dia bolvio la falua por ellos, partio la dicha caravela sin esperar mas, con este què declara, a la havana, quedando los tres en poder de los yngleses.

Preguntado que surgideros y de que calidad y que fuertes y quales ay desde la baya hasta la dicha çiudad de Jacobus, dixo que la baya es grande de siete u ocho leguas de ancho y fondable, aunque no tienen seguridad los navios ni avrigo en ella Y assi entran hasta avrigarse detras de la punta de consolacion, como el lo hiço, a donde cavan Treinta navios ancorados de hasta ochocientas toneladas, porque aunque quando corre norte se siente dentro alguna mar no es cosa de mucha consideracion; y que En esta misma punta ay un fuerte a la mar, a donde estan plantadas siete pieças de artilleria de a treinta quintales, cada una muy a la lengua del agua, de manera que Por ser la entrada angosta, que no tiene mas de un tiro de escopeta fondable, no pueden entrar ni estar los navios dado fondo sin que les haga daño la artilleria, y en este fuerte estan cinquenta soldados de ordinario Presidio, y dos quartos de legua del ay otros dos forteçuelos con una pieça de artilleria cada uno de a diez a doze quintales para guardar los sembrados de los yndios, y que estos fuertes y el primero de la punta son fortificados de estacas gruesas muy juntas.

preguntado que tantas casas avia en el dicho lugar llamado Jacobus y de que calidad y que gente de guerra y que artilleria, dixo que abra çient cassas de madera, y en ellas y en las otras partes que a dicho hasta mil hombres de guerra, entre mercaderes y soldados y labradores, y treinta mugeres, y que el lugar esta fortificado de estacas en la forma dicha y tendra como diez y seis pieças de artilleria, las diez gruesas y las otras menores, las gruesas de a quarenta a cinquenta quintales y las otras de a diez y seis y a diez y siete, y que no save que aya otra poblacion fuera desta, y que de los yndios que algunos ay amigos y otros no lo son, y que le parece que de los unos y de los otros no ay mucha cantidad; y que lo que asta agora a Visto llevar de aquella parte a ynglaterra por mercaderia es madera para labrar diferentes cosas y salsa frasi, y lo que traen de ynglaterra son mantenimientos de arinas y otras cosas y municiones y ganados diferentes que se dan bien.

Preguntado si save que se ayan allado algunas minas de plata, dixo que no lo save.

preguntado si save las causas porque an poblado aquella tierra los yngleses y de quanto tienpo a esta parte, dixo que entiende que la an poblado de seis años a esta parte, y que las causas son yr ganando la tierra y fabricar navios y que no save ell efecto para que que estan en

paraxe que en quinze dias a lo mas largo se pueden poner en las yslas de barlovento.

Preguntado quanto se tardara de vuelta de la Virginia a ynglaterra, dixo que un mes y que a entendido que es el Viaxe bueno y que navegan al este quarta al nordeste hasta rreconocer las yslas de flores algunas beces, y que pueden no rreconocerlas hasta llegar a ynglaterra aunque es mexor y mas segura navegacion rreconocer las yslas, y que para españa navegando al este rreconoceran las yslas del fayal o la tercera de adonde se toma la derrota ordinaria.

Preguntado quantas beces a estado en la Birginia y que tanto tiempo y que navios allo alli en el en que estuvo, dixo que no a hecho mas viaxe del que tiene dicho y que estuvo quarenta dias hasta que fue presso y que allo un navio de partida para ynglaterra con madera y salsa frasi de çiento y cinquenta toneladas.

preguntado que entiende habran hecho los yngleses de las tres personas que quedaron en su poder, dize que tiene por çierto que no les habran tratado mal, porque los yngleses no tratan mal a los prisioneros.

preguntado si save despues que esta en esta qorte alguna nueva dellos, dixo que un yngles que vive en la calle mayor desta villa le dixo a este que declara que un conoçido suyo le dixo que avia ablado en ynglaterra con el piloto yngles que yba con don diego de molina y era uno de los tres que quedaron en la Virginia.

Preguntado que hedad tiene, dixo que es de hedad de quarenta años. y lo firmo de su nombre y que lo que tiene dicho En este su dicho y declaraçion es la verdad, so cargo del dicho Juramento que hecho tiene. y lo rrubrico Su merced. ba testado una quarta y me, ut, se fueron, a donde. (Rubrica.)

JOHN CLARK.

fui presente DAMIAN DE CARRION Y BRICUELA. (Rubricado.)

(TRANSLATION.)

Confession of the English Pilot of Virginia.

In the city of Madrid on the 18th day of the month of February of 1613 the Señor Licenciado Don Francisco de Texada, of His Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies and of his council for war in the Indies,⁸¹ for certain purposes touching the service of His Majesty caused to be brought before him a man, English by nation, who was in the custody of Captain Don Alonso Flores by order of the said war-council, and in the presence of me the present scribe his Worship took and received this man's oath in form of law, and he gave it well and completely, and having been sworn the following questions were asked him.

Being asked how he was called, he said that he is called Juan Clarque.

Being asked of what place he was an inhabitant and native, he said that he is an inhabitant of the city of London in England.

Being asked if he is a Roman Catholic, he said yes.

Being asked what office and profession he has, he said a pilot and that for four years he has followed that office, though before this he was in a way of knowing it, because for four years he had sailed in different parts of the world.

Being asked when he made the voyage to Virginia and with whom

⁸¹ See the list inserted in the heading of document no. I.

and for what purposes and how he was brought to the city of Havana, he said that in the previous year of 1611 at the beginning of March he set sail from the port of London in a ship of 300 tons in which he went as pilot, together with two other ships, the one of 150 tons and the other of 90, in which went 300 men of war in addition to the mariners and 600 barrels of flour and 50 of powder and some boxes of arquebusses, the whole despatched on account of the merchants of London for Virginia, as general of which went Don Thomas Diel,⁸² who was to live there, as in fact he remained, as governor of Virginia; and they spent upon that voyage two months and one half, and the course they took was that from England they were sailing to the southwest until they came into the latitude of the Canary Islands, which was at 28 degrees, and from there they sailed west-southwest to the latitude of Dominica in 14½ degrees, where they took in water and stayed two days, and from there they sailed north-northwest to the island of Niebes,⁸³ where they remained four days refreshing the people, because they had some men sick, and from there northwest-quarter-north to the Passage,⁸⁴ up which they went until they made the coast of Virginia between the Cape of Deception⁸⁵ and Cape Henry and that the reason for steering northwest-quarter-north and north-northwest several times was because of the currents which pushed them to the northeast and the variation of the needle which they warned him to be 7 and 8 degrees, and from there they sailed north-northwest until they were off Cape Henry, which is one of the capes between which one enters into the bay, into which they entered, and proceeded to go up within the river to a point which in English they call Punt Confort, which in Castilian means Point of Consolation; and there they put the people ashore, and the mariners took the three ships up the river to the principal place, which they call Jacobus,⁸⁶ where they anchored, because the ships could not go up beyond the said port, though ships of 40 or 50 tons, which draw two yards and one half of water, can go up 30 leagues, and that this deponent being in company with the English, because he had come from that principal place to bring a barge with flour of that which he brought in the ships, for the provision of the English who garrison the forts at Point Comfort, there came a long-boat in which were twelve or thirteen men, of whom three landed, and the captain of the fort having gone to them with a squad of soldiers asked the three men (one of whom this deponent knew, that he was an Englishman and a pilot, because of having seen him in a house when Don Luis Faxardo went to burn the galleons of Tunis)⁸⁷ why they came there and they replied, to seek a ship of the king of Spain which had been lost on that coast, and the captain told him that he would have to give account to his governor of their coming, who was then at the principal place, called Jacobus, twenty leagues from there, and so he did in a barge. And he said to one of the three that in order that the caravel should not be lost in the bay where it had anchored, they should bring it up into the river and to

⁸² Dale.

⁸³ Nevis.

⁸⁴ The Bahama Channel.

⁸⁵ Not False Cape, but Cape Hatteras.

⁸⁶ James [Town].

⁸⁷ See note 76, above.

Point Comfort, where it would be safe, and he having replied that whoever was left in her would not know how to do it and that they should give him a pilot for that purpose, the captain ordered this deponent to take the same long-boat in which the three had come and go on board the said caravel, and so he did, and on his coming to her the master said that he would not sail in unless they brought back to her those who were missing and as [the English captain] would not give them up, though on another day the long-boat returned for them, the said caravel, without waiting longer, sailed away with this deponent to Havana, leaving the three in the power of the English.

Being asked what roadsteads and of what quality and what forts and of what sort there are from the bay up to the said city of Jacobus, he said that the bay is seven or eight leagues wide and with good soundings, although ships have not security or shelter in it, and so go in until they shelter themselves behind Point Comfort, as he did, where there is room for thirty ships up to 800 tons to anchor, for although when the wind is north some sea is felt in there, it is not a matter of much importance; and on that same point there is a fort beside the shore where seven pieces of artillery are mounted, each of about thirty hundredweight, placed alongside the water in such a way that, since the entrance is narrow and the channel is not more than a musket-shot broad, ships cannot enter or anchor without the artillery doing them damage, and in that fort there are fifty soldiers of ordinary garrison, and half a league from it there are two other small fortifications each having one piece of artillery of ten or twelve hundredweight, to guard the cornfields from the Indians, and that these forts and the first one, on the point, are fortified with stout palisades well joined together.

Being asked how many houses there were in the said place called Jacobus and of what sort and what soldiers and what artillery, he said that there are about 100 wooden houses and in them and in the other places that he has mentioned about a thousand men capable of bearing arms, what with traders and soldiers and laborers, and thirty women, and that the place is fortified with palisades in the form mentioned⁸⁸ and probably has about sixteen pieces of artillery, ten heavy and the other smaller, the heavy pieces of about forty or fifty hundredweight, and the others of about sixteen or seventeen, and that he does not know that there is any other settlement besides that, and that of the Indians some are friendly and some are not, and that it appears to him that there is no great number of either sort; and that what up to the present time he has seen taken from that region to England by way of merchandise is timber for making different things, and sassafras, and what they bring from England are provisions of flour and other things and munitions and cattle of different sorts, which do well.

Being asked if he knows that they have found any mines of silver he said that he does not know.

Being asked if he knows the reasons why the English have settled that country and for how long at that place, he said that he understands

⁸⁸ Smith describes it as "invironed with a palizado of foureteene or fifteene foot, and each [i.e., each stake] as much as three or foure men could carrie". *Generall Historie*, p. 165. Strachey, who describes the fort in detail, says that it is "inclosed round with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, etc." Purchas, IV. 1753.

that they have been settled at that place for six years and that the reasons are to acquire land and build ships and that he does not know the result, beyond the fact that they are in such a situation that in fifteen days at most they can reach the Windward Islands.

Being asked how long it takes to sail from Virginia to England, he said a month, and that he has understood that the voyage is good, and that sometimes they sail east-quarter-northeast until they make the islands of Flores,⁸⁹ but that it is possible for them not to make them on their way to England, though it is better and safer navigation to make the islands, and that for Spain, sailing east, they make the islands of Fayal or Tercera, whence the ordinary course is taken.

Being asked how many times he has been in Virginia, and for how long, and what ships he found there [beside] that in which he was, he said that he has made no other voyage than that which he has mentioned, and that he was there forty days before he was taken,⁹⁰ and that he found there a ship of 150 tons about to sail for England with timber and sassafras.

Being asked what he believes the English will have done to the three persons who were left in their power, he says that he considers it certain that they will not be ill-treated, because the English do not ill-treat prisoners.

Being asked if he has learned subsequently that there is in this court any news respecting them, he said that an Englishman who lives in the Calle Mayor of this town told this deponent that an acquaintance of his told him that he had talked in England with the English pilot who went with Don Diego Molina, and he was one of the three who was left in Virginia.⁹¹

Being asked his age, he said that he was forty years old. And he signed this with his name and declared that what he has said in this his answer and declaration is the truth, under obligation of the said oath which he has taken. And his Worship has added his rubric.⁹² (Rubric.)

JOHN CLARK.

I, DAMIAN DE CARRION Y BRICUELA, was present. (Rubric).

⁸⁹ The northwesternmost of the Azores; Fayal and Terceira lie to the south-east.

⁹⁰ He arrived May 12; forty days would bring the date to June 21.

⁹¹ This was a mistake. Lymbry never reached England. See note 27, above.

⁹² The concluding sentence of the Spanish text is merely a scrupulous enumeration, by the scribe, of words he had written and then erased.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma. By HENRY ADAMS. With an Introduction by BROOKS ADAMS. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 317. \$2.50.)

THE reader will not find anything in this volume from the pen of Henry Adams bearing the title "The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma". He will find the brief letter to H. B. Adams, written in December, 1894, to serve in lieu of a presidential address before the American Historical Association, already published in the *Reports* of the Association; the *Letter to American Teachers of History*, privately printed in 1910; and an essay entitled "The Rule of Phase applied to History", now printed for the first time. These three papers, together making 186 pages, possess a certain unity, since they all deal with the conflict, serious and important as Adams thought, between the conclusions of science and the assumptions of historians in respect to the future of man and the world. To these three papers, the editor, Brooks Adams, has contributed an introduction of 125 pages, under the caption of "The Heritage of Henry Adams"; and to the entire volume he has given the title *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*.

The title seems ill suited to the papers that make the substance of the volume; but one gathers from the introduction why it was adopted. In the introduction the editor does not concern himself with a criticism of his brother's essays, which he has "long thought unanswerable"; he attempts rather to "tell the story of a movement in thought which has, for the last half century, been developing" in his family. This movement in thought starts with John Quincy Adams, whose life-work was founded on the belief in God and in democracy. To-day, whatever may have happened to the belief in God, the tendency is still "very strong throughout the world to deify the democratic dogma, and to look to democracy to accomplish pretty promptly some approach to a millennium among men". But in the Adams family the belief that democracy, with whatever aid from science, can bring in any millennium, has gradually vanished. How it weakened and disappeared is what Brooks Adams tells us in the introduction. Even John Quincy Adams, whose confidence in the value of science was conditioned on his belief in God, died "declaring that God had abandoned him". With God gone, Henry and Brooks, inheriting their grandfather's faith in science, at last came to realize that science taught that neither the world, nor "man as a part of the world, has been evolved in obedience to any single power which

might be called a unified creator". On the contrary, science teaches complexity rather than unity, and a degradation rather than a raising of vital energy. Hence, democracy must partake of the "complexity of its infinitely complex creator, and ultimately end in chaos". The degradation of the democratic dogma which is here in question is thus far from being a general movement of thought; it is a movement within the Adams family, exemplified chiefly in Brooks and Henry.

The three essays of Henry Adams, of which the introduction gives us the genesis, form a valuable supplement to the *Education of Henry Adams*, in so far as that book deals with his effort to formulate for himself an intelligible philosophy of history. The problem which confronted him is stated at length in the *Letter to American Teachers of History*. Science teaches that the universe, in its material and vital processes, is but the expression of an energy, force, will—call it what you like—which, in doing work, is always dissipated, and which must therefore, finally—in some millions of years—be altogether exhausted; the conclusion of which is that humanity is assured of an ever onward and downward movement toward the final equilibrium of death and extinction. Historians, on the other hand, like politicians, teach, or at least assume, an endless "progress" or "evolution" toward a more perfect, or at all events a better "fitted", society. According to Adams, this notion is an illusion; and he wished to impress upon historians the necessity of squaring their account with the conclusions of science. "If the entire universe, in every variety of active energy, organic and inorganic, human and divine, is to be treated as a clock-work that is running down, society can hardly go on ignoring the fact forever." He felt strongly, therefore, that historians should deal with their subject on the basis of assumptions, and by methods, that scientists could recognize as valid. The new essay on "The Rule of Phase Applied to History" is a tentative effort to suggest such assumptions and such methods, an attempt to treat the vital energies that find expression in European history in terms of the Rule of Phase as the physicists understand it.

No extended criticism of Henry Adams's proposed solution of this old riddle can be undertaken in a brief review; but it may be well to suggest that such a criticism would raise at least two questions. The first is this: How does it happen that a mind so critical of all religious and political dogmas could have accepted so readily, so naïvely, the dogmas of natural science? In the eighteenth century men confidently expected that science would reveal for them the secrets of the universe and read the riddle of human life. This was evidently still the hope of John Quincy Adams. At a later day men like Huxley once more proclaimed the scientific evangel. But in recent years professional scientists have generally been more and more disposed to leave sweeping generalizations to laymen. "Science", says Lloyd Morgan,¹ "deals ex-

¹ *The Interpretation of Nature*, p. 58.

clusively with changes of configuration, and traces the accelerations which are observed to occur, leaving to metaphysics to deal with the underlying agency, if it exist." The truth is that Henry Adams was by no means content with "science" as Lloyd Morgan defines it. True to his Puritan traditions, he was bound to seek and to find this "underlying agency"; and having lost the God of his fathers, he constructed a new one out of "lines of force". His quarrel with historians is that they will not bow down and worship this new God, not of science, but of Henry Adams.

And this leads to the second question: Are not historians, in their dealing with human activities, more "scientific" than they would be if they adopted the attitude of Henry Adams? It is a pure assumption on his part that historians teach, or assume, a philosophy of progress. So far as my experience goes, most of them neither teach nor assume such a philosophy. No doubt there are exceptions. Last spring, sitting in a committee appointed to formulate a new history curriculum for schools, I listened to a young man describing with great enthusiasm a proposed new course designed to show the onward and upward progress of democracy—up to and including May 30, 1919. While he was expounding, my eye fell upon the cover of the *Current History* for that very month, and there I read the following words: "Seething Caldron in Europe—Revolution—Civil War—Disorders—Anarchy!" I wondered if I was expected to teach the progress of democracy onward and upward to the Seething Caldron. I decided I wouldn't. On the other hand, when I am invited to "treat the history of modern Europe and America as a typical example of energies undergoing degradation with a headlong rapidity towards inevitable death", I equally decline to teach that. I am content to follow the more modest plan of Lloyd Morgan, to regard the history of modern Europe as a series of "changes in configuration", and to attempt to understand, not in terms of physics, but in terms of human needs, purposes, and acts, how these changes of configuration came about, leaving it to metaphysicians like Henry Adams to deal with the underlying agency, if it exist, and to determine, if they can, whether we are headed for the ash-heap or the millennium. The ash-heap, even on Henry Adams's calculation, is some millions of years distant; and there is good reason to think that the millennium, if that is to be our fate, is still sufficiently remote not to call for immediate preparation on our part. Whatever its ultimate end or its absolute value may be, and whether we know the ultimate end and the absolute value or whether we know them not, human life will remain essentially what it has been, and will have the same finite and human values and meaning. It is the function of history, as I understand it, to deal with this meaning and these values as they are revealed in the thought and acts of men.

CARL BECKER.

Petrus und Paulus in Rom: Liturgische und Archäologische Studien.

Von HANS LIETZMANN. (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber. 1915. Pp. xii, 189. M. 8.15.)

As the author of this book remarks, the progress of investigation into the tradition of Peter and Paul in Rome has been hindered by the persistent ecclesiastical interests dominating it. For many years Protestants could scarcely rid themselves of the desire to prove that Peter was never in Rome, or Catholics of the temptation to overemphasize all evidence that he was. Of recent years, however, there has been a welcome tendency to more objective treatment, and the present book represents a notable step in this direction.

The evidence connecting Peter with Rome is to be found in the early calendar of the Church, in liturgical commemorations, and in the local tradition that he was buried in the Vatican. The literary testimony is late and of slight value. The evidence connecting Paul with Rome is much stronger from the literary point of view, less marked in the liturgy, and equally strong in local tradition. Professor Lietzmann investigates all the evidence and reaches the conclusion that there is reasonable probability for the belief that the sites now indicated in Rome as the tombs of the apostles, in the Vatican and in St. Paul's outside the Walls respectively, really represent the places where the apostles were put to death.

There are in the Roman calendar three dates connected with Peter—January 18, February 22, and June 29. January 18 and February 22 are traditionally the dates of Peter's installation as bishop at Antioch and at Rome respectively. The earliest record, however—the calendar of Filocalus—only mentions February 22 and does not discriminate between Rome and Antioch. A consideration of this calendar as a whole has persuaded Professor Lietzmann that it represents an attempt, made probably at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century, to establish the dates and to observe liturgically the memory of the bishops of Rome. He thinks that this date, February 22, has therefore no value for establishing the tradition of Peter's presence in Rome and accepts the view that it was chosen in order to Christianize the heathen Caristia. The other date, January 18, is of later origin and originally represents an attempt to have a feast which was not usually in Lent. The presence of both dates in later calendars is merely a doublet.

If January 18 and February 22 prove valueless for the investigation of the earliest tradition, the case is different with June 29. The earliest document recording this date is the calendar of Filocalus. This is, unfortunately, obviously corrupt, but Lietzmann thinks that it can be shown that it refers to the removal of the bodies of Peter and Paul to the catacombs from their original resting-places on the Vatican and by the Via Ostiensis in the year 258 to avoid the possibility of interference in the persecution which was beginning. This accounts for the fact that Filo-

calus and other early authorities connect the feast of the apostles in the catacombs with the consulate of Tuscus and Bassus who belong to the year 258 and not to the time of Nero.

At this stage archaeological research in the catacombs has recently added to our information. Investigation into the church of St. Sebastian in the catacombs has given convincing proof that it was connected at one time with the tomb of the two apostles. Why then were they separated and taken later to the Vatican and to a remote spot outside the walls? Lietzmann is surely right in answering that this must be because these sites were known as the actual places of martyrdom. He gives a most ingenious and convincing argument in support of this view. Both in the case of the ancient church of St. Peter and of that of St. Paul he is able to show that the architecture of the church implies that the tomb in each case existed first, and that the church was built round it.

In general the writer must be thanked for a new and most interesting contribution to science. Its value is increased, though the facility with which it can be used is lessened, by the number of secondary problems which he investigates. Among these may be mentioned the earliest form of the Roman liturgy and the Roman celebration of Christmas and Epiphany. Both of these subjects merit reviews of their own, which are forbidden only by considerations of space and the fact that they are, after all, secondary to the main topic of the work under consideration.

K. LAKE.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century. By GEORGE O'BRIEN, Litt.D. (Dublin and London: Maunsell and Company. 1919. Pp. 283. 10 sh. 6 d.)

THERE are three ways to write a history of Ireland. There is the way of Froude—not to pay any attention to the facts at all; there is the way of Mr. Bagwell—to confine one's self entirely to the facts; and there is the way of a considerable school, of which Mr. O'Brien is an excellent example—to detail the facts and show how bitterly Ireland has been oppressed under English rule. The author began his labors with a study of Ireland in its most distressful period for its Catholic population, the eighteenth century. He discovered, what many before him had already found, that no such study could be complete which did not, at least, include the seventeenth century; and this volume is the result of that discovery. One may say at the outset that Mr. O'Brien has produced a valuable book. He has brought together from many sources—practically all in print—a mass of material relating to the economic condition of Ireland from 1603 to about 1700, with some figures a little beyond that date. This he has divided into four chapters: the Period of Construction, 1603–1641; the Period of Destruction, 1641–

1660; the Period of Reconstruction, 1660-1689; and the Period of Re-destruction, 1689-1700; and within two of those chapters he considers the various aspects of Irish industry, agriculture, manufacturing, fishing, mines, commerce, and finance, in much detail.

These form the bulk of his two hundred-odd pages; for the so-called periods of destruction cover scarcely more than thirty pages of the whole. Within these limits he has performed useful service. There are two possible grounds for suggesting that his work could be improved on the side of method. The one is that the material for such a definite question as, let us say, the Irish cattle, would be more effective if collected in one place; the other is that his presentation would gain by some comparative study of conditions and legislation on similar questions in England itself, and in the colonies. This, it may be urged, is beyond the scope of a volume on Ireland; but it certainly would add greatly in a study of a problem so controversial, and so bound up with other issues as is his. For economic "oppression" was not confined to Ireland in the seventeenth century, and no fair judgment of the relations between England and Ireland in that period can be based on Irish legislation alone nor on comparison, expressed or understood, between the conceptions of seventeenth-century economic legislation and those of modern times. The second is that, in the reviewer's opinion, he touches too lightly on the political situation which was in large measure responsible for all legislation, economic as well as political and social, in those fatal years. It was, perhaps, unwise; it may have been unnecessary; it certainly was disastrous to Ireland's prosperity; and perhaps to say that it was in accord with the spirit of the times, and England's well-founded fears for her own existence and her liberties, is, from an Irish point of view, to beg the whole question. But those facts remain as part of the problem; and it is not the part of scientific history, not even Irish economic history, to pay too little attention to these great realities. But it is too much to expect, no doubt, at this time, a complete, detached, and satisfactory, discussion of this great problem from either side of the controversial elements involved. If that should ever come, Mr. O'Brien's book will save its author from a considerable amount of investigation. Yet he probably will not then wholly assent to the conclusion of the present work, "that the realization of the cruel ambitions of the statesmen who succeeded the Revolution was only rendered possible by the destruction of the independence of the Irish legislature, and that the era of trade restriction and economic repression was heralded by a successful, if unconstitutional, assertion of the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland".

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Les Premières Controverses Jansénistes en France, 1640-1649. Par ALBERT DE MEYER, Licencié en Théologie. [Université Catholique de Louvain, Dissertations Doctorales de la Faculté de Théologie, II^e série, tome IX.] (Louvain: Van Linthout. 1917. Pp. xxiii, 574.)

JANSENISM again! Yes; but, this time, a study, systematic and thorough, of a phase that too long has been neglected by writers whose chief interest was polemic, or for whom the more dramatic episodes of the movement have obscured the importance of its initial stages. The field chosen by Abbé Meyer has scarcely been explored, either by the earlier historians or by the modern students of Jansenism. Save for the work of the Abbé Legrand, on the Jansenist controversies at Louvain, there has been no adequate and comprehensive treatment of this, the first, period (1640-1649), based upon a thoroughgoing, scientific analysis and appraisal of source-materials. The work of the Abbé Meyer is fully documented. His researches have led him to the archives of the Vatican (chiefly for the correspondence of papal nuncios), to the archives of the French ministry for foreign affairs, and to manuscripts in various libraries in Rome, Paris, and Milan. And of the vast mass of controversial literature of the time, apparently not one relevant item has escaped his scrutiny.

Absolute freedom from doctrinal bias was hardly to be expected of any writer, Roman Catholic or Protestant, conservative or radical, upon a subject which touches the very fundamentals of Christian faith and practice. But, although the author, viewing it with the eye of a Catholic strictly and uncompromisingly orthodox, cannot but regard Jansenism as a grievous error, the more dangerous and insidious because of the apparent plausibility of certain of its tenets, he nevertheless intends and attempts to do justice to its founders and early adherents, attributing to them a sincere, though misdirected, zeal for reform, and recognizing their loftiness of character and their superior intellectual power. Without going as far as Bossuet, who declared Arnauld to have been the greatest genius of the seventeenth century, he repeatedly pays generous homage to the brilliant intellect of the protagonist of the first epoch, as also to the truly devout, if austere, temper of Saint-Cyran and the spiritual family of Port Royal. Nor does he attempt to gloss over the tactical blunders and dialectical ineptitude of many of the early opponents of Jansenism, or to deny the weakness of the Jesuit position and practice in regard to confession and penance. Truly, we have travelled a long way from the days of Pascal and his detractors! Indeed, the author goes so far as to acknowledge that at the close of the first period, 1649, the honors of the debate rested with Arnauld; and to intimate that, had it not been for the fatuous determination of certain over-zealous Jansenists to wrest from the Sorbonne (which up to that time had maintained an attitude of friendly neutrality) a formal con-

demnation of their adversaries, the Jesuits might have accepted their defeat and retired from the field discomfited (pp. 469-472).

The capital error of Jansenism, and the prime cause of its ultimate condemnation by the papacy, was, in the opinion of Abbé Meyer, neither its ultra-Augustinianism, nor its ethical rigorism (for, paradoxically, its very austerity lent added force to its appeal), but its implied challenge to the authority of the teaching Church. Although the Jansenists repudiated with heat the imputation of "Protestantism", yet in their attitude toward dogma and tradition, as immutable, and in their inclination to substitute for the Catholic doctrine of the Church the individualistic conception of the religious life, they were fundamentally at one with the Protestants. Against the commands of the living Church they set the authority of Augustine, and against the decrees of Trent, the practice of the fourth and fifth centuries; and in the interpretation of tradition, they arrogated to themselves the right of private judgment. Once that was perceived, the condemnation of Jansenism was inevitable. From one point of view, its failure was tragic; for it began as a movement of reform, from a high motive and with the promise of large service to religion; but it missed the path, became involved in error, and ended by frustrating the very reform which gave it birth, and plunging the Church of France into dissensions which sapped its strength and retarded its true progress for generations.

Such is the judgment of Abbé Meyer upon Jansenism. One may dissent. But no critic, Protestant or Roman Catholic, can fail to appreciate the immense service he has rendered by his laborious and exhaustive inquiry, to pay tribute to his erudition, or to discern, running through all his pages, the tolerant and magnanimous spirit of the true scholar.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Second Period of Quakerism. By WILLIAM C. BRAITHWAITE, President of the Woodbrooke Settlement. With an Introduction by RUFUS M. JONES, Professor of Philosophy, Haverford College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xlvii, 668. \$5.50.)

In the *Magnalia* Cotton Mather somewhat grudgingly recognized a second kind of Quakerism, for which he thought William Penn mainly responsible, quite different from the old Foxian type and much less objectionable. What he did not understand was that, owing to the greatness of the man, George Fox had pretty nearly as much to do with the later as with the earlier form; that, in fact, both represented stages in his own personal development. At first he was a voice, strong and penetrating, to which many attuned hearts in England gave resonance and carrying power; but many of his contemporaries speak of his eyes as well as his voice; and with advancing years and increasing responsibility, he came to see the necessity for organization both in polity, which

he accomplished, and in thought, which was the work of Barclay. That so arose a new sort of Quakerism, more orderly in speech and behavior, more logical and historical in thought, is indubitable. Naturally, however, such a change was bound to come in the second and third generation, for like many a similar movement, Quakerism which began as a protest against tradition soon became a tradition itself. Its forms, originally the expression of fresh and living enthusiasm, were impressed from without upon children born into the tradition, and in his zeal for organization, Fox was not more responsive to circumstances without the Society than he was sensitive to new conditions within. Whether on the whole the change was for the worse or the better, it was probably inevitable if Quakerism was to survive. That the change was made under the direction of George Fox himself was advantageous, for it did much to ensure continuity of spirit. Hence great interest attaches to this second period in the history of the movement which Mr. Braithwaite, whose admirable story of the *Beginnings* appeared seven years ago, has described in the present volume.

Although written by a Friend, the book is a history and not an apology, based upon careful and thorough investigation of original sources and amply documented. It also is remarkably successful in avoiding the danger to which study of so narrow a field is necessarily exposed. If a reader is tempted to forget that the Quakers were not the only sufferers during the trying days following the Restoration, he is reminded of the general situation often enough to preserve just balance and proportion. What is more, the story of the Quakers has been told in such a way as to reveal the structural lines of the period as a whole, and for such success in a remarkably difficult undertaking the author deserves hearty commendation.

By thus presenting the history of the party and the period immediately under consideration, Mr. Braithwaite makes an even more important contribution, for as he more than once intimates, although with extraordinary self-restraint he refrains from developing the suggestion, the history of Quakerism is, in essentials, a replica in miniature of the history of the Christian Church, particularly during its corresponding periods of formation and consolidation. The structural lines are the same in both. Like Quakerism Christianity began as a great enthusiasm; it too had its excesses, its emotional explosions, its travelling preachers knitting separated groups together, its persecutions sifting out the weak and compacting the strong, its growing coherence resisted by those who still clung to the original enthusiasm, and finally its consolidation into a church and a creed. By very easy substitutions one can read the story of early Christianity almost point for point in Mr. Braithwaite's history of the Quakers.

Moreover, the book has similar value in still another direction. The Friends were mystics, devoted to the inner light, submissive to its guid-

ance. Accordingly they were subject to the extreme individualism which has been the occasional glory but the more frequent bane of mysticism. How is the creative principle of the Friends compatible with any form of organization whatsoever? Theoretically it is not; yet by his practical genius and good sense, Fox was able to devise an organization which fitted his followers as neatly as Wesley's clothed his. That is to say, the Quaker forms are singularly adapted to the Quaker spirit, and by them the sense of the meeting controlled the aberrations of individuals. Mr. Braithwaite abundantly proves the interesting thesis with which Rufus Jones has made us familiar, that among the Friends mysticism became socialized.

W: W. FENN.

Historical Portraits, 1700-1850. The Lives by C. R. L. FLETCHER, the Portraits chosen by EMERY WALKER, with an Introduction by C. F. BELL. In two parts. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. Pp. xliii, 268; vii, 332. 12 sh. 6 d.)

WITH the appearance of these two handsome volumes the series of historical portraits with which the Clarendon Press has so enriched the available fund of illustrative material, comes for the time being to a close; though one may venture to hope that the success of these issues will be sufficient to encourage another volume which will complete the roll of worthies of the nineteenth century. In a sense these later volumes are of still more interest than their predecessors; for, by a curious paradox, many of these portraits are less familiar than those of earlier date, and of more immediate value in many ways.

There are two points of view from which such a collection may be approached; one is artistic, the other literary or historical. There are, to begin with, probably no two men in the world who would agree on precisely the same list of portraits to be thus honored by reproduction; and it is fair to say that the collaborators of this volume are to be congratulated in general on their selection. Yet the principle on which they worked remains a mystery. It is not greatness, for George IV. has a full page, while Adam Smith and John Wilkes—strange pair—divide a page between them. It is not beauty; for Charlotte Sophia—surely the homeliest of all royalties ever limned—gets a full page, while the beautiful portrait of the Princess Charlotte Augusta has only a half. It is certainly not artistic excellence; for Gainsborough's Sheridan gets half a page and Reynolds's brilliant Tarleton only a third, while Severn's wretched Keats, supported by two chairs, rises to full-page dignity.

When it comes to the biographies the case is clearer; for there we have a canon of evaluation which is as obvious as it is amusing. The portraits, one may hasten to observe, have not been chosen with political bias. But—the Duke of Wellington “hated democracy with a well-reasoned hatred, based upon knowledge and experience”; “The Holland

House gang which set to work to rehabilitate so many lost souls" could do nothing for Shelburne, though an "ingenious but not wholly successful attempt to say something good for Lord Holland has recently been made". "The unscrupulous partisanship and personal rancour" of Macaulay against Croker is noted, without a reference to the reverse of that picture, Croker's attitude toward Macaulay; and "it is infinitely to Wesley's credit that he was no politician; although he had every temptation to play the democrat".

It is perhaps apparent from these scattered quotations on which side of the political arena Mr. Fletcher's sympathies lie. Yet however convinced a democrat one may be, he must be grateful, as well as sometimes amused by the pungent observations scattered by the way in this collection of biographies and appreciations. They are—an amazing thing when one considers how dull men have made such things before!—extraordinarily readable. And a picture-book which one can read is surely a prodigy. For one needs only to consider the biographies which have accompanied the portraits of other such collections to perceive that Mr. Fletcher is as much a genius in his way as Mr. Walker is in his; and that between them they have produced an extraordinarily entertaining and instructive book. And if they had done nothing else to merit the thanks of historians, they have reproduced the most amusing portrait of an historical celebrity in the world—that of Edward Gibbon. For every one says, instinctively, "Is *that* Gibbon!" And Mlle. Suzanne Curchod is finally avenged.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

Palmerston and the Hungarian Revolution. By CHARLES SPROXTON, Fellow of Peterhouse. (Cambridge: University Press. 1919. Pp. xii, 148. 7 sh. 6 d.)

THIS admirable dissertation was awarded the Prince Consort Prize in 1914. Then came the war and a scholarly career of exceptional promise was cut off. Charles Sproxtton, fellow of Peterhouse, received his first commission within a month after the declaration of war, was promoted lieutenant in 1915, and captain in 1916, was twice wounded, received the military cross for conspicuous gallantry and resource, and fell on July 19, 1917, on the western front. Mr. Temperley, who was his tutor at Peterhouse and who has written a brief and impressive biographical sketch, says that "He did not enlist, as some did, because it was a duty, but because he considered it a privilege. In his eyes the war was a holy one because a crusade against evil." Captain Sproxtton now lies in France, that holy land of our afflicted day. Modest—no one could ever get from him any account of the incident that won the military cross—shy, imaginative, religious, dreamy, and poetical, gifted with an extraordinary feeling for style, for "words which flushed and glowed", he had also the taste for historical research and the technique of the scholar, as this dissertation abundantly proves.

The monograph is based for the most part on the Foreign Office records in Chancery Lane. It sets forth freshly and succinctly England's, that is Palmerston's, policy toward the Hungarians from 1848 to 1850. The Hungarians had expected the aid of this "only Radical who had ever held a Foreign portfolio" and who so ostentatiously helped the Italians in their rebellion against Austria. But they never for a moment received it. The Italian provinces might properly be amputated, for such surgery was necessary in order "to fit Austria for her real life-work", but to make Hungary independent was to cripple Austria in its most vital organ and to that act Palmerston would be no party. Moreover he was perfectly candid and consistent in his views from first to last, and if the Hungarians deceived themselves it was, at least, not his fault. Palmerston's attitude may be easily presented by a single quotation:

Austria [he told the House of Commons] is a most important element in the balance of European power. Austria stands in the centre of Europe, a barrier against encroachment on the one side, and against invasion on the other. The political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up, in my opinion, with the maintenance and integrity of Austria, as a great European Power; and therefore anything which tends by direct or even remote contingency, to weaken and to cripple Austria, but still more to reduce her from the position of a first-rate Power to that of a secondary State, must be a great calamity to Europe, and one which every Englishman ought to deprecate, and to try to prevent.

Palmerston told a representative of the Hungarian government, whom he received unofficially, that if Austria "did not already exist, it would have to be invented; that it was a European necessity, and the natural ally of England in the East; he therefore counselled us to reconcile ourselves with Austria, because in the frame of the European State-system it would be impossible to replace Austria by small states".

Captain Sproxton's book is an amplification of and comment upon these opinions of Palmerston as applied to the diplomacy of the period. It is an instructive and interesting study, excellent in form and substance, keen and sure in criticism, and piquant in many of its observations and reflections.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Gambetta. Par PAUL DESCHANEL. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1919. Pp. 302.)

IF Gibbon was correct in thinking that his brief service as captain of the Hampshire grenadiers was of direct, professional advantage to the historian of the Roman Empire, much more obviously would the author of this life of Gambetta be justified, should he ever take to writing his memoirs, in alluding to the character of his career as qualifying him,

in an exceptional manner, for the task assumed. For over thirty years an active politician, involved in all the slippery and instructive warfare of parties and persons in a nation whose public life is characterized by unusual animation and artfulness, Mr. Deschanel has long been broken to the game in which Gambetta himself lived and moved and had his being. He has not witnessed the play from the parterre where the illusions and the wonderment of the theatre are wont to work their spell. He has been behind the scenes and in and out of the wings, at times a significant participant. Dedicated from birth to the republican faith by a father whose republicanism had meant a long exile under the Second Empire, Deschanel was in his youth a follower of Gambetta and in his later years the president of that assembly over which the great tribune had himself presided a generation earlier.

Mr. Deschanel has written the life of a great politician, a great patriot, a great heart. He has done it with abundant information, for it does not appear that he has neglected any of the voluminous printed sources and he has had access to some very significant unpublished letters, which are, in part, here reproduced. He has no doubt had the advantage of discussion with many of Gambetta's associates, like Freycinet and Reinach, or critics like Clemenceau. He has presented with vividness and with understanding the extraordinary vicissitudes of those fourteen amazing years into which the historic record of Gambetta was crowded. He has described without controversial heat, but with clear concision, the burning controversies in which Gambetta was involved. He has not stirred up the embers of the contentions of the past, but he has made the past glow under the truthful evocation of its spirit and its effort. The self-control, the fairness, the intellectual tact, the power of penetrating observation, the firm but urbane judgment of the author are apparent on every page. It is a pleasure to have another demonstration of the fact that a well-bred biography is not, as some would have us believe, bound to be insipid and jejune, wanting in pith and marrow, for this volume is full-blooded and vital in every chapter and in every paragraph. It is no fulsome panegyric, no noisy advertisement, but a balanced and critical, a knowing and a sympathetic portrait. There is here no hushing-up of mistakes and contradictions but also no over-emphasis of them. The reader is as grateful for the fine restraint in characterization and description shown by the author as he is for the pleasures of his literary art and for the reflections and illuminating comments on men and things scattered through the book. Deschanel's analysis, for instance, of the powers of the president of France, possesses a peculiar interest from the fact that since writing it he has himself been called to that high office.

In France the President of the Republic exercises a considerable right which the sovereigns of England have not exercised since the time of George I. and which astonishes our neighbors across the Channel;

he presides over the Council of Ministers. In this there is something else than mere custom; there is the character, the personal authority of the man. Such a president, for example, as Jules Grévy, who had never been a minister, knew how to exert a decisive influence upon the council. He let the ministers speak first, himself listening but saying nothing; then, under the guise of concluding the matter, he would sum up the discussion and would contrive to insinuate his own opinion, with such finesse and with such dialectic power that, in the end, he generally brought about its adoption.

This is far more perspicacious comment than Sir Henry Maine's famous and superficial epigram regarding the French presidency.

The only adverse criticism of this volume that I can think of is that it is too short. One would like it better were it three or four times as long. Books of this quality always instruct, and never tire.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Die Politischen Geheimverträge Oesterreich-Ungarns, 1879-1914, nach den Akten des Wiener Staatsarchivs. VON ALFRED FRANZIS PRIBRAM, O. ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Wien. Band I. (Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller. 1920. Pp. vii, 327.)

The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914. By Dr. ALFRED FRANZIS PRIBRAM, Professor of History in the University of Vienna. English edition by ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Harvard University. Volume I. *Texts of the Treaties and Agreements*, with Translations by DENYS P. MYERS and J. G. D'ARCY PAUL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1920. Pp. xvii, 308.)

THE hope of historical students that from the disasters of war and revolution might result some compensation in the form of diplomatic revelations will be gratified by the appearance of this volume. No phase of recent diplomatic history has been more tantalizing than the formation and development of the Triple Alliance and its complementary treaties and conventions; for while historians have been able to deduce the general character of the treaties, the almost perfect secrecy in which their texts have been shrouded defied every attempt to determine their exact scope, and made impossible any comprehensive and adequate description of the negotiations which led up to them. The text of the German-Austrian treaty of 1879 was known to us in part, and the accompanying negotiations have been described in Wertheimer's *Andrássy*; while Professor Coolidge has summarized in his *Origins of the Triple Alliance* all the information hitherto available on that phase of diplomatic activity. Four articles of one of the Triple Alliance treaties were published in 1915 by the Austro-Hungarian government, together with

the conventions between Italy and Austria-Hungary concluded in 1900 and 1909 concerning the Balkans and particularly Albania. The text of the Russian-German-Austrian convention of 1881 (League of the Three Emperors) was made public recently by Germany, and the more vital portions of the text of the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887 were published by Professor Goriainov in the *American Historical Review*, January, 1918 (XXIII. 324-349). But from such comparatively slim material it was impossible to reconstruct the history of Austria's relations with her neighbors or to complete a really satisfactory study of the scope and character of the Triple Alliance. Great credit should be given to the work of Singer, Helmolt, Friedjung, and Fráknoi, but their conclusions could obviously not be definitive.

Dr. Pribram, who soon after the revolution of November, 1918, was granted access to the secret papers of the Vienna state archives, has given us in this volume documents indispensable to the comprehension of Hapsburg foreign policy from 1879 to 1914, many of which throw strong light upon that of Austria's neighbors, Italy in particular. It is an interesting and important collection. Besides the treaties referred to above, the complete texts of which are now published, he includes the protocols of 1883 and 1902 prolonging the Austro-German alliance of 1879; the five treaties of the Triple Alliance (1882, 1887, 1891, 1902, 1912); the treaties of the Austro-Serbian alliance (1881, 1889); the treaties of alliance between Rumania on the one hand and Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy on the other, with their prolongations (1883, 1888, 1892, 1896, 1902, 1913); the Mediterranean agreements between Austria, Italy, and Great Britain (1887) and Italy and Spain (1887, 1891); and the Austro-Russian treaties of 1897 and 1904 dealing with the Balkans and with the maintenance of neutrality. As an annex at the end of his volume appears the Austro-German-Italian naval agreement of 1913.

In the second portion of his work Dr. Pribram supplies a narrative of the negotiations that resulted in the treaties of the Triple Alliance. That narrative, covering 186 pages, is divided into seven sections, each of which deals with the making of one of the five treaties and the two automatic renewals of the Triple Alliance in 1896 and 1907. Dr. Pribram points out the impossibility, in view of the complex nature of the subject, of adhering to chronological order in dealing with the negotiations of all the treaties which he publishes; he reserves, accordingly, for a later volume his account of the negotiations leading up to the separate treaties with Russia, Serbia, Rumania, Germany, and Italy. His narrative of the Triple Alliance negotiations, contained in the present volume, is compressed and pragmatic in style. He disclaims any intention of writing a complete history of the Triple Alliance, avoiding all discussion of political conditions or interpretative generalizations, and restricts himself to a rather bald but fully documented account of the treaty nego-

tiations simply. The intricate course of those negotiations is admirably elucidated in an introduction immediately preceding his narrative. Dr. Pribram himself emphasizes the fact that even this strictly diplomatic narrative is incomplete, inasmuch as he has investigated only the Vienna state archives, and that his work needs to be supplemented, especially on the side of the stipulations of the treaties that concerned Germany and Italy exclusively.

The narrative is scholarly in tone and displays a moderation that is surprising when we remember the political conditions under which it was written. Dr. Pribram's point of view is naturally Austrian, and he assumes as self-evident facts various hypotheses, such as a comprehensive *Einkreisungspolitik* on the part of England, which Anglo-Saxon historians are apt to question. But while many of his conclusions will be accepted only with reservations, they are nowhere completely vitiated by national bias. His indictment of Italian policy as brutally selfish and not entirely loyal is not pleasant reading, but it is supported by ample evidence of high quality. On the other hand it is obvious, and Dr. Pribram himself implies it, that if Italy made the most of her opportunities to increase her demands upon her allies, she was, according to diplomatic rules, justified in so doing by reason of the fact that as Russia and France drew more close to each other, the value of the Italian alliance to Germany and Austria increased commensurately. His narrative brings out the fact of Italy's use of the alliance to secure for herself opportunities for the exercise of influence in the Balkan Peninsula, at the moment when her government was permitting and possibly encouraging the rise of the irredentist spirit; and he emphasizes the embarrassment that Austria's concessions to Italy in the Balkans raised in the former's relations with Russia and Turkey, at the same time that Italy was meditating an imperialistic policy in the Adriatic. But it is difficult to accept his conclusion that, whereas Italy derived the greatest advantages from the Triple Alliance, it was Austria which, of the three powers, got the worst bargain. Admitting the extent of the sacrifices made by Austria, it seems true, as Professor Coolidge intimates in his preface to the American edition, that the alliance was of almost vital value to her. Given the increasing danger from Russia in the east, it was of the first importance that Italy in the west should be at least a titular friend. And the value of the alliance to Austria necessarily increased with the renaissance of nationalistic spirit in Hapsburg territories, which even before the war threatened the disintegration of the empire.

The text of the treaties naturally throws strong light upon many long-debated problems. Among the points now definitely settled may be cited the fact that it was the separate Austro-German alliance of 1879, which after 1902 was automatically renewed, and not the Triple Alliance that guaranteed German assistance to Austria in case of a Russian

attack and which formed the basis of the policy of the Central Empires. Equally significant is the anxiety of Italy to effect a *rapprochement* between the Triple Alliance and Great Britain, in view of Italy's Mediterranean policy, her partial and temporary success, and the increasing tendency of Italy to forsake her allies after the breach between Germany and Great Britain became serious. It is interesting also to note that the treaties of the Triple Alliance did not contain definite military stipulations; a special military convention between Germany and Italy was concluded in 1888, providing for the employment of Italian troops against France, and two naval agreements were concluded between the three powers of the alliance, the latter (1913) providing for united action of the combined naval forces of Germany, Italy, and Austria, especially in the Mediterranean. The suspicion that Rumania was definitely bound to the Triple Alliance is verified, and also the fact that Spain was drawn within its orbit during the late eighties.

Professor Coolidge's American edition, published by the Harvard University Press, will evoke the gratitude not merely of the general public, which is unwilling to read French and German, but of scholars, who would doubtless find it difficult to secure copies of the original edition and who would in any case have been embarrassed by the flimsy quality of its paper and binding. He has given to us the original texts of the treaties, with the translations most conveniently arranged upon the opposite page. As the matter included is thereby almost doubled, the translation of the narrative of the negotiations has been reserved for a second volume; but Dr. Pribram's introduction, summarizing his chief conclusions, has been inserted immediately before the texts of the treaties. The translation of the introduction is felicitous and effective, and the reviewer has been unable to detect errors either in this or in the translation of the texts. In view of the speed with which it has been completed and the importance of the subject-matter, the preparation and publication of Professor Coolidge's edition may be regarded as a *tour de force* deserving the warmest praise.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Der Weltkrieg. Von KARL HELFFERICH. Band I. *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges.* Band II. *Vom Kriegsausbruch bis zum uneingeschränkten U-Bootkrieg.* Band III. *Vom Eingreifen Amerikas bis zum Zusammenbruch.* (Berlin: Ullstein und Co. 1919. Pp. 230; 430; 658. M. 60.)

IN a preface remarkable for its high professions of entire good faith, and of the writer's desire to contribute to the re-establishment of enduring international relations, Dr. Helfferich promises the readers the truth and nothing but the truth.

As a trained scholar who since 1901 had been officially in touch with German colonial and financial policy and who during the war had been

in charge of two cabinet portfolios and the vice-chancellorship, he possessed particular qualifications for his task.

The three volumes are therefore disappointing. He does, to be sure, give us certain new and occasionally striking information. His story of the Bagdad railway project from the inside, his account of the conferences with English financiers regarding the disposition of the Portuguese African colonies, and the concrete German peace terms sent to Bernstorff "for President Wilson's private information" at the request of Colonel House on January 28, 1917, are in this regard among the most important. But for the historian the value of Dr. Helfferrich's work will lie in such incidentals and in the picture which it gives of the state of mind in German governmental circles at various periods of the war. He generally fails to cite documents textually, and foot-notes, rare in the first volume, are almost entirely wanting in volumes II. and III.

Instead of giving us the truth of history, Dr. Helfferrich is much more concerned with inculcating in the German mind certain political "truths". Briefly summarized, they are as follows: The greatness and prosperity of Germany were due to the house of Hohenzollern and her former system of government. Only with some such concentration of her strength could she have prospered or can she recover. This government was not aggressive and sought the continuance of peace before the war and the return of peace during the war. The great and fatal mistake of a large section of the German people has been in allowing themselves to be deluded into the belief that the long continuance of the war was the result of the designs of the German government, when as a matter of fact it was made necessary by the will of the Entente to destroy Germany. In order to maintain these theses he holds that the war was forced upon a peace-loving Germany and quotes his pamphlet of 1915, *Die Entstehung des Weltkrieges*, as still authoritative, in which "Russia is adjudged the incendiary, France and England the fellow criminals". To make this clearer he explains that the Triple Alliance was pacific in purpose, an insurance company, *Versicherungsgesellschaft*, while the Entente was aggressive, a development or acquiring company, *Erwerbsgesellschaft*.

Germany lost the war and started on the road to disaster when the Reichstag began to demand changes in the German governmental system. This broke down the truce of parties, the *Burgfriede*. The fatal phrase *Neuorientierung* (which meant only constitutional reforms) Dr. Helfferrich began to hear with apprehension early in 1915. As this demand increased it undermined that confidence in the Kaiser and the government indispensable to the conduct of a successful war. This confidence had been the source of Germany's strength, and the attacks upon the government opened the way for irresponsible party politicians of whom Erzberger was the most selfish, the most dishonest, and the most

unpatriotic. The final collapse was caused not by any mistakes of Germany's foreign or military policy but by internal dissensions.

Just as he holds that Germany had been forced into a war of defense, so too he assures us that she would have been willing to end the war at any stage without profit to herself. "At any time under any chancellor", Germany would have been willing to conclude peace on the *status quo ante* basis. He admits that it might have been difficult to do this, but assures us that it would have been done.

Although the thirteen hundred pages give us from Dr. Helfferich's standpoint a well-organized presentation of the causes and vicissitudes of the war, containing much interesting material, the selection and presentation is determined by his theses. To discuss these after all that has been said and written would be to thresh straw, and it may safely be considered as a fairly ingenious and occasionally disingenuous *Tendenzschrift*. Germany's foreign and war policy is nowhere subjected to any severe critique, and where facts do not accord with theses they are consistently omitted. On the immediate causes of the war, instead of citing the correspondence with Austria, since published by Kautsky, he reaffirms Germany's desire for peace, her obligations to her ally, and to prove her entire innocence of aggressive intent resorts to indirect argument. If Germany and Austria had planned to make war, he assures us, they would have consulted their ally Italy, and as they did not do so they must be absolved of guilt. Unfortunately the minutes of the Vienna crown council meeting of July 7, 1914, show that Count Berchtold in opening the session announced that he agreed with Kaiser Wilhelm and von Bethmann-Hollweg in believing that it would be wiser to "act" first and take up the question of "compensations" with Italy and Rumania later. This decision of the German Kaiser and chancellor had presumably been reached on July 5 in the Potsdam conference, a conference which Dr. Helfferich assures us had never taken place, though its personnel has since been given us by von Tirpitz.

Dr. Helfferich seems to have been actuated by the desire not only of justifying Germany's "military masters" but also of rehabilitating himself in public esteem. For this reason he slights or entirely omits those phases of Germany's war policy which must now be considered to have been mistakes, such as the treatment of conquered territory, the deportations, and the Zimmermann note, though the decisions which brought them about were reached while he was a member of the cabinet.

In one case this is particularly striking. He tries to justify his policy of not levying war taxes in 1915 by a long discussion of the financial principles involved. He tells us that his disapproval of such taxes was based entirely on the economic situation, the difficulty of making levies on dislocated German industry, and the small amounts that could have been raised in any case.

The real reason for Dr. Helfferich's failure to burden the public with

war taxes was quite different. It was not based on economic considerations but on Germany's war aims, which at that time included a war indemnity. Nowhere in the three volumes have we any inkling of this, and it is everywhere denied by implication. Yet in presenting his budget to the Reichstag on March 10, 1915, Dr. Helfferich explained proudly and frankly that taxation was unnecessary since "this war is not being waged for the present but above all for the future and because we hold fast to the hope that we shall at the conclusion of peace be able to present to our enemies the bill for the war that has been forced upon us" (*An das Deutsche Volk: die Reichstagsreden des Kanzlers und des Schatzsekretärs*, Berlin, Carl Heymanns, p. 63).

Such seemingly deliberate suppression of the truth and of his own previously recorded opinions tends to make us feel that Dr. Helfferich's history is not merely prejudiced but that its author is lacking in that intellectual probity which must ever be the first quality of the historian.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Erinnerungen. Von ALFRED VON TIRPITZ. (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler. 1919. Pp. xii, 526.)¹

THE desire on the part of former leaders of German opinion to report themselves and their causes aright is responsible for a number of recent volumes which vary in sincerity and reliability. In the case of Tirpitz's *Erinnerungen* the conclusion forces itself upon us that, though probably sincere, they are hardly reliable and as history are valuable only on incidental matters. This statement must, however, be modified with regard to the earlier section, dealing with the period from 1866 to about 1905, for the story of Tirpitz is largely the story of the German navy. No one understood it more thoroughly or was more responsible for its later development than he. He was a close student of naval affairs, and until questions of controversy begin to bulk large, he is an interesting and fairly trustworthy guide on German naval policy.

A thorough believer in the Prussian tradition, he understood only the policy of bluff and force. His work is an astonishing mixture of arrogance and childish petulance. He writes in an attitude of *impenitentia ultima* and retires from the stage shaking his fist at "perfidious Albion", which once having been a friend, then out of envy, after 1896, became an implacable enemy, and having cunningly stimulated France's desire for revenge and Russia's jealousy, finally succeeded in setting the world against peaceful Germany.

Aside from his hatred of England, Tirpitz's master-passion at present is the desire to justify himself. This results in an odd distribution of space and in some rather striking omissions in his correspondence. Although 188 of his large pages deal with the war, only twenty-six are

¹ An English translation, under the title *My Memoirs*, has been published by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

devoted to the events after March 17, 1916, the date of Tirpitz's removal from the cabinet. One hundred and ten pages are devoted to his *Kriegsbriefe*, of which one was written almost every day from headquarters at Charleville. Yet we notice a gap from May 13 to July 13, 1915. The letters of this period would naturally have contained the reactions on the *Lusitania's* sinking. Evidently Tirpitz did not wish to have them preserved, and the letters contain no mention of this success or blunder of the submarines.

Students who have wondered about Tirpitz's influence on German affairs will find the answer given here quite naïvely. It is evident that after 1911 (Agadir) he was at daggers drawn with Bethmann-Hollweg. The Kaiser likewise did not trust his judgment and was present at Tirpitz's interview with Haldane, whom Tirpitz treats as a Machiavellian politician who was trying to render Germany defenseless and place her at the mercy of England. Tirpitz was evidently the *enfant terrible* of the cabinet. Bethmann-Hollweg accused him of undermining the chancellor's influence and standing, and in spite of Tirpitz's denial, the letters show that the accusation was justified. The Kaiser would evidently have been relieved to have been rid of him but did not dare dismiss him because of his popularity as the creator and symbol of the navy. In the cabinet Tirpitz's influence however seems to have been virtually *nil*.

He did not approve the method in which the submarine decree of February, 1915, was promulgated with its warning to neutrals, and would have preferred an announcement of the submarine blockade of the mouth of the Thames and adjoining regions, which would gradually have been extended. He tells us in his *Erinnerungen* proper that the *Lusitania* was armed and sank as a result of the explosion of the munitions she carried. He believes the war would have been won if unrestricted submarine warfare had been declared in 1916. To him his fellows in the cabinet and in the direction of the navy, Bethmann-Hollweg, Jagow, von Pohl, etc., were incompetent epigones. He confesses that he himself would have accepted the chancellorship, which may explain much. Later he was for Hindenburg.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Die Oberste Heeresleitung, 1914-1916, in ihren wichtigsten Entschliessungen. VON ERICH VON FALKENHAYN. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn. 1920. Pp. viii, 252.)

FOR the student of the Great War, there could hardly be a more alluring title than *General Headquarters and its Critical Decisions*. It promises a kind of enlightenment which perhaps no research elsewhere would afford; "inside" information as to the plans and projects, the calculations and expectations on which the principal operations were based, and competent *critiques* of their execution. The work itself is a memoir, rather than a history. It makes no references to authorities,

and furnishes little in the form of documents, but it bears evidence of more careful preparation than is usual with memoirs and of being based on authentic records or accurate first-hand knowledge. It is illustrated with seven maps in a folder and five sketch-maps in the text. A table of numerical strength gives the approximate numbers for both sides at various dates on the eastern and on the western front.

Instead of an index, the book has a "register" of persons from which the most important name in the book, that of the author, is omitted, and in which the page-numbers are generally if not invariably wrong.

The general idea by which von Falkenhayn was guided in his conduct of the war was that Germany was fighting for her existence against enemies who were bent on her destruction. He believed that victory or defeat was a question of military endurance, that the salvation of his country depended on the complete development and careful conservation of her strength.

The outstanding features of his narrative are the shifting of troops from one front to another, especially from the western to the eastern; the shortages and failures due to miscalculations made in peace and in war; the author's disagreements with Austrian headquarters; his friction with von Hindenburg; and finally his resignation and relief from duty as chief of staff on an irreconcilable difference with the emperor over an indispensable, fundamental principle (*um einen unbedingt festzuhaltenden Grundsatz*). What this ultimatum was may be disclosed some day by Count Hohenzollern.

Among the German miscalculations which von Falkenhayn admits, were the quantity of supplies that the Allies were to receive from the United States and from Italy; the strength of France on the outbreak of war; the limitations of submarine warfare; the unreadiness of Mohammedans for a holy war; the natural defenses of the Suez Canal; the feebleness of Austria-Hungary; and the power of the United States.

Von Hindenburg was bent on smashing the Russians, on putting them permanently out of action by a crushing defeat. Von Falkenhayn was for pinching off a part of their army. Both operations were undertaken at the same time, without either having the force that it might and should have had. The joint result was, of course, a disappointment. When afterwards von Falkenhayn called on von Hindenburg for a number of divisions for the western front, he received a reply which may be qualified as insubordinate, concluding with a request that von Hindenburg's views be laid before the emperor. They were laid before the emperor, and the emperor sustained von Falkenhayn. Whatever may be thought of von Falkenhayn's estimate of the situation, no one with any military standards can read the documents he presents without concluding that von Hindenburg was deficient in obedience and loyalty.

Von Falkenhayn's story produces an impression which is confirmed by von Ludendorff's, that the recent war, making all allowances for un-

precedented difficulties, was not as creditable to the German agencies of preparation and execution as the war of 1870-1871. Perhaps von Tirpitz was right when he wrote in his diary (September 7, 1914), "all would go well, if we had an *Iron Chancellor* and an *old Kaiser*."

A good translation of this work is published by Hutchinson and Company, London. It includes the maps, with one unimportant exception. The index of names is not as faulty as the German, but is decidedly poor. The two Generals von Below (Otto and Fritz) are indexed as General von Below. General von Bülow and the former Chancellor von Bülow are indexed as General von Bülow.

A translation published by Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, has the same text as Hutchinson's, but no index. It has the same maps, but some of the larger ones are so reduced in size that many of the names are illegible. It is entitled *The German General Staff and its Decisions, 1914-1916*.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Im Weltkriege. VON OTTOKAR CZERNIN. (Berlin and Vienna: Ullstein und Co. 1919. Pp. xi, 428.)

AMONG the swarm of revelations that are appearing in connection with the diplomatic history of the war, Count Czernin's book is one of the really notable ones. It is true he is disappointing, for he continually makes us feel that he might have told us much more if he had chosen to, but, as far as he goes, he is well worth attention. He was altogether the ablest Austrian statesman at the helm during the war period; he knows his facts and they are inside ones; and he writes clearly and with apparent straightforwardness, giving us the Austrian point of view as distinct from the German one with which we are familiar. His expression of his own opinions and aims is perhaps even more interesting. Though never abusive, he is frank in his language about his German allies and especially about Ludendorff and the military party, whose policy he regards as responsible for bringing their country to ruin. As for his own policy, his main thesis is that Austria was too completely in the hands of her powerful friend for her to be able to make peace alone. Any attempt to do so would have been suppressed, and suppressed by force if need be. Another objection to a separate arrangement was that the Allies, by the famous treaty of London of 1915, had committed themselves to the dismemberment of Austria. Count Czernin comes back to this point again and again, arguing that the agreement rendered it impossible for Austria to withdraw from the struggle. His own great object as foreign minister was to bring about a general peace, even at the cost of painful sacrifices on the part of the Central Empires. To his thinking, the main objection was the question of Alsace-Lorraine, because France, supported by England, would not lay down her arms until she had won back her lost provinces. He therefore made strenuous efforts to persuade Germany to surrender them, and in return he

was willing to give up Austrian Poland and other Polish territory to Germany—perhaps getting compensation for Austria in Rumania. In this policy he was supported by Emperor Charles and, in Germany, he met with some response for a moment; even the Crown Prince was inclined to listen to him, but the military party totally refused to entertain the idea, and they had their way.

One of the best features of this book is the author's keen judgment and his apparent frankness in telling us his impressions of some of the people with whom he came into contact. He had long known intimately the unfortunate Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and he gives us a pathetic and kindly picture of him. At the same time, he openly admits many of his faults and expresses disbelief that if the archduke had lived to become emperor he could have carried out his policies and rejuvenated the empire. The reader certainly gets the same impression. Count Czernin adds: "The structure of the monarchy which he wished to support and strengthen was already so decayed that it could not stand any strong shock and it would probably have collapsed if not from this war from without, from within through revolution." This is a rather startling admission from a high Austrian official of the old régime.

Among other interesting things in the volume, we note particularly the remarks on the character of Kaiser William and the extracts from Count Czernin's diary at Brest-Litovsk, also his account of the peace of Bucharest. On the other hand, he tells us nothing of the circumstances that led to his own fall from office. Let us hope that we shall hear from him again.

Meine Kriegserinnerungen, 1914-1918. Von ERICH [von] LUDENDORFF. (Berlin: E. S. Mittler und Sohn. 1919. Pp. viii, 628.)

Ludendorff's Own Story, August 1914-November 1918: the Great War from the Siege of Liège to the Signing of the Armistice as viewed from the Grand Headquarters of the German Army. By ERICH VON LUDENDORFF, Quartermaster-General of the German Army. In two volumes. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1919. Pp. ix, 477; 473. \$7.50.)

ON August 29, 1916, von Hindenburg succeeded von Falkenhayn as chief of staff of the German army. Von Ludendorff was made assistant chief of staff with the title of first quartermaster-general. He held this office until October 26, 1918, about two weeks before the armistice. Von Falkenhayn had held it from September 14, 1914, about two months after the beginning of the war, until he resigned it in August, 1916. The stories of von Falkenhayn and von Ludendorff cover the activities of the general staff almost through the war, but while von Falkenhayn confines himself to the two years of his incumbency as chief of staff, von Ludendorff embraces his whole four years of war service.

He admits in his preface that he writes principally from memory. He gives a wealth of interesting comment and *ex parte* statement of motives, intentions, and expectations, which he does not prove. For instance, he says that in the latter part of 1917, the chief of the naval general staff, von Holtzendorf, predicted that unrestricted U-boat warfare, if carried out, would decide the war in Germany's favor in six months (pp. 248, 250). He later remarks that such warfare was carried out and refuted the prediction (p. 348). His representation of this matter may serve as a clue to the reality; it does not establish a fact.

His treatment of the administrative and political sides of the war is the best part of the work. His accounts of battles are in many cases unsatisfactory. Their cardinal fault is the lack of figures. There is no telling from them the numbers of troops engaged and the numbers lost. Without such information no critique of the operations is possible. Looking up divisions on the map and following them forward and backward, without getting an idea of the net result, is as tiresome as it is unprofitable.

There are ten folding maps in a pocket and forty-six small maps in the text. They are generally good, but not one of the fifty-six shows by name Pletz, Kreuznach, or Spa, successively headquarters of the German army, nor Neu Sandec, headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian army, nor the Murman Coast, the Entente base in Russia. There is no general index, but there is an index of persons, from which the name of the author is omitted.

The outbreak of the war found von Ludendorff in command of a brigade in Strasburg. He was assigned to duty with General von Emmich, who was charged with taking Liège. Having distinguished himself in this operation, he was designated as chief of staff of the 8th Army, which under General von Hindenburg was to oppose the Russian forces invading East Prussia and threatening to march on Berlin. The battle of Tannenberg (August 27-29, 1914) which made von Hindenburg the hero of Germany, is perhaps the most brilliant achievement of the war. Two Russian armies, Rennenkampf's on the right and Samsonov's on the left, were confronted by two fractions of the 8th German Army. The Germans withdrew two army corps and a cavalry brigade from in front of Rennenkampf and threw them, together with the German right wing, against Samsonov. The Russians in the theatre of operations outnumbered the Germans, and it would seem that on the field of battle they had a slight preponderance. But Samsonov's army was annihilated.

The first battle of the Masurian Lakes, fought a few days later, was also a victory for the Germans. If not so brilliant as that of Tannenberg, it was hardly less remarkable.

Von Ludendorff was in his element. Had such bold aggressive tactics as he employed in these two actions been the right kind for every

situation, he would have come out of the contest with even higher reputation than he enjoys. He was to show that where delaying or defensive tactics were called for he was not so efficient.

In the summer of 1915, it was decided at general headquarters to concentrate all available forces on a short campaign in the east. Generals von Hindenburg and von Ludendorff were called into consultation. Their proposition that the main effort be directed from the north against the enemy's right flank was not accepted. According to von Falkenhayn, they were instructed to direct the main effort against the enemy's right centre; to assemble for the operation all available troops; to abstain, pending the campaign, from every forward movement not absolutely necessary to security; and to begin operations on July 12.¹

Von Ludendorff states without explanation that the first movement toward the enemy was made on July 13 (pp. 116-117); that the left wing entered upon offensive operations on the 15th. The campaign had hardly started. He admits (p. 117) that he was not at liberty to withdraw troops from the centre to reinforce the left, but says nothing about the injunction to reinforce the right centre to the extent of his ability. That he failed to do this is apparent from his own statements.

He incidentally shows that, from the beginning of the war, he considered Germany as defending herself against a combined assault with intent to destroy her, and laments the fact that the people were never made to realize that the country was fighting for its life. He finally tendered his resignation as chief of staff because the emperor took exception to an harangue he addressed to the troops, which for military impropriety it would be hard to beat. He said in part:

Wilson's answer calls for military capitulation. It is, therefore, for us soldiers, unacceptable. It is proof that the will of our enemies to destroy us, which unchained the war of 1914, continues undiminished. It is furthermore proof that our enemies use the phrase "Just Peace" only with their mouths, in order to deceive us and break our resistance. Wilson's answer can, therefore, for us soldiers, be only a call to continue our resistance with all our strength. When our enemies recognize that the German front cannot, with any amount of sacrifice, be broken through, they will be ready for a good peace, which will make the future of Germany, particularly for the masses of the people, secure.

Does this mean a change of heart, a turning to von Falkenhayn's policy of wearing the enemy out? If so, it was too late. The emperor accepted his resignation and so closed his military career.

A translation of this work in two volumes has been published by Hutchinson and Company, London. How reliable it is may be judged from these two samples with correct versions:

"A single command was not established for General von Hindenburg and I preferred to remain independent" (I. 78). A single command

¹ Von Falkenhayn, p. 98.

was not established. General von Hindenburg and I preferred to remain independent.

"At the same time we decided to take Kovno and let the Niemen army continue its attack. Both good as far as they went" (I. 151). At the same time we decided to attack Kovno and let the Niemen army continue its attack; both as far as might be practicable.

Any one who can read German should prefer the original to this translation.

A translation, also in two volumes, is published by Harper and Brothers, New York. It gives the second of the foregoing quotations in this form:

"At the same time we decided to take Kovno and the Niemen Army continue its attack if all went well."

The translator may be able to parse and analyse this sentence. If this were done, it might be so punctuated that it would render the German or show how near it comes to doing so. Such faultiness as this, however, is not characteristic of the work. As a whole the translation is good. It has a particular advantage over the London version, in being accompanied by a topical index.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Ein Jahr in der Reichskanzlei: Erinnerungen an die Kanzlerschaft meines Vaters. Von KARL Graf VON HERTLING, Rittmeister. (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1919. Pp. vii, 192.)

THE son of the late Count Hertling has, in this book, given us a record of his experiences during the year in which his father was chancellor of the German Empire. It is primarily a labor of love and a defense of his father, especially, it would appear, against certain statements in Ludendorff's memoirs. But since Count Hertling was the son, personal adjutant, and close confidant of the chancellor, his account of German policy possesses a very real interest to the student of this period.

The central feature of the book is the development and downfall of the policy of the Hertling-Kühlmann régime. And it is in the account of the fundamental features of this policy that the greatest value of the book seems to lie. In the first place it was not—if Count Hertling's account can be trusted—a policy of annexation. In the second place it appears to have been anti-Russian rather than anti-English or anti-French. Annexations of the eastern border—except for certain frontier rectifications—were to be avoided, but the chancellor seems to have hoped that in the group of new states that had been formed at Brest-Litovsk Germany would find future allies and dependents. Toward the western allies the chancellor's policy seems to have been to negotiate peace on the basis of no annexations or indemnities, and he evidently hoped to erect this peace on the basis of Wilson's "four points". The brief mention of the secret mission to America to negotiate on the interpretation of these points merely whets the appetite.

The relations between the civilian government at Berlin and general headquarters are fully treated. On these points the book should probably be read in connection with the Ludendorff memoirs; to which it is, in a certain sense, a reply. While in the main the narrative is frank and full, at certain critical moments either reasons of state or lack of knowledge intervene and impose silence. Notably is this true with respect to the attitude of the emperor at the time of the Kühlmann crisis. Interesting to note is the differentiation between Hindenburg and Ludendorff; the former is depicted as generally sympathetic with the policy of the chancellor. Possibly this may be explained by the common emphasis on Russia in the minds of both Hindenburg and Hertling.

The difficulties between Germany and her allies, Austria and Bulgaria, during the last year of the war are fully depicted, although the account is almost certainly unfair to the last two. Those who regarded Austria as a mere tool of Germany will find scant comfort in the pages of Count Hertling's book. Turkey, the third ally, is hardly mentioned.

Prejudiced as the author undoubtedly is in favor of his father and his father's policy, the book bears the marks of honesty and truthfulness. And in its suggestive hints as well as its positive revelations it is a book that the student of German policy in the last year of the war can hardly afford to neglect.

MASON W. TYLER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies, as Illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila, 1583-1800. By CHARLES HENRY CUNNINGHAM, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of History in the University of Texas. [University of California Publications in History, vol. IX.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 479. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR CUNNINGHAM has produced the first volume in English which attempts a complete historical survey of one of the principal colonial institutions of Spain. The author begins his volume with the statement that "the Audiencia was primarily a judicial institution". He then develops his thesis, emphasizing the non-judicial functions, which have been neglected by previous writers, to such an extent that the reader who has persisted to the end has almost lost sight of the fundamental character of the institution. Two preliminary chapters deal with the audiencias of the Spanish colonies and the history of the establishment of the audiencia of Manila. The two following chapters (109 pp.) treat of the purely judicial functions and the remainder of the volume is devoted to the semi-judicial and non-judicial powers, particularly in their relation to the governor and the ecclesiastical functionaries.

The volume is very readable and not uninteresting, although the dis-

cussions are long drawn out at times, and there is much repetition, it being found even on a single page (*e.g.*, pp. 131, 358). The book in its present form will serve admirably for an exhaustive study of the *audiencia*, especially as to the non-judicial powers. The average reader however would be interested in a more condensed statement of the facts and excellent conclusions of the work. The book represents an immense amount of research, as is evidenced by citations to some two hundred *legajos* of the 531 which are listed in the bibliography under the head of "Manuscript materials from the Archive of the Indies". In addition the Laws of the Indies have been carefully examined and all the material relative to the *audiencia* summarized. The conclusion of Professor Cunningham, based on the comparison of the actual practice in colonial administration with the legislation of the Laws of the Indies, is that

these laws were actually used as a basis of colonial government, and that, while not always effectively enforced, they were by no means a dead-letter until Spain actually lost her colonies and are not today, for it is easy to see in the laws of the Indies the fundamentals of the institutions of present-day Spanish America,

—a conclusion which will serve to counteract the general charges of earlier writers that the law and practice in Spanish colonization did not coincide.

The author assumes that the *audiencia* of Manila "was typical of all the *audiencias* in the Spanish colonial system". After reading the chapters on the relations of the *audiencia* and the governor and noting the extremely important position of the *audiencia* of Manila, one is led to wonder whether the importance of the *audiencia* which was at the side of the viceroy was not somewhat less on account of the higher rank of this latter official. The date of the founding of the first *audiencia* in the colonies is an interesting problem left unsettled by the author. He gives the date for the founding of the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo as 1526 (p. 16), but later states that various references to this *audiencia* dated before 1526 are to be found in the Archive of the Indies (p. 19, note 27). He seems to have overlooked the *cédula* dated October 5, 1511, and cited by Danvila y Collado (*El Poder Civil en España*, V. 155, I. 636), which provided for the "creation of the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo and the approval of its ordinances".

In general make-up the volume has the excellent characteristics of the previous historical publications of the University of California. A few errors in the spelling of proper names, a too lavish use of *ibid.* in references, which makes for confusion, and some mistakes in citations to the Laws of the Indies and *legajos* in the Archive of the Indies, mar the otherwise perfect typography of the book. The derivation of *alcabala*, a word of Arabic origin, from "al que vale" is surely untenable.

A bibliography of printed works cited and a check-list of materials

in the Archive of the Indies are appended. The index is rather brief and somewhat incomplete. So important a topic as "appeals from the audiencia", which is extensively treated, is omitted from the index.

Professor Cunningham is to be congratulated on his distinct contribution to the study of Spanish colonial institutions.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Judicial Settlement of Controversies between States of the American Union: Cases decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. Collected and edited by JAMES BROWN SCOTT. In two volumes. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1918. Pp. xlii, 873; viii, 902. \$7.50.)¹

THESE two handsome volumes, bound in crimson and gold, are the contribution of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the deliberations of the Paris Peace Conference. Prepared by Dr. James Brown Scott, the scholarly director of the Endowment's Division of International Law, upon the eve of his departure for Paris as a technical delegate to the Peace Conference, it was hoped that this concrete evidence of how controversies between partially independent and sovereign states had been judicially settled for several generations might impress the members of the conference with the practicability of providing a somewhat similar method of settling disputes between states far more alien and separate than were ever those of British North America. The fate of this pious hope, like that of many others, is still in the womb of time, but meanwhile these fine books will delight the historian and the lawyer.

Up to June, 1918, just eighty different proceedings between our states, or between them and the United States, have been decided by the federal Supreme Court. More than half of this number, however, are merely procedural or involve successive steps in a single controversy, so that the total number of different disputes settled on their merits is thirty-five. Of these, twenty are boundary disputes and fifteen concern other matters, the latest and perhaps the most significant of the latter being the famous suit by Virginia to compel West Virginia to pay her fair share of the former state debt of the Old Dominion before its partition. All of these eighty cases are reprinted entire from the reports, with the original pagination, including arguments of counsel, and, in the boundary cases, the recorded field-notes of the surveyors. The only thing lacking to give this collection the maximum of utility is a brief index-digest, which, it is hoped, may later be supplied.

Mindful of his missionary purpose, the editor has prefixed about 550 pages of cases upon topics designed to place this exalted exercise of our

¹ A third volume of *Analyses* has been added, but arrives just as the above review is going to press.

high court's jurisdiction in its proper setting. They deal with the nature of the union of the states, the scope of judicial power under the Constitution and its relation to legislative and executive power, the immunity of states from private suit, and suits against state officials affecting states. These cases are not always printed in full, but nothing of importance is omitted, and each section is enriched by a page or more of pithy introductory extracts to illustrate and summarize its topics, drawn from a wide range of political, legal, and historical reading. Their variety and aptness are most flattering to the editor's erudition.

The Supreme Court of the United States began its career as an arbiter between the states under far more promising conditions than could attend the inauguration of any like international tribunal to-day, but even its august history bears the marks of evolution. In 1821 Virginia, on grounds of state sovereignty, vehemently denied the court's appellate jurisdiction over a defendant convicted of violating a state statute alleged to infringe an act of Congress. In 1917 the attorney general of the same state prayed the same court for a mandamus to compel the legislature of a sister state to levy a tax to pay its judicially declared debt to Virginia. A hundred years of even a rudimentary League of Nations might bridge a wider gap.

Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, President of Haverford College 1887-1917. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. ix, 248. \$2.50.)

THROUGH the years from the days of colonial origins to the present, across the continent from sea to sea, English America has been the classical land of idealistic enterprises. In the plentitude of vacant land, all sorts of groups have found the opportunity for the expression of ideals which could not be fully and freely realized in the older settled communities. Many of these utopias had a brief day and ceased to be; others lived for a time with their ideals only partly fulfilled. The Quaker experiment ran a course of threescore years of success and then broke down as a practical enterprise. But whatever their fortune or fate they are fully worthy of study and report. They have their place of varying influence and importance, not only in their day but also for the future. The Quaker experiment, like the Puritan, has left a heritage of experience, available and valuable alike to the practical statesman and the intellectual reformer, of what is attainable in the application of idealistic considerations to a world of practical necessities. "As all idealistic attempts have their lessons either of adoption or avoidance", says Dr. Sharpless, "this one may be worthy of recording." But though the many experiments have passed into history as practical efforts, their spiritual vitality is not to be ignored. They have left a decided impress upon the formation and content of American idealism. The Quaker principles of political and religious liberty, of plain dealing, of service

to society, of the just treatment of backward peoples, and the stern hatred of war, have become essential items in the American programme of ideals. The same spirit which moved the Friends has moved society, slowly working toward those ideals which inspired the Quakers.

Dr. Sharpless has for his theme the practical unfolding of Quaker principles as revealed in the public careers of the dominant provincial leaders, all of them more or less of idealists and very conscious of the fact. He has chosen for his purpose William Penn, Thomas and David Lloyd, James Logan, Isaac Morris, father and son, James Kinsey, Israel Pemberton and his sons, Israel and James, and John Dickinson. Incidental light is thrown upon other figures. An especial value is attached to the volume because it deals with a type of history of the colonial period too little appreciated. There is no fault to be found with the major emphasis placed upon the flowering of institutions, but it has been a fault that so little interest has been shown for the lives of the colonial statesmen who in the several colonies formed the issues and supplied the leadership which made possible the transition from colony to commonwealth. It is a fact which looms large in the history of the several colonies in the generations prior to the Revolution that a political and social aristocracy was in control. This volume, while a separate chapter is given to each of the several personalities, does not lack continuity. The long, overlapping, and intimately interwoven careers of these men cover very well the political history of the colony during the neglected middle period prior to the Stamp Act.

For seventy years the colony, consciously conceived as a "holy experiment" in the principles of political and religious liberty, was controlled by the Quakers. They began as the governing body and continued in power by a safe margin even though they became a decreasing minority in the population. In turn the Quaker power was largely exercised by an inner circle of city Quakers. They filled the high offices of state, and they were bound together by ties of marriage, social intercourse, and religious fellowship. After all the colony did not suffer from the supremacy of a select group of sectarians. Although in practice the state and church were identified, the Quakers did not forge political weapons for the supremacy of one creed. Political and religious equality was not only the rule, but the practice. The select group maintained its leadership by virtue of strong personal character, by training, by ability, and with the support of the people. Even with the access of wealth which brought leisure and luxuries, the Quaker leaders and people did not fall away from the high ideals which they professed. They gave willingly of their time, strength, and ability to the general good of the colony. There were some who in order to see their ideals worked into practice were willing to realize them gradually as occasion permitted. But the majority repudiated such compromise and as inflexible idealists finally withdrew from active political life to keep their ideals unsullied from the world.

Dr. Sharpless writes in a spirit sympathetic with Quaker ideals and efforts, and this is proper. But he is not a mere eulogist or apologist. He is not unmindful of the faults and weaknesses of the Quaker position, and he does not gloss over their divisions and quarrels. His book is a sound, substantial piece of interpretation, based upon a good knowledge of the materials of provincial history and a fine understanding of the Quaker ideals. His book is a most welcome addition to the history of the colony. Recently his hand has been stilled by death, but his sound work through long years as an educator and historian is bound to live long.

W. T. Root.

Maine: a History. Edited by LOUIS CLINTON HATCH, Ph.D. In three volumes. (New York: American Historical Society.¹ 1919. Pp. 936.)

THE bulk and external appearance of these handsome volumes may at first sight arouse unpleasant recollections of the character of many former productions in the field of state and local history. A very brief examination, however, will show that Dr. Hatch has produced a state history that is accurate, complete, and readable.

The greater part of the first two volumes is the personal work of Dr. Hatch and, as he points out in his preface, largely a political history of the state since its admission to the Union. The colonial era has already been fully treated by Williamson, Burrage, and others, and no attempt has been made to duplicate their work. The author has thereby avoided the fault so common in local histories, of overemphasis on earlier and sometimes trivial matters. Fannie H. Eckstrom contributes a chapter on the Indians of Maine, while Edgar E. Smith and John F. Sprague discuss, respectively, the eastern and northeastern boundary questions. The interest and effectiveness of these latter studies would have been greatly increased by maps of the disputed area. The lack of a map of the state is felt in several other parts of the work.

Dr. Hatch's treatment of political history is chronological rather than interpretative, and if the reader sometimes feels that undue attention is paid to national politics, it is well to remember the part played by Maine politicians in affairs at Washington. It would be hard indeed to separate the two fields when it is remembered that Bradbury, Fessenden, Hamlin, Blaine, Reed, Frye, Dingley, and a score of lesser leaders were active and influential in both.

The third volume is the joint production of several authors who contribute chapters on various economic and social topics. These are

¹ [The editor will not lose any opportunity of pointing out that the commercial company called the American Historical Society has no connection with the American Historical Association; frequent reasons for emphasizing the distinction arise.]

of uneven merit. The best is perhaps Professor Wilmot B. Mitchell's chapter on education. Some are decidedly weak, and the volume fails on the whole to present an adequate picture of the economic and social development of the state. Maine agriculture certainly deserves more attention than it has received. An enjoyable and profitable hour, however, can be spent on the brief biographies in the latter part of the volume. Most of these are the work of Dr. Hatch. Maine contributed not only a remarkable group of leaders to the political life of the nation, but in literature, science, education, theology, law, medicine, and business her place is equally high.

From the historian's standpoint these volumes leave something to be desired. Maine was not like many of our states a mere administrative district, bounded by parallels of latitude and longitude, and with the same people, the same life, the same institutions as all her neighbors. She had a distinct individuality. There is an opportunity of which no one has yet taken advantage, to correlate economic, social, and political life. Maine drew most of her people and institutions from Massachusetts, but early in the last century Kendall and other travellers noted the lack of resemblance between parent and offspring. The drunkenness, poverty, and squalor which they mention, the occasional prevalence of religious radicalism, the opposition to banks and turnpike companies, produced the Democratic ascendancy of the earlier years, and the epidemic of Greenbackism forty years ago shows how the same tendencies persisted. Maine shared New England conservatism and frontier radicalism. Anniversary histories, however, must obviously be written with the interests of the largest possible number in mind, and Dr. Hatch's work is a worthy memorial of the one-hundredth year of statehood. It should find a prominent place in the homes, the school-rooms, and the public libraries of the state. Few states have had a more inspiring history or a better source of information in which to study it.

W. A. ROBINSON.

Portraits of American Women. By GAMALIEL BRADFORD. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xiii, 276. \$2.50.)

MR. GAMALIEL BRADFORD, who has achieved an enviable success in his biographical studies, has selected for his latest volume eight American women about whom we can well afford to be enlightened. There is an undeniable thinness in the narratives; for while the chosen field is a large one, it offers no pre-eminent figures, and Mr. Bradford does well to follow his own taste, always delicate and discriminating.

Abigail Adams, woman of the world and of affairs; Sarah Alden Ripley, a scholar little known; Mary Lyon, a pioneer in the field of female education; Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of one famous novel, and of several forgotten ones; Margaret Fuller Ossoli, friend and com-

rade of eminent men; Louisa May Alcott, delight of a bygone generation of children; Frances Willard, apostle of temperance; and Emily Dickinson, author of interesting, if somewhat disputable, verse—this is the group presented to us by a biographer who is at once sympathetic and incapable of exaggerating any claim to distinction.

The most exceptional, and perhaps the most attractive, figure is Mrs. Ripley. She does not seem to belong to her time or place. She does not seem at home with her excellent companions. She was that *rara avis*, a woman who loved knowledge for its own sake; who never wanted to be up and doing, but was content with the life of the intellect; who remained unstirred by political events, even the great event of the Civil War; who mastered the classics when she was a girl, and Spanish when she was seventy; who dared to call the German language "abominable", and who never learned to spell. What a power of analysis in these few words of Emerson's, describing this remarkable woman, whom—to say the truth—he did not wholly love: "She would pardon any vice in another which does not obscure his intellect or deform him as a companion. She knows perfectly well what is right and wrong, but it is not from conscience that she acts, but from a sense of propriety." Boston born, living in Concord, yet Athenian to the core. It is a combination that passes belief and staggers understanding.

Mr. Bradford offers little in the way of literary criticism, because there is no call for it. One can hardly criticize *Little Women*, or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and his description of Emily Dickinson's verse as "clots of fire, shreds of heaven, snatches of eternity", is striking rather than critical. He has, however, a happy art in anecdote, and a real talent for quotation. He tells us how heartily Miss Alcott hated the "vortex of debts, dishpans, and despondency", from which she rescued her family; and also—what we have always suspected—that she "never knew girls, nor liked any", except her sisters. He tells us the delightful story of Miss Willard's saying to a kind, but thoughtless, hostess who offered her a glass of wine: "Madam, two hundred thousand women would lose somewhat of their faith in humanity if I should drink a drop of wine." And he brings Miss Lyon vividly and charmingly before our eyes in the briefest of excerpts. Standing before a mirror to tie her bonnet-strings, this famous educator was heard to say dispassionately: "Well, I may fail of Heaven; but I shall be very much disappointed if I do—very much disappointed."

These are incidents pleasant to recall. There are few biographers who know what to tell and what to leave out as well as does Mr. Bradford. His own comments are humorous and keen. When he says of Emerson, "He was perhaps somewhat limited in the blind longings of the heart", we recognize a masterpiece of understatement.

AGNES REPPLIER.

The Life of John Marshall. By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE. Volume III., *Conflict and Construction, 1800-1815*; volume IV., *The Building of the Nation, 1815-1835*. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xxii, 644; xviii, 668. \$10.00.)

IN these two volumes Mr. Beveridge completes his study of the career of the great chief justice. They must be considered the most important part of his task. Here, as in the former volumes, we find evidences of great industry. No incident of Marshall's life is passed over without the most careful research, not only into the incident itself, but into the events out of which it had its origin. Here, also, is the same dramatic touch, the same expression of warm personal admiration, and the same tendency to overstress which heightens effects and presents a glowing picture of the man and his career. The book is our best life of Marshall and one of our most readable books on any phase of our national history. It is particularly interesting for its clear and picturesque description of Marshall's personal character. The author never lets the reader forget the man, his loyal relations with his friends, his fine defense of his ideals, and above all his pure and chivalric affection for his wife. He makes us know and love John Marshall.

Aside from these personal descriptions, this part of the biography deals with Marshall's influence on the development of the Constitution of the United States; and in doing this it becomes a treatise on the political history of the years 1801 to 1835, a period during which the government passed through a critical stage of growth. It was the day of Jeffersonian democracy, so far as the will of the people found expression in elections and congressional enactment. The biographer's task is to show how the chief justice, leading the highest court in the land, set himself against the political tendency of the time and did much to reduce its power. Two methods of presentation were open to his choice. He could describe Marshall as Marshall's supporters saw him, or he could review the whole controversy from both sides and show how the opinion of the nation was formed in the clash of parties. If he followed the first plan he would play the part of the able and skillful advocate, making himself the historian of the man. If he followed the second he would take the judicial attitude, making himself the historian of the people. For a long time modern students and readers have considered the second method the best for a modern historian. They demand that the historian, and the biographer as well, shall present both sides of a question, showing how the event occurred and by what means the opponents justified their positions. Such was the task that confronted Mr. Beveridge. It does not seem to the reviewer that he has met it very fairly. It is true that the demand on him was great, and had he failed partly and succeeded partly he would have our sympathy. But he has failed mostly. From his first chapter he does not describe

in what respect Jefferson considered that he was justified in opposing the assumption of power by the Supreme Court; he does not see the conscientious fears of those who opposed the power of the Second United States Bank; he is not careful to show us why a large number of people loved the states above a strongly unified central government; he does not do Andrew Jackson the justice to believe that he was sincere in his belief that an independent Indian state should not be erected within the jurisdiction of the state of Georgia, and in most other incidents in Marshall's long career he is as much engaged on one side of the controversy as Marshall himself. To this extent his book fails in the detachment that is the finest quality of the historian.

Take the so-called "conspiracy" of Aaron Burr, to which Mr. Beveridge gives 272 of the 1192 pages of text in the two volumes under consideration. Perhaps Marshall's action in reference to this affair is the least creditable part of his career. To many people it seemed in 1807 that Burr was a man broken in morals, as in political fortunes. Alexander Hamilton certainly considered him a man who could not be trusted. Jefferson and Jackson held the same opinion. Documentary evidence proves that he made propositions to British and Spanish agents which in themselves were treasonable. Mr. Beveridge, following Parton and McCaleb, sets aside all this evidence and in no sense admits that there was any doubt of Burr's honest intentions. He says that up to the time Burr took up his Western project, he had never committed "a thoroughly dishonorable act" (III. 287). His first step aside from the paths of virtue was in the lie he told Merry, who is described as so credulous that the reader is tempted to think it was no great wrong to deceive him. If Burr had withheld his impulse to commit falsehoods up to this time, he well made up for it in the two years that followed. By balancing one false statement against another he sought to bring the Western people, the Western leaders, the Spanish minister, and even the administration in Washington into his support. So completely did he immerse himself in intrigue, that it would be a clever man, with the available evidence, who could say with certainty just what was his intention. It would be more in keeping with the rules of good criticism to say that Burr's real intention is still doubtful. Mr. Beveridge has no doubt that he really intended to operate against Spain in Mexico and that to revolutionize Louisiana was not his purpose. Having laid this foundation, he is prepared to defend John Marshall for his effective conduct of the trial in Richmond in Burr's favor. He thus makes an interesting and consistent story—but he leaves the historically minded reader with a feeling that he has lost an opportunity.

In describing the origins of the causes which led to Marshall's great decisions, Mr. Beveridge is at his best. His industry and faculty of clear statement here show forth with great success. He has a remarkable gift for presenting a thing in a few salient sentences. He is never

dull or heavy. He makes the reader think that he knows a great deal more than he tells. It is when one comes to the decisions themselves that one feels a bit of disappointment. He does not characterize the decision in question in sentences that sum up the principles involved tersely and with a keen appreciation of the main facts. His method is to introduce a number of short phrases—or sentences sometimes—quoted from Marshall. Out of such a mosaic one does not get a clear idea of the principle involved, nor the flavor of Marshall's splendid reasoning. In this respect he is unlike the great chief justice himself, who had a surpassing faculty of bold characterization of ideas. The biographer is to be placed with those writers whose expression runs to the particular rather than to the general.

One of Mr. Beveridge's most interesting chapters is on Marshall as the Supreme Conservative (vol. IV., ch. 9). Perhaps its chief significance is in the fact that it goes a long way toward explaining Marshall's views of the Constitution. Here we see the chief justice doffing his judicial robes and playing the part of legislator, in the Virginia constitutional convention of 1829-1830. The chief questions before this body were those relating to democracy against oligarchy. Since the Revolution Virginia, like most of the states that had formerly been royal provinces, had existed under a constitution in which the state and county governments were controlled by small groups of families knit together by personal and property ties. The rising tide of popular government was demanding popular suffrage and the election of governors, judges, and county officials by the people; against such reforms the chief justice used his strongest efforts. In view of such a position it is interesting to ask how much of his stern defense of the authority of the Supreme Court was due to instinctive conservatism. In most of his great cases, as in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the *Dartmouth College* case, and *Fletcher v. Peck*, he was striking at the popular party as much as he was building up the authority of the Union. The biographer does not discuss this question as such, but he allows his reader to see in how much it is present in his mind.

In many of the minor points of historical writing Mr. Beveridge wins our great admiration. His foot-notes are valuable and most informing. In them we find much that is exceedingly entertaining. He has prepared an analytical index that leaves little to be desired. His composition has been carefully pruned of some inept expressions which in the first and second volumes jarred the sensibilities of persons who dislike words and phrases not used by the best authors. His proof-reading shows great care. He has, in fact, written one of the considerable books of the time, and as a historian he deserves high esteem by all who demand a type of history that the man of good but not technical taste will enjoy in the reading.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs, 1807-1844. Edited by REGINALD C. McGRANE, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Cincinnati. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xxix, 366. \$6.00.)

THE mass of papers out of which Mr. McGrane has taken the material in his modest volume exists in the Library of Congress in 113 folio volumes, besides Biddle's letter-books in six volumes, and in a collection of private papers of uncertain quantity which still exists in the hands of the Biddle family. Under such conditions the task of selection is difficult. Whatever is taken, much must be left that would be interesting to the general reader. The reader must not expect too much from the title. Professor Catterall's *Second Bank of the United States* contains as many words on the bank under Biddle as Mr. McGrane gives us during the same period in Biddle's correspondence; and through the fact that Catterall is taking only the essential things in the correspondence we get from him a larger amount of Biddle himself on the bank. For example, Mr. McGrane did not find space to include Biddle's plan submitted to Jackson in 1829 for paying off the public debt if the bank were rechartered, which Catterall presents in a digested form in a well-filled page. As a presentation of the events of Jackson's administration the selection of letters is necessarily inadequate.

In another sense, however, it is extremely interesting and valuable. It presents the reader who knows his American history a fair view of Biddle the man, and shows him in his relation with some of the chief events of the time. The controversy through which he lived obscured his personality. He was not as bad as his enemies said nor as good as Jackson's opponents thought. He was a man of excellent mental capacity, devoted to the one institution with which he was connected, courageous in battle, never despairing, and possessed of the power to make others do as he wished. "We should have done badly without him", said Webster, referring to the struggle to pass the charter through Congress in 1832. "His address and ability in satisfying the doubts of his friends, softening the opposition of enemies, and explaining whatever needed explanation have been an important cause in producing the result which has, so far, attended the Bill" (p. 193). He was, also, a man of broad culture, and a genial and pleasant companion. Few American men of business have been more admirable in social and cultural relations.

On the other hand, Nicholas Biddle did not differ from the average man in his ideas of political conduct. He did not believe that the bank should consider the politics of the prospective appointees when naming the directors; but he was hardly embarked on his campaign for a new charter when he began to appoint Jackson men in several branches. He did not understand Andrew Jackson, assuming continually that he could

flatter an illiterate old man into complaisance. Like many another man who sat high on society's pyramid, he forgot that a man is not necessarily unintelligent because of being uneducated. He never understood democratic government, assuming that he could educate it by means of pamphlets and newspapers after it was already fully embarked in a controversy. He finally lost full self-control, and when the bank was denied a charter stopped making loans with the deliberate purpose of forcing the Jackson men to yield to the bank. "Our only safety", he said, January 27, 1834, "is in pursuing a steady course of firm restriction—and I have no doubt that such a course will ultimately lead to restoration of the currency and the recharter of the Bank" (p. 219). Jackson has often been condemned because he was taken in by Samuel Swartwout of New York; but Mr. McGrane's book shows that Biddle was equally deceived (pp. 213, 217). There is much to show that Biddle was overconfident of his ability to utilize other men for his own interest while thinking they could not see his design. As an illustration of this trait we have his fancy in May, 1838, that he could get Van Buren to relinquish his hostility to the bank and in fact restore the deposits without giving it a federal charter. The scheme was laid before Poinsett in three letters, and the outline of the plan was revealed in one of them (pp. 273-276). He was bitterly opposed to the subtreasury, which he called "the newest and therefore the favorite foolery", and he boasted that it was his opposition that defeated the bill in 1838. In many ways we get from Mr. McGrane's book most interesting glimpses of Biddle the unpractical and rash politician; for after 1833 he was without disguise a participant in the political contests of the day. For the purpose here indicated, of giving the reader a vivid and informing view of the leading characteristics of this interesting man, with some new light on his relations to the history of the day, this volume of correspondence is very successful; but the student who looks deeply into the subject will have to consult the original papers. Mr. McGrane's well-selected volume, however, lacks an adequate topical index, and sometimes the notes do not explain the subjects to which the letters refer as fully as the intelligent reader has a right to expect.

The Sequel of Appomattox: a Chronicle of the Reunion of the States. By WALTER LYNNWOOD FLEMING. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. ix, 322.)

The Cleveland Era: a Chronicle of the New Order in Politics. By HENRY JONES FORD. [*Id.*, vol. XLIV.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 232.)

The Boss and the Machine: a Chronicle of the Politicians and Party Organization. By SAMUEL P. ORTH. [*Id.*, vol. XLIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 203.)

THE three volumes having to do with the course of our history after the Civil War in the *Chronicles of America* series which Allen Johnson has planned and directed with so much insight, Fleming's on Reconstruction, Ford's on the Cleveland period, and Orth's on party management or mismanagement, are incisive and well-condensed statements on their respective subjects. The general plan, and the external characteristics of the series as a whole, have been sufficiently set forth in reviews of earlier volumes.

As for Professor Fleming's volume on Reconstruction, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, little need be said, except that it is a bringing together of that writer's previous researches in this field. Here are the fruits of the studies which have led to his *History of Alabama*, his *Documentary History*, and his various writings and editings on the subject of the Ku Klux Klan. We have no higher authority on this theme and may likely not see another who shall approach it with his devotion. That he is a partizan he never tried to conceal, but none can come out of any investigation of Southern conditions after the war, no matter how cursory, without a disgust which will be reflected on the written page. To justify such abominations would completely condemn one's historical instincts as well as the moral sense, and to weigh the evidence with an even hand will always lead inevitably to a narrative that to many on the Northern side a little while ago, if not now, has seemed unfriendly.

Professor Fleming gives a summary of the South's condition at the war's end and then traces the havoc wrought in the mess by negro suffrage, Loyal Leagues, carpet-baggers, scalawags, and their props and stays; the radical hierarchy at Washington. On this background our Illuminati arise, the shadows a-horse in ghostly robes riding through the night, who afford the only touches of romance to that whole lurid panorama that we call Reconstruction. The more we know of this era in our history the gladder we can be that it is now far behind us. That the grand and heroic business of abolishing slavery should have been wrapped up with such infamy is proof of how sin and glory may be near allied. As a succinct account of what he and other investigators have been able to glean on this subject in the past few years Professor Fleming's volume may be commended without reserve.

The period of our political history from Grant to McKinley is ably covered by Professor Ford. His volume contains an account of party movements and their effect upon executive and congressional action from 1876 or 1878 onward. The essay not unfitnessly bears the title *The Cleveland Era*. For while this sturdy President had not come into place where he could put his mark upon the period in hand until 1885, it was

the evil aftermath of the war, of many years' accumulation, which it was his duty to clear away. This is his priceless service to the nation, and all may see now, if they might not at that day, as witnesses of and perhaps partizans in the asperities of this time, how indispensable it was for us to have a broad-shouldered inflexible figure of his type to stem the tide of autocratic privilege which had swept over and was bearing down our institutions.

Professor Ford is a ripe student of the questions which he discusses, and one turns over his pages with confidence in their authority. It is of necessity but a skeleton for the period, which is still open ground for the historian. But material is coming forward. Professor Ford already is able to indicate a considerable number of volumes bearing upon the years with which he deals, and his orderly outline of events will lay later writers under heavy obligations to him. The personal sketch of Cleveland himself is vivid. While admiring, it is marked by no fulsomeness of eulogy. Nor are Cleveland's policies accepted for unreserved praise. Indeed at some points in the discussion of his part in stopping the tide of error on the money question, which so nearly overwhelmed the nation, during his second term, Professor Ford will be held to have done rather scant justice to Mr. Cleveland. In the midst of calumny which aimed its shafts at him from every quarter, he stood his ground, a gallant soldier of the state, winning the right to our everlasting respect and gratitude. It is this quiet magistrate who, in no uniform, under no flaunting banners, was given the opportunity to restore the country, after long going astray, to something like its proper course. His achievement may be wanting in romantic appeal, but his example can be studied at this day and in future days with vast advantage. We see in Professor Ford's chapters some of the manly vigor and honest worth of this valuable guide and mentor of the commonwealth.

Mr. Orth's volume on *The Boss and the Machine* is at least conceived in a worthy spirit. So much one can say of it. He exposes and condemns a good deal which fastened itself upon our politics during the era of materialism that followed the Civil War. His a-priorist dicta about governments and parties, like other portions of his narrative, belong to the magazine rather than the page of history. He is betrayed into a good deal which is unhistorical by going to flippant sources and by an eager habit of adjectival writing meant for him whom we sometimes call the "general reader". There are references to the overthrow of Tweed in the early seventies and other scandals attached to municipal government in this country down to date. The Credit Mobilier, the Whiskey frauds, the Belknap impeachment, and other outgrowths of the Grant administrations are recalled. The prostitution of the civil service until federal offices became the personal property of senators and representatives in Congress, the slow progress of reform, the rise of the "boss" in the states, are topics which are treated with some understanding in the volume.

To compass such a subject in an essay of these proportions was in all probability a difficult task. Much was to be brought together, and it is perhaps not remarkable that the author's success has been meagre. He has tried, one can well believe, to draw conclusions over too long a time. There are allusions to early American history and some, too, to a period that we have just finished reading about in the daily newspapers. To have kept more strictly to a few years when the "boss" and the machine, in the sense in which we think of these things, really were born, *i.e.*, after the Civil War, and to have revealed them to us, battenning on offices, tariffs, land-grant railroads, and public contracts, until law and public sentiment put them in some degree, if not entirely, into the background, would have been a wiser assignment to duty and a work easier to perform.

When another edition shall be called for Jim Fisk's name should be spelled correctly—not Fisk-*e*. Of conditions in Philadelphia, bad as they one time were, it may be rather more than the truth to say that "dogs, cats, horses, anything living or dead with a name served the purpose" of the registrars in making up fraudulent lists of voters for election day. Those Pennsylvanians who regard Cameron and Quay as representative types of their citizenship could profitably read Mr. Orth's descriptions of the parts that these two men played in the corruption of the American system of government.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

The Liberal Republican Movement. By EARLE DUDLEY ROSS, Ph.D., sometime Fellow in American History, Cornell University, Professor of History, Illinois Wesleyan University. [Cornell Studies in History and Political Science.] (New York: Henry Holt. 1919. Pp. xi, 267. \$1.80.)

THIS is in all respects a praiseworthy book—comprehensive, thorough, clear, unbiassed, and moderate in its judgments. It is a result of untiring research undertaken with an unprejudiced mind, and its conclusions are put forth with such admirable restraint that no one of the participants in that most sensational episode in our political history, did any one of them still survive, could take offense at the way in which his own acts and those of his associates are characterized.

The work covers much ground. In order to make the events of 1872 intelligible it was necessary to explain the many causes that led to the political revolt—the admitted shortcomings of General Grant's administration, the free-trade propaganda, not entirely unsuccessful, by a handful of idealists in politics, and the mutually contradictory motives on one side of a horde of displaced government employees and disappointed office-seekers, on the other of a group of eager civil-service reformers, years ahead of their time. The main part of the work is a history of the preliminaries of the Cincinnati convention, of its intrigues and re-

sults, and of the campaign that ended in disaster. The influence of the Liberal party—if it may be called a party—in the politics of the country after November, 1872, until it disappeared or was vaporized in 1876, is given with full detail in the closing chapter.

It would be easy for an extreme Republican partizan to ridicule the entire movement; to urge that the reforms aimed at by Carl Schurz, David A. Wells, Jacob D. Cox, and others could never make such headway in popular interest as to lead to a reorganization of parties; to speak scornfully of the low political character of those who ultimately controlled the convention; to enlarge upon the political hypocrisy of the Democratic party in its pretense of accepting the results of the war; to point out the futility of expecting competent government by so heterogeneous a coalition; and to make merry over the conspicuous disqualifications of Horace Greeley for the office of President.

On the other hand a historian approaching the subject from the opposite point of view might fairly emphasize Grant's failure through inexperience as a statesman and his toleration of abuses; the startling scandals during his administration; the inexcusable misuse of the civil service under the spoils system, even to the support of one faction over another in his own party; the evils of misgovernment in the South by ignorant negroes and irresponsible whites; the severity of the military support of the reconstruction policy of Congress; and—this for the benefit of the "revenue reform" fraction of the opposition—the high protective tariff.

There would have been a large measure of truth and justice in every one of those arguments, on both sides. It is to Dr. Ross's credit that he recognizes them all as entering into the decision of the voters upon the whole question, but he exaggerates none of them. The tone of political morals at that time was deplorably low. The abuse of the civil service aroused little inclination toward reform in Republican circles, still less or none at all among Democrats. The Southern situation was intolerable, but the alternative was to continue the existing policy, with all its evils and failures, or to yield the control of the states of the late confederacy to those who had been fighting four years to take those states out of the Union.

The result of the election, only momentarily in doubt, in the late summer of 1872, was really inevitable. There was neither unity nor enthusiasm on the part of the opposition. Large numbers of Democrats supported the ticket merely as a matter of party regularity, or did not support it at all. The sincere reformers could not pretend to hope much from success with Greeley at the head of the ticket.

There is room for discussion whether Adams or Trumbull, or some other candidate, would have polled more votes than were given to Greeley. But beyond question Greeley was a grotesque candidate and would have made a grotesque President if he had been elected. His

weakness and vanity were amusingly exhibited on his famous speaking tour, the first stumping trip of a regularly nominated candidate for President. The present writer has the authority of one of the three newspaper men who went with him—he travelled in an ordinary car, without a single personal attendant—for saying that on no occasion did he discuss political issues or even refer to them. He talked on local history and farm topics. He may have been actuated by a consciousness of the mongrel make-up of the forces behind him, causing a fear that he would give offense to some constituent part of it if he ventured to announce his own principles, or by a characteristic notion that he could achieve success as a farmers' candidate. The three reporters used to meet after his "rallies" and concoct a summary of his speech, which Mr. Greeley revised before it was sent.

That Greeley did not make more serious inroads into the Republican ranks than he did, for there was certainly much reform sentiment in the country that did not make itself manifest in the election returns, was undoubtedly due to the stronger sentiment among Republicans that the fruits of the war were in danger and must not be surrendered. Dr. Ross does not bring out that agency in producing the result as clearly and emphatically as he might. Moreover, in speaking of the aid to General Grant's cause by the "interests", a word which he puts in quotation-marks, he seems to imply a plutocratic influence exerted by a few very wealthy men. In reality business interests generally, without quotation-marks, recognized the fact that national financial honor and an honest currency policy were safer in Republican than in Democratic hands, a judgment that was soon afterward, and for a long time afterward, proved to be sound.

So there is no mystery whatever about the result of the 1872 election. It would have been a miracle if it had resulted differently.

Dr. Ross's treatment of the period 1872-1876 is as thorough in the citation of political facts and utterances as the rest of his work. Although it is so full, he seems to have missed altogether the controlling cause of the Republican disaster in 1874. The country seemed quite prosperous in 1872. The very next year occurred the Jay Cooke failure and the nation-wide panic that left the country in distress for six full years. That reverse more than anything else turned the floating vote against the party that had been in power for fourteen years. It also accounts largely for the—shall we describe it as the narrow escape of the Republicans from defeat in 1876? The reform Republicans—not all of them, for Schurz supported Hayes—did rally to Tilden, but their numbers were few and their influence was unimportant.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

History of the United States from Hayes to McKinley, 1877-1896

By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., D. Litt. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xiii, 484. \$2.75.)

MR. RHODES'S new eighth volume is not a fair continuation of his memorable five volumes on the Civil War, or even of the sixth and seventh in which he gave a partial picture of the next dozen years. It aims to cover the space of twenty years (1877-1896), whereas his first five volumes deal with little over fifteen (1850-1865). Its abbreviated scale of treatment affects both contents and manner of presentation; there is no room for extended discussion of any theme, or for inclusion of a fair representation of events. The eighties of the last century were less the aftermath of the Civil War than the constructive years of a new society, and can have only a defective perspective when seen as incidental to that catastrophe.

From the internal evidence of the volume, it seems probable that volume VIII. is not what Mr. Rhodes would have desired to do had years and physical strength allowed. Since the seventh volume appeared in 1906 he has printed several monographs upon the period covered by the present volume. In his "Railroad Strikes of 1877" (1911), his "Molly Maguires" (1910), and his surveys of the Hayes (1909) and Cleveland (1911) administrations, not to mention his paper on the Republican conventions of 1880 and 1884, he has given us finished fragments from his workshop. These papers reappear in volume VIII., showing slight trace of remodelling as parts of a general history. In several places in the text (pp. 15, 24, 90, 216) he has preferred to show by foot-notes the year in which portions were composed, rather than revise the whole to the date of publication. There are twenty chapters in the new volume, in at least nine of which he states that he has had made for his use, and has used more or less, briefs of facts or critical examinations of sources. Once at least he notes a criticism by an assistant (p. 181); and once he incorporates the whole brief as a fine-print portion of his text (p. 438). Mr. D. M. Matteson and Mr. H. E. Bourne are his competent and admitted assistants.

There is no reason why a writer should not use openly, as Mr. Rhodes does, his own by-products and the contributions of a corps of helpers; but the result of such historical method is unlikely to be volumes that reveal unity of historical construction or the ripe judgment and point of view that come only to the writer who has done his own selecting and discarding among the sources. It would seem that volume VIII. owes more to the author's desire to fulfill a promise to write it than to the fact that he was ready to write it.

Rarely do the related facts in this volume appear to have meaning or to be parts of a coherent structure. The United States was in these years adjusting itself to the effects of internal communication, new conditions of manufacture, new areas of organized frontier governments,

new mobs of immigrants, and falling prices. The extension of government activities, the problems of control of business and society in the interest of the individual, the tariff and currency panaceas for prosperity, are all grounded upon the adjustments that were being made in this decade. Machine politics were emerging as inevitable consequence of misunderstood and uncontrolled social life. But in Mr. Rhodes's narrative, so far as non-political facts are mentioned, they are unrelated phenomena.

Mr. Rhodes was living in the fullness of successful manhood in the years here covered. What he has recalled of his contemporary opinions constitutes the recollection of a clear-headed and generous-minded observer, who found no fault with the philosophy of the school that brought forth McKinley and Hanna, without being obsessed by it; and who only later and partially learned through study to recognize the existence of the problems of labor and social betterment. The labor upheavals that inspired *The Breadwinners* in John Hay, and *Democracy* in Henry Adams and his group, left in Mr. Rhodes a vividness of recollection that procures for these episodes an unearned increment of pages. Stopping short of McKinley's inauguration, he fails to show the foundations of the silver movement and the Populist party, with the result that his picture of the second Cleveland term lacks its background. Yet he fails also to explain the emergence of the tariff issue and the identification of the Republican party with it, although these facts are vital to the period of his choice.

Mr. Rhodes has probably not broadened his historical reputation by this volume, but he has not ceased to be sagacious along the lines of his experience and attainment. Among the rare qualities of his earlier volumes was the outstanding sanity of his practical judgments upon historic facts and personalities. Where this volume ceases to be tested history it often becomes retrospect, and the author passes judgment upon facts of his own experience. It is worth while to have preserved for historical use an "Annals of the Eighties" by one of the greatest historians of the decade, even though the "Annals" is of subsequent writing. The summaries of presidential elections, the brief character-sketches of presidents, the terminal paragraphs in which he sums up his views, whether of a militia system, the Irish-Americans, or Henry George, must be treated with respect by any historian of this period.

No inaccuracies of great importance have been noted. The Hubbell letter was published not a week but two weeks after Brady's retirement (p. 136, note); the *Autobiography* of T. C. Platt is too unreliable to be a safe foundation (p. 144) for a categorical assertion of what Garfield said to Conkling; the index mentions neither Dorsey nor the Star Routes, nor does the text discuss them, in spite of their important bearing upon Garfield's politics; many economists would doubt whether "overtrading" (p. 395) was the main cause of the panic of 1893, and

would ascribe a leading place to apprehensions respecting the currency; in listing the better elements among the Blaine supporters of 1884 (p. 211) it might have been mentioned that to the anti-Cameron group in Pennsylvania Blaine was a real reform candidate; the Hawaiian negotiation is deferred, in the chapter on Harrison (p. 374) "for subsequent treatment", and is again put off, in the chapter dealing with Cleveland's diplomacy (p. 443), with the comment that "it may be better considered when the story reaches the annexation of what were known in our school geographies as the Sandwich Islands". The story fails to reach the annexation. Does this mean that a volume IX. is to be expected?

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Intrigues et Diplomaties à Washington, 1914-1917. Par G. LECHARTIER. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1919. Pp. viii, 302. 4 fr.)

THIS is a brief, accurate, vivacious, and comprehensive account of German plots, intrigues, and diplomacy in the United States prior to April, 1917, and of their effect on the American public and on relations with Germany. The author, Washington correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, knows America and its people and is familiar with men and events. He describes with humor the social life of the national capital and Count von Bernstorff's place in it, his account of the *télé-salons*, comparable to the telephone and telegraph in transmitting political news, being particularly amusing.

Count von Bernstorff and President Wilson are depicted as antagonists in a mighty duel, the immediate prize being the sympathy and support of American public opinion, the ultimate stake nothing less than the liberty of the world. The struggle was unremitting, with poignant changes of fortune, enlisting every capacity and effort of both contestants, one of whom fought with hypocrisy and perfidy, the other with integrity and sense of justice.

Count von Bernstorff's superior diplomatic talents, his unusual aptitude in conceiving plots and amazing skill in directing their simultaneous execution, are described at some length. He often acted contrary to the wishes and against the will of his government, but always for its best interests, and the greatest diplomatic error of Germany was the obstinacy of the Wilhelmstrasse in not perceiving the genius and following the counsel of its ambassador.

A brief history of German propaganda prior to 1914 begins with von Holleben and asserts that partizans were found among certain German-Americans, among the Irish-Americans who were anti-English and anti-French, and among many of the Jews, ancient and mortal enemies of Russia and bound to Germany by strong financial ties. The propaganda extended to American schools and universities.

Count von Bernstorff took up the work on his arrival here, labored

with patience and energy to promote friendly relations with Germany, established close personal relations with influential congressmen and, when he went to Potsdam in the spring of 1914, believed that the position of himself and his government in the United States was impregnable. This impression he conveyed to the diplomats of Wilhelmstrasse and to the Kaiser himself, but underestimated one factor in the impending situation, his adversary, the President of the United States.

The six or seven chief purposes which Count von Bernstorff and his aids endeavored to carry out and the plots and intrigues which they employed to that end are adequately presented. The interest of the narrative is enhanced by a well-prepared setting for certain of the events, by anecdotes and accessory incidents.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* is narrated with dramatic effect in a separate chapter, which includes an account, made vivid by wealth of local color, of the effect of the catastrophe in the United States, the action of the German-Americans and of Count von Bernstorff and his staff.

The documents published by the *New York World* (August, 1915) showing the plans of the German ambassador to control the American press, to subsidize writers and circulate cinematograph films, had a decisive effect, M. Lechartier believes, on public sentiment in the United States. They turned attention from England, caused an outburst of indignation against Germany, and placed the German ambassador and his cause in the most critical position down to that time.

After tracing the events which led to the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, the author describes the picturesque scenes and narrates the momentous happenings which accompanied the rupture. The East he found ready for war, the Middle West indifferent, and the Far West preoccupied by a fear of Japan which was caused largely by German influence and machinations. The publication of the Zimmermann note had in this region an immense and immediate effect. It shook the West out of its lethargy, silenced the pacifists, and caused demands for immediate action.

In the literature of its subject M. Lechartier's book is unique. Like two other brief histories, *America Entangled* by John Price Jones and *German Plots and Intrigues* issued by the Committee on Public Information, it presents the essential facts concerning German intrigue in the United States; but it includes further a discussion of many essential points in the diplomatic exchanges between the government of Germany and the United States, analyses of American public opinion, and vivid pictures of historic events preceding our entrance into the war. The author has conceived his subject broadly and produced a meritorious work.

E. E. SPERRY.

The American Army in the European Conflict. By Colonel DE CHAMBRUN and Captain DE MARENCHES. Translated from the French by the Authors. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. 436. \$3.00.)

THE authors of *The American Army in the European Conflict* have endeavored to cover the subject in thirteen chapters, which places it within the reading reach of the busy American; and as it is written from a popular viewpoint, rather than a technical military one, it should appeal to the average reader.

It is to be regretted that no preface was written telling who the authors are, the position they occupied relative to our army, which gave them their viewpoints and facts, and what they proposed to write. A little later (ch. I., p. 5) this is given in their own words: "It must be our rule—except in describing certain material organizations where official statistics are given—to speak only of those things which have come under our personal observation and which occurred upon our own theatre of war."

Thus the title actually covers a much greater scope of the part played in the war by the United States than is described by the authors under the title. While they touch incidentally on the causes of our entering the war, the tremendous effort on our part to raise an army by the draft act, to maintain, equip, house, train, and transport it across the sea, their major effort is descriptive of our organization of supplies, munitions, and materials in France, and our training and fighting with the co-operation and assistance of the French and English who held the enemy in check until we could be got ready to strike those blows that, in conjunction with our allies, ended the war.

The facts which they present are beyond dispute, and the presentation is singularly free of any discussion of the friction which arose between us and our allies over the methods in which the necessary co-operation between us was effected.

They fail to visualize the fact that we entered and carried on our part of the war in the spirit of the Crusaders; that our allies and Germany were worn out and sick of war; that our freshness, vitality, and energy, combined with our numbers, not only forced the Allies to take the offensive, but also raised the morale of their entire armies, from the private to the field-marshal, to the belief that the Germans were *not* supermen and unconquerable, but might be overcome by a process of years in wearing them down to exhaustion—and this belief assumed no proportions until September of 1918; and *then* forecast no such sudden capitulation as occurred in November. In 1917, the French and English were incredulous of our doing more than, by our numbers, assisting them in breaking even with the German army, and they plainly showed that they had no faith either in the power of our men to fight or of our officers to function as a directing and fighting staff.

The narrative is unbalanced in treating so much in detail the minor actions of the first few divisions arriving in France. It is unfair to the many other divisions whose gallant and intrepid fighting was equal to that of their forerunners in every respect; the effect rather throws the whole picture out of focus, but emphasizes the unconscious effect upon the French authors of the prowess of these divisions of which they expected so little.

The viewpoint of the entire narrative is that of a staff officer at General Pershing's headquarters, and therefore opinions advanced by the authors are not of historical value, as they do not reflect that of the American army as a whole. The effort to credit the offensive spirit of the American soldier to General Pershing's inculcation and initiative is not well taken. It is an inherent characteristic of the American, and has been since the days of the Revolutionary War. No conception or effort of General Pershing ever added one jot or tittle to it, though he himself, with the same spirit, directed, guided, and gave it full play.

On page 189 the authors state: "Of all the constituent elements of which modern armies are made up the artillery is the most complex as to organization, training, and equipment." Apparently the officers, being artillery officers, have given a biased opinion and have overlooked the fact that modern infantry is armed with rifles, bayonets, hand-grenades, automatic rifles, machine-guns, Stokes mortars, and so-called one-pound artillery pieces—eight offensive weapons, each operated by individuals, whose efforts as individuals and as groups of individuals must be organized, equipped, trained, and fought with direction and cohesion against the infantry of the enemy similarly armed and also against his artillery fire; whereas the artillery functions almost free from the effects of all of these weapons in the enemy's hands, except his artillery fire, and manipulates the mechanism of but one machine, the rifled cannon. As a matter of fact, our artillery, in a proportionate time, three months' training, became relatively more proficient than our infantry.

Page 61, note 16, shows two artillery brigades arriving in Europe in 1917, when as a matter of fact the artillery brigades of the 1st, 26th, and 42nd Divisions arrived in Europe in that year and possibly that of the 2nd Division. Page 117, "marched in defile" should read "marched in review". Page 128, paragraph 5, line 1, "decongest" should read "relieve the congestion in".

There are four sketches showing the position of the American army in the various phases of its operations, and a convenient index for ready reference.

British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government, 1839-1854. By J. L. MORISON, Professor of Colonial History in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, late Lecturer on English Literature in the University of Glasgow. (Glasgow: MacLehose and Sons. 1919. Pp. xi, 369. 8 sh. 6 d.)

THE author of this study belongs to the younger school of Canadian historians. Canada has had more than enough of the popular type of general histories. She has long been sorely in need of the scientific investigation of particular movements and events. The present study admirably satisfies that need in respect to one of the most critical periods in Canadian constitutional history. The volume is indeed thrice blest; it is felicitous in expression, scholarly in treatment, and broad-minded in its interpretation of public affairs.

Professor Morison has handled his original material with unusual skill. His selections from the Bagot and the Elgin-Grey correspondence have been made with rare discrimination. But unfortunately he has failed to make full use of some of the more important secondary sources of information, such as the publications of the Ontario Historical Society and the newspapers of the day. The latter were perhaps the most important factor in the development of the constitutional life of these primitive communities, yet the author has seen fit to use them but sparingly, and even then has drawn the most of his data from two or three papers of the same party complexion.

One of the most admirable features of the book is the balance of its parts. Professor Morison has been singularly fortunate in combining the critical with the narrative in his treatment. He has been both a historian and a political scientist. He has been equally successful in bringing out the close interrelation of the personal and economic factors in Canadian history.

The viewpoint of the author is that of a staunch Liberal imperialist. As such, he is able to see both sides of the imperial problem and interpret the British and colonial positions most sympathetically. The chapter on the British colonial policy is perhaps the best piece of analysis in the book. But the very breadth of his imperial outlook sometimes makes him unduly critical of the petty factionalism of colonial politics on the one hand and the stupidity of Tory imperialism on the other.

The same political philosophy likewise colors his estimate of the political leaders of the period. He is inclined to glorify both the character and policy of the chief English and colonial reformers at the expense of their political opponents. Grey, for example, was undoubtedly the most far-seeing imperial statesman of the day; but the liberality of his constitutional principles for the colonies was offset to a large extent by the doctrinaire character of his imperial fiscal theories and also by the didactic nature of his despatches which alienated colonial opinion. The leadership of Baldwin, likewise, was subject to serious limitation. He

rescued colonial liberalism from the stigma of the Mackenzie revolt; he secured the triumph of the principles of responsible government, but he was unable and unwilling to adapt himself to the growth of democratic sentiment in his party and throughout the country. He was in truth a high-minded Whig churchman rather than a leader of modern colonial democracy.

The author's excellent handling of the imperial aspects of Canadian history brings out the more clearly the inadequacy of his consideration of Canadian-American relations. The influence of American life and institutions upon the social, economic, and constitutional development of Canada is scarcely less than that of the mother-country. Canada has not been able to escape from American political influences even though she would. The early history of the country is in many respects a long-drawn-out battle between English Tory and American democratic influences. The struggle resulted in a compromise, but evidences of the triumph of American principles may be seen in the municipal, ecclesiastical, and federal institutions of the country. Professor Morison unfortunately has almost entirely neglected to bring out the reaction of American institutions upon Canadian autonomy and the imperial connection. The failure to give due weight to this phase of Canadian development accounts in large part for the author's incomplete interpretation of the Clear Grit movement and the rise of the Liberal-Conservative party.

His treatment of the movement for Canadian federation is likewise too fragmentary. The desire for a union of the colonies was growing in strength even though it was oftentimes lost sight of in the petty squabbles of the legislature. The question was relatively unimportant at the time, but in the light of subsequent developments it deserved more attention than Professor Morison has seen fit to give to it.

But notwithstanding these limitations, this volume easily stands out as the best contribution to Canadian history in recent years. It is sincerely to be hoped that the author will continue his investigation of this field which he has made so distinctively his own.

C. D. ALLIN.

Jamaica under the Spaniards. Abstracted from the Archives of Seville, by FRANK CUNDALL, F.S.A., and JOSEPH L. PIETERSZ. (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica. 1919. Pp. 115. 2 sh.)

THE interest which attaches to this small volume on *Jamaica under the Spaniards* is out of proportion to its size and appearance; it is in keeping, rather, with its value as announcement and token of successful research made in a virgin field for historical investigation. "Hitherto", Mr. Cundall remarks in the preface, "the names of but three Spanish governors of Jamaica have been recorded. To these seventeen others can now be added, making an almost unbroken chain from Esquivel to

Ysassi." This detail is indicative of the relative size of the contribution which Messrs. Cundall and Pietersz (secretary and chairman, respectively, of the Institute) have made to public knowledge of the history of Jamaica from 1493 to the spring of 1660, when Cristobal Ysassi Arnaldo, last Spanish governor, left that island, "naked and on two sticks" for a boat, defeated less, he insisted, by the English than by His Most Catholic Majesty's governors of Cuba.

This book is not a finished product. Indeed, its compilers do not present it as such. Mr. Cundall is aware of the existence of more documents at Seville than have yet been copied, and he looks forward with anticipation to ransacking the archive at Simancas. "In the meantime, it has been thought good to publish" this volume, an abstract of documents copied up to the time when, in the spring of 1917, war interrupted the investigation at Seville, which, however, has been resumed while the book was in press. Its quality should certainly encourage the board of the Institute, and contributors to its research fund, to permit the Institute's active secretary to continue as he has begun, until the main Spanish sources for the history of Jamaica, prior to say 1670, are exhausted. Then indeed that chapter in the history of the island which Mr. Cundall declares this book does not pretend to be, may be written with fairish certainty that it will not be rewritten, nor even much amended by subsequent discoveries sure to be made of isolated documents bearing upon it.

The material at Seville, concerning Jamaica, was found to be comparatively small in quantity; it was also more than usually accessible in that it lay where it should lie, in two *legajos* (54-3-28, 54-3-29) properly labelled "Jamaica", and in the various series of *cedularios*, containing crown communications to the island's authorities. The work now in progress is intended to exhaust these veins, and, finally, to assemble a thousand and one stray documents already located in other sections of the Archive of the Indies.

Jamaica under the Spaniards is divided into four chapters (I., Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries; II., First Half of the Seventeenth Century; III., English Occupation; IV., Cartography). There are three appendixes: a list of the Spanish governors of Jamaica; a statement of the *legajos* consulted at Seville; and an index. The researches made discovered eight heretofore unknown maps of Jamaica, of which four are reproduced in half-tones which correctly suggest that the photographs obtained were gray, partly because the colors of the original maps lent themselves to no greater clearness.

These chapters consist of translations in abstract. Happily, no attempt is made to bridge gaps by surmise. The translations have been carefully made; mistakes are few, and misinterpretations equally scarce (although, p. 24, line 9, his fellow Britishers may fail to recognize the Earl of Cumberland in "Comte Camorlan" who drove the Spanish sol-

diery out of Porto Rico). The foot-notes are especially interesting, in their identifications and comparisons. No time has been wasted on literary style. In brief, the book is, as was said at the beginning, not a finished product, but rather the announcement of a research which is still in progress. Further, it is indication that, once this research is finished, the Institute of Jamaica will have laid before students in Kingston materials from which to write, and that among these students none are more likely than Mr. Cundall and Mr. Pietersz to write, an unassailable history of Jamaica under the Spaniards.

I. A. WRIGHT.

Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias. Por D. GERVASIO DE ARTÍÑANO Y DE Galdácano. (Barcelona: Oliva de Vilanova. 1917. Pp. 350. 12 pesetas.)

SEÑOR GERVASIO DE ARTÍÑANO's volume contains a vivid description of the fortunes of Spanish colonial trade and naval power in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is also an eloquent appeal to Spaniards for the industrial and maritime regeneration of their country. The political decline of Spain under the princes of the House of Hapsburg was coincident with the decay of sea-power, and sea-power was lost through the consistent sacrifice by the crown of industrial and commercial interests to immediate political and financial ends. The moral for the Spaniard to-day is obvious. Sea-power and trade go hand in hand, and with them national well-being. Agriculture and manufactures must therefore be strenuously encouraged, imposts lessened, conditions of traffic improved, and above all the nation must be educated, technically and morally, to the dignity and the necessity of labor. Such is the burden of the writer's theme.

With this in mind the book should be judged. It is a historical work, but makes no pretense to great erudition. Its appeal is first to the patriot rather than to the scholar. After a somewhat discursive introduction, the author describes in successive chapters the administrative organization of early Spanish colonial commerce, fleets and convoys, passengers and contraband, the ways and means of trade, corsairs, ships and shipbuilding. Several appendixes follow, of extracts from sources already in print but not easily accessible to the general reader. Information is gleaned largely from Veitia Linaje's *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias*, from the Laws of the Indies, Herrera, Esquemeling, and a few manuscripts in the historical collections at Madrid. The Archives of the Indies in Séville were not used, nor to any extent the great miscellanies of printed documents taken from the same repository.

The story therefore is rather loosely told, the origins of customs and institutions are imperfectly understood, and misstatements are frequent owing to lack of knowledge of the sources. It is far from true that in the beginning the ideal of the Spanish sovereigns was free trade, even

for Castilians, with the Indies. The Casa de Contratación in its inception was designed, not to foster the traffic of private merchants, but to manage the trade of the crown, and a royal monopoly seems to have been contemplated like that of the Portuguese king with India. The evil features of the colonial system, as they became apparent in the time of Philip II., inhere in the dispositions of the Catholic kings themselves. The book is also wanting in the perspective which might have been gained from a closer acquaintance with the contemporary usages of other nations, especially in the commerce of the Mediterranean. There are few features of the organization of early American trade for which no precedents can be found in the regulations of the maritime cities of southern Europe, such as Amalfi, Pisa, and Venice.

The chapter on the history of privateering in Spanish-American seas is the least satisfactory. Artiñano, unaware of the terrible depredations of the French in the Caribbean in the time of Charles V., designates the expedition of Drake and Hawkins in 1567-1569 as the first piratical excursion into that region; and he persists in the antiquated Spanish notion that every foreign interloper in the Indies was a pirate. Barbadoes, St. Kitts, and the other Lesser Antilles were therefore settled by pirates (p. 195), and all the colonies of that era, save those of Spain and Portugal, were inspired solely by the thirst for plunder and the greed of gold (p. 39). Finally, it was the buccaneers alone who enabled the other maritime powers to maintain themselves in the West Indies and on the American coasts. Without them, Spain would probably have been able to repel these intrusions (p. 239). The writer's knowledge of the English and French colonies seems to have been gained almost entirely from Esquemeling.

These criticisms are ventured, not in a captious spirit, but in the consciousness that the author has intended only a rapid sketch of the greatness and decay of his country, as the text of his appeal for a rejuvenated Spain. His generalizations, except where vitiated by insufficient evidence, display thought and insight, and his comparison of Spanish colonial policy with the Navigation Acts of Cromwell is very apt. The spirited style, the excellent letter-press, and the absence of pedantry, should recommend the volume to a very wide public. Of the illustrations the frontispiece is most interesting, a photograph of a sixteenth-century painting which depicts the city and port of Seville.

C. H. HARING.

The Danish West Indies under Company Rule, 1671-1754, with a Supplementary Chapter, 1755-1917. By WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History at Pomona College. With an Introduction by H. MORSE STEPHENS, Sather Professor of History at the University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 359. \$3.00.)

IN spite of the inevitable lapse of interest in the history of the West

Indies which has been occasioned by the war, that history must nevertheless remain a subject of great historical importance. It must retain its importance from three facts: (1) The history of the commerce of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—an important and still unwritten story—can never be written with any finality till investigation has disclosed clearly and fully the economic development of the West India Islands; (2) The history of European expansion in those two centuries, more especially in its economic, social and institutional phases, can likewise never be completed without a very thorough knowledge of the economic life of the islands and of the social and political institutions which the colonizers from the various countries of Europe established in the American archipelago; (3) The history of the West Indies as a story in itself, by reason of the rapid development of Latin America and of the opening of the Panama Canal, will have an increasing importance and will inevitably call for the preparatory work of the historians to make the writing of such a history possible.

Measured in terms of the contributions which are made to these three important fields, Professor Westergaard's work more than justifies the years of research and the conscientious attention to every detail which he has given to the making of this book. From the point of view of the history of commerce he has made a contribution of high order in giving us the first story of the Danish West Indies. St. Thomas, as the refuge of freebooters and as an international port of free trade, had its influence on the European traders of all nations. It was a typical cosmopolitan trading centre where the prevailing tongue was Dutch, where daring filibusters like Captain Kidd sold their booty, and where international smugglers plied their trade. It was the "outlaw island". Then too his story of the slave-trade and especially of the part played in that trade by the Brandenburgers, who established themselves at St. Thomas, is an important contribution. From the standpoint of economic, social, and institutional history his contribution is no less important, for we get in his work a new and original story of the settlement of the Danes in the three islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John. One is quite prepared to agree with the author when he says that "in the growth of the idea of self-government the experience of the Danish colonies is suggestive"—suggestive because it is corroborative of the studies of other scholars in their investigation of British, French, and Spanish West India colonies, which show that the spirit of independence and self-government were not characteristics of the British continental colonies alone. From the standpoint of the history of the West India islands it goes without saying that we have by his work another chapter which brings us one step nearer the completion of the fascinating story of the Islands.

The author shows a thorough knowledge of the historical literature dealing with the many phases of the history of the islands, the French,

the Dutch, the British, and the Spanish. But this knowledge is only supplementary to that wider knowledge which he has gained from his study of the original sources in the Danish archives. His long months of work in exploring the all-but-untouched treasures of the Danish colonial archives have yielded gratifying results. Professor Westergaard's method of work seems thoroughly convincing and in consonance with the best traditions of historical scholarship.

These facts make it hard to offer any unfavorable criticism of the work, and yet the conscientious reader of the book cannot but feel that the author has somewhat vitiated the excellent results of his study by paying too much attention to a great many details which confuse rather than clarify the story he is telling. Only superabundant enthusiasm could permit him to devote so much space to the lives of the governors of the Danish colonies. The godfather of the work, in attempting to set forth some of the commendable features of the book in the introduction, unwittingly reveals one of its weaknesses when he remarks that the author "has made quite a picture gallery of governors, factors, chaplains, statesmen, and politicians". This fault, if it is a fault, we feel sure, will be eliminated in Professor Westergaard's later volumes. The absorbing interest of the task will take him more and more into dealing with the forces which shaped the history of the West Indies, in which individuals are forgotten except as they play ephemeral rôles in shaping the course of that history.

The book is well written and contains a most readable and original story. It deserves a wide reading by all students of the history of colonization.

MINOR NOTICES

The Heroic Legends of Denmark. By Axel Olrik. Translated from the Danish and revised in collaboration with the author by Lee M. Hollander, Instructor in German and Scandinavian at the University of Wisconsin. [Scandinavian Monographs, vol. IV.] (New York, American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1919, pp. xviii, 530, \$5.00.) Among the many Scandinavian students who have explored the antiquities of the northern peoples, few take higher rank in constructive scholarship than the late Dr. Axel Olrik. Beginning some thirty years ago as collector and editor of Danish ballads, he worked his way backward through Saxo Grammaticus to the earlier fields of song and legend which he cultivated more effectively than any previous student of these materials. Dr. Olrik wrote on many themes, but his most important work is a critical history of the heroic legends of Denmark, a study in which he included such materials from the literatures of neighboring lands as deal with Danish themes. Two volumes of this work (*Danmarks Heltedigtning*) have been published; a third was in preparation at the time of the author's death, and will probably be published at an early date.

When the authorities of the American-Scandinavian Foundation decided to include one of Olrik's studies among the *Scandinavian Monographs*, the first volume of the *Helteedigtning* was chosen as the most representative. This is a critical examination of a notable group of poems and legends dealing with the career of Hrolf Kraki, who seems to have ruled in Denmark early in the sixth century. The work begins with a study of the fortunes of the Scylding dynasty as told in the earliest English poetry, and traces the development of these tales through sagas, poems, and traditions to the close of the Middle Ages. After sifting out the supernatural, the legendary, and the alien elements, the author finds a body of historic facts, which, though not very considerable, add a certain definiteness to the history of the Danish kingdom in the migration period.

The work in its English form is something more than a mere translation. The author took the occasion to give the volume a careful revision, in the process of which he introduced opinions and conclusions that he had reached in his later study of the Danish legends. The translator's work has been done with great care and shows an intimate acquaintance not only with the language of the original but also with the materials analysed and discussed.

L. M. L.

Les Châtelains de Flandre: Étude d'Histoire Constitutionnelle. Par W. Blommaert. [Université de Gand, Recueil de Travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 46^e fascicule.] (Ghent, E. van Goethem et Cie., 1915, pp. 250, 7.50 fr.) This is one of an increasing number of monographs devoted to the study of limited fields which are gradually extending and clarifying our knowledge of the great institutional changes which took place in various parts of Europe between the disintegration of the Carolingian empire and the formation of a fully developed feudalism. It is an excellent and an informing work upon a subject the importance of which has long been recognized, but which has hitherto received no adequate treatment as a whole. The author has patiently worked through the whole list of Flemish castellanies, making separate studies of each according to a uniform plan. Five of these studies, which deal with the castellanies of greatest importance, or about which we have relatively full information—Bruges, Ghent, Douai, Lille, and Saint-Omer—he has published integrally in the first five chapters of the volume. The sixth and final chapter is devoted to a general conclusion in which the results of the whole investigation are brought together. Without ascribing a common origin to all the Flemish castellanies the author holds that the greater part of them arose during the tenth and eleventh centuries as the result of Norman or other invasions which obliged the count of Flanders to erect and garrison strongholds (*castra*) in strategic positions for purposes of defense. Hence

the earliest and most important function of the castellan was that of a military officer. Many of the castellans also exercised the right of *haute justice* within the limits of their districts, as well as important and lucrative administrative powers. These functions they derived not from the necessities of defense against the invasions, but from the fact that in this same disordered period the count of Flanders was engaged in extending his sway beyond the original *pagus Flandrensis* over the surrounding *pagi* and found it necessary to delegate to a local authority powers which he was unable to exercise in person over his enlarged territories. Thus within his limited sphere the Flemish castellan came to exercise virtually the functions of a count, and he may be regarded as in a very real sense the descendant of the Frankish *comes*. Not infrequently he is called a *vicecomes*.

CHARLES WENDELL DAVID.

Le Bailliage de Vermandois aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles: Étude d'Histoire Administrative. Par Henri Waquet, Archiviste Paléographe. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1919, pp. xii, 271, 12 fr.) This study clearly is of the order of local history. But it is much more than that. It is an inquiry concerning the French monarchy. It treats of the ways and means by which the monarchy made its objects and powers to be felt, the agencies by which it touched the life of those it served or exploited.

What these local agencies were, not only constitutionally but in actual conduct, was made very clear for the later fifteenth century in the remarkable monograph by Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Officiers Royaux des Bailliages et Sénéchaussées* (1902). They have been fairly well known too, as to essential features, for the preceding times. But it is true that those who have most occupied themselves with the matter in the earlier period—chief among them are Borelli de Serres, Petit-Dutaillis, Langlois, Luchaire, Viollet, and O. Tixier in a thesis—relied in the main on the royal ordinances. Their treatments accordingly have a good many shortcomings, especially as to how prescriptions turned out in practice. Monsieur Waquet has sought advance with the problem by studying in detail one bailliage, the one regarded as the first in the realm, from its origins till about 1400. He has relied mostly on printed materials but also has drawn considerably from archives. His work bears throughout the signs of real competence. In its character as local history, it will prove a very welcome aid to all who have to do in a detailed way with Laon, Reims, Soissons, Noyon, Péronne, St. Quentin, and the regions thereabout, in the later Middle Ages. Not the least helpful parts of it will be the chronological lists, given in appendixes, of the *baillis*, *prévôts*, and other chief sharers in the administration.

E. W. D.

Klein Plakkaatboek van Nederland: Verzameling van Ordonnantiën en Plakkatën betreffende Regeeringsvorm, Kerk en Rechtspraak, 14^e eeuw tot 1749. Bijeengebracht door A. S. de Blécourt, Hoogleeraar te Leiden, en N. Japikse, Directeur van het Bureau voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. (Groningen and the Hague: J. B. Wolters, 1919, pp. viii, 353, 9.75 fr.) Under this title—Small Placard Book of Netherland—we have an exceedingly useful collection of documents recording vital changes in the relations between people and their rulers, the Church, and the law, as they have occurred in the provinces comprising the present kingdom of the Netherlands or in other Netherland lands when those same provinces were affected thereby. It is a source-book in compact form of the most important "placards", the essential planks in the scaffolding of the nation as its people developed historically from practical vassalship to being to a certain degree the pioneers in a form of federal government. The matter selected is essentially Netherland in character. That is, international relations are not touched upon. The process is a slow one from the "privilege" bestowed by Arnold, bishop of Utrecht, upon his knights, knaves, and cities "on this side of the Yssel", 1375, to the reformed constitution of Groningen (Stad en Land), 1749, which is the fiftieth and closing selection. The choice, of course, is necessarily arbitrary, and in some cases other documents might have found place with equal propriety; but the editors' knowledge of their material is exhaustive and thorough, and their judgment as to relative value may be relied upon.

The majority of the documents are in the unwieldy *Groot Placcaet-boeks*, and all have been printed in some form or other, but the accuracy of these reprints is assured by collation with the originals where such are still in existence or by careful comparison of the earliest texts.

The Reign of Henry the Fifth. By James Hamilton Wylie. Volume II., 1415-1416. (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. 507, 30 sh.) The second volume of *Henry V.*, for which only hopes could be expressed in the review of the first volume,¹ is now posthumously published, in the partially revised condition in which it was left by its lamented author. It has the same tantalizing charm, the same qualities with their defects, although it "heads in" rather better. Its chronological range is from the summer of 1415 to the summer of 1416—somewhat under a year, whereas the first volume covered two years. The high point of the volume is the description of the march of Henry and his six thousand from Harfleur to Calais. The battle of Agincourt is treated admirably, with a concreteness of realism that brings home to the reader the actualities of five centuries ago as if they were the doings of the descendants of the participants and their kin in the same region in the dark spring days of 1918. The author's foot-notes, plentiful and over-

¹ *American Historical Review*, XX. 143-144.

condensed as usual, play havoc with the opinions of historians, good, bad, and indifferent, including Oman himself. In the second last chapter the author describes the character and whimsies of the royal duke of Berry; and he ends the volume with a detailed description of the humble inhabitants, services, and courts of one of the manors of Great Waltham—a chapter which students of the manor will not overlook.

The author's antiquarianism is inveterate (*e.g.*, pp. 228–229), and his shifts from one series of loosely connected topics to another seem at first glance unreasoned. On reflection, however, it will occur to the thoughtful reader that Wylie has in some measure the same justification for his method of handling his material that some of us have for our method of presenting the civilization of a period. He makes use of a group of topics, which appear disconnected except for the tenuous bond of synchronosness, and yet are, in effect, a series of studies of life at a given time from various angles, and when these are contrasted and compared one with another and viewed as a whole, they leave a firm impression of variety in unity. Life is more complex than anything else, and the orderly development of a well-fenced theme is often erroneously suggestive of an unreal simplicity in motive and in life. There is therefore corrective value in such work as Wylie's, even if he does often enthrone the casual, and one who grasps the point will profit by it and will, as does the reviewer, ask pardon of Wylie's memory for the hard things he may have thought or said of the good man's incoherence, of his presentation of materials for history rather than of history itself.

GEORGE C. SELLERY.

The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa. By George Frederick Zook, Ph.D. (Washington, Journal of Negro History, 1919, pp. v, 105.) In his brief introduction to this monograph, Dr. Zook calls attention to the historian's long neglect of the African trading companies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ascribing the reason to a loss of interest in the West Coast of Africa, following the abolition of the slave-trade. It is true that we are but slowly realizing that here lies a field which no student of modern history can afford to neglect. Far too many of the motives which guided the diplomacy of European courts took their rise here, the well-being of too large a part of the governing class of western Europe depended on the activities along this line of coast, for it to be safely ignored. In the present study, we have the history of one of these companies, the Royal Adventurers trading to Africa, between 1660 and 1672. To steer between the Scylla of topical treatment, with its necessary repetition and its loss of relationship to the larger life of a period, and the Charybdis of chronological treatment, with its lack of compact coherence, is always a baffling task, and in this story the difficulties are greatly enhanced by the fact that the action takes place in four theatres, no one of which is negligible in

understanding the others. Occasionally the repetition which this entails becomes irritating and even confusing, but on the whole Dr. Zook has presented a clear and straightforward account of the company's activities and relationships. He begins with that part of its history which takes place in England, its organization, its finances, its members, its dissolution. The stage of the next chapter is the West Coast. The quarrels between the Dutch and the English trading companies, and the resulting diplomatic tangles culminating in the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-1667, are carefully untangled. In chapter IV. the author turns to conditions in the colonies. The close connection between the prosperity of the colonies and the ravaging of the West Coast of Africa and the place of the slave-trade in the imperial system have already been made familiar by Mr. Beer. Dr. Zook shifts the emphasis to the activities of the company, making it ever the centre of his interest.

This story of commercial enterprise, of West African aggression, of colonial faultfinding, and of diplomatic intricacies is built up chiefly from official documents, as in the nature of the case it is bound to be, and therefore it must leave us with many questions of more intimate detail unanswered. The monograph first appeared in the *Journal of Negro History* (April, 1919) and has been reprinted from that journal, thus affording Dr. Zook an opportunity to add a bibliography and an index and to make a few minor corrections. The study is to be followed by a similar one dealing with the Royal African Company, 1672-1752.

Surveys of Scottish History. By P. Hume Brown, Historiographer Royal for Scotland and Professor of Ancient Scottish History and Palaeography, University of Edinburgh. With an Introduction by Viscount Haldane. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1919, pp. xi, 192, 7 sh. 6 d.) These collected studies form a notable and characteristic epilogue to the late Professor Hume Brown's many volumes on Scottish history. The first essay in the collection, his inaugural address in Edinburgh University, and the last three, which are occasional lectures on Scottish subjects, do not connect themselves with the general idea of surveying Scottish history. But the intermediate chapters deal with various aspects of the shaping of the Scottish nation, and furnish, as few other volumes do, a key to the wilderness of seemingly unrelated fact which constitutes so much of the national record.

All the essays are singularly characteristic of their author, a man of austere academic habits and quiet rational temper, endowed with little of the *ingenium perfervidum* of his race, and careful in avoiding the zeal and partizanship which one has come to think inseparable from the study of Scottish history. Even on so vexed a question as the policy of the later Stuart kings, Dr. Hume Brown maintains his judicial balance, although he allows himself the luxury of the superlative when he calls the reign of Charles II. in Scotland "the most pitiful, the most revolting,

and at the same time the sublimest and most impressive page in the national history". His very fairness seems, however, to mislead him when he deals with the national record of the Scottish nobility. "Once and again", he writes in an ingenious and interesting chapter, "they had the destinies of the country in their hands; it was they who gave Scotland its limited monarchy, the Reformation and the Covenants were largely their work; and but for them the Revolution and the Union might have had no place in our history." That is not the verdict of the Scottish national tradition. It is surely special pleading to praise self-seeking landowners for achievements where chance made their selfish interests coincide with those of a people organized and inspired by the national Kirk. It would not have been out of place to add to these surveys one other showing how a nation, unfortunate in its secular institutions, learned its first lessons in constitutional government through a representative church assembly.

But Dr. Hume Brown atones for any faults in two most admirable essays on Scotland in the Eighteenth Century and Intellectual Influences of Scotland on the Continent, where his combination of Scottish and Continental learning may be seen at its best. There are few better summaries of the amazing intellectual ascendancy achieved by the Scottish moderates in the later eighteenth century, and of the influence they exerted on European thought. "It is an admirable result of the progress of the human spirit," wrote Voltaire in irony, "that, to-day, rules of taste in all the arts, from the epic poem to gardening, come to us from Scotland."

Of such illustrious spiritual ancestry Dr. Hume Brown ever showed himself a worthy son.

J. L. M.

The True La Fayette. By George Morgan. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, pp. 489, \$2.50.) A popular life of Lafayette, but not "the first authoritative work covering the whole of his career in detail". The title, *The True Lafayette*, is something of an enigma. One would naturally expect a revelation of some kind, fresh light thrown on Lafayette's character and career by means of evidence hitherto unutilized, but the book contains nothing of the sort; the adjective in the title that piques the attention is devoid of any meaning. There is detail enough, at times too much for so small a book, but a lack of unifying ideas. Believing as the author did that "we still need to know more of the man who said, 'The welfare of America is closely bound up with the welfare of mankind'", he might wisely have omitted some of the unimportant details with which he has cumbered his pages to tell us more of Lafayette's views upon America and the rôle of liberty in the world. The chapter on Campaigning in America is the best part of the book, the author being evidently more at home in American his-

tory. The later chapters are superficial and unscholarly. The whole work betrays a lack of appreciation of what evidence means, and should fill the reader with distrust. Thomas Watson's *History of France*, Carlyle's *French Revolution*, school texts, and Mrs. Latimer's *Scrapbook* are evidently trustworthy sources of information.

F. M. F.

A Brief History of Europe from 1789 to 1815. By Lucius Hudson Holt, Professor of English and History, and Alexander Wheeler Chilton, Assistant Professor of History, United States Military Academy. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. xi, 358, \$2.75.) The World War has opened the eyes of historians to the absolute necessity of a new evaluation of a great deal of modern history. Honest efforts are being made to see the past from the standpoint suggested by the epoch-making events of the past four years. In view of this, a sense of disappointment is inevitable over a volume which devotes only 160 pages to the *ancien régime* and the Revolution, and 190 pages to the years from the rise of Napoleon to Waterloo. The authors inform us in the preface that "military campaigns" are done by Mr. Chilton, "political narrative" by Mr. Holt, but make no mention of economic, social, or intellectual history.

Few periods of history are so charged with social and economic progress as is that of the French Revolution, and none so clearly reflects the vital and dynamic importance of ideas and intellectual movements. In view of this the discussion of Political Philosophy and its Authors merits more than a meagre three pages (pp. 47-50). There is lip-service to the ideas and spirit of the Revolution, but if it is by their works that the authors' appreciation of these great historic forces is to be estimated, then the fact that the Declaration of the Rights of Man is despatched in a solitary paragraph is not very encouraging. Economy of space might be urged as an excuse, were it not for the fact that half a dozen pages (pp. 20-26) are devoted to Catherine II., and more than the usual attention is given to campaigns of passing importance. Twenty of the twenty-nine maps and diagrams deal with campaigns and battles, none with the famous *gabelle*, the customs, or Napoleonic trade-routes. To many even the account of the campaigns will seem inadequate because topography and geographic factors are so persistently neglected.

On the other hand, if we except the questions of emphasis the work is very well done. The style is clear and forceful, and the narrative moves forward with much vigor. Personalities are often very successfully treated. Occasional errors or slips occur, as for example December 4, 1804 (p. 207) for December 2. The second of December plays too important a rôle in the annals of Napoleonic history to be thus obscured. Instances of overlapping occur as on page 104 and 107, 111 and 113. But these are minor matters. The real test of any work on this

period must be along the larger lines indicated above, and on this score the work is lacking. The concluding paragraph of the volume is an eloquent tribute to the paramount and permanent influence of the ideas and forces of the Revolution, but it is difficult to see how this can be the logical conclusion to the work before us. The authors were apparently unable or unwilling to emancipate themselves from the conventional treatment and write a volume in accordance with the ideas of their own conclusion.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

La Révolution Française et le Régime Féodal. Par Alphonse Aulard, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1919, pp. iv, 286.) The suggestiveness of this book is quite out of proportion to its size. This is in a measure due to the fact that the author is concerned mainly with pointing out to scholars the incompleteness of the evidence upon which certain seemingly well-established views appear to rest. He also indicates other questions which call for careful investigation on account of the scantiness of our present knowledge. As an example of the first may be cited M. Sagnac's conclusion, put forward in his doctoral thesis of 1898, that the burden of feudal dues was increased during the reign of Louis XVI. Professor Aulard now shows that the cases upon which reliance has been placed to substantiate such a view often lack typical character, and that some are not sufficiently specific. To exhibit one instance where a grand seignior used a "philosophic" consideration of his tenants, Professor Aulard draws upon the voluminous correspondence of the intendant of the Duc de Cossé-Brissac with the stewards of his estates in the Ile-de-France, Anjou, Poitou, and Burgundy. Professor Aulard also regards as at least not proved the assertion that the seigniors at the renewal of *terriers* had commonly increased the amount of the dues or recovered dues that had been permitted to lapse. In discussing the legislation of the Revolution, his attention is directed chiefly to the question of the persistence of collection after the decrees of 1790. The destruction of feudal registers in accordance with the laws of the Convention makes research difficult, but with the assistance of various archivists Professor Aulard has been able to indicate fruitful lines of inquiry. His view of the work of the Constituent, especially of the laws of March and May, 1790, is similar to that of MM. Sagnac and Caron, namely, that this legislation was "vraiment bourgeoise et anti-populaire", a judgment which is difficult to share except on the theory that social progress is advanced best by a ruthless expropriation of the beneficiaries of a superseded régime.

H. E. BOURNE.

Les Martyrs de Septembre. Par Henri Welschinger, de l'Institut de France. ["Les Saints."] (Paris, J. Gabalda, 1919, pp. xxiv, 179, 3 fr.)

This volume belongs to the collection known as "Les Saints". The presence in the series of an account of the murder of the 213 ecclesiastics who were victims of the September Massacres is not surprising, because their real offense was a refusal to take the oath prescribed in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. For this the Legislative Assembly had ordered their deportation, an act of which the authorities of Paris took advantage to crowd all those at hand into the Carmelites, St. Firmin, and other prisons. It appears that the procedure leading to their beatification as martyrs, begun at Rome some years ago, has already reached an advanced stage. This has served as the occasion of M. Welschinger's re-study of the most sinister episode of the Revolution. Part of his book is polemical in tone, and part reads like a work of edification, but his chapter VIII. (*A qui incombre la Responsabilité des Massacres*) is a serious attempt to apportion the blame between Danton and the more brutal spirits in the Commune. M. Welschinger treats Danton with surprising fairness, but does not give the General Council of the Commune the benefit of any favorable indications. For example, he refers to the circular sent out on September 3 by the Committee of Surveillance as involving the whole Commune in its atrocious effort to extend the massacres to the departments. It is true that this committee existed by vote of the General Council, but by the time the circular was despatched the council had begun sincere, if futile, efforts to check the massacres. The evidence for the truth of this view, presented a decade ago by M. Braesch in his *Commune du Dix Août*, seems irrefutable. M. Welschinger fails also to mention the counter-circular which the council on September 7 asked Mayor Pétion to send to the departments. In the less controversial chapters M. Welschinger narrates the story of the massacres of the ecclesiastics, especially at the Carmelites, quoting at length from accounts of survivors, the Abbé de la Pannonie and others.

H. E. BOURNE.

Le Fer sur une Frontière: la Politique Métallurgique de l'État Allemand. Par Fernand Engerand, Député du Calvados. (Paris, Éditions Bossard, 1919, pp. 234, 5.40 fr.) This volume, which first appeared as articles in the *Correspondant* in 1916, is written to maintain certain theses respecting the place of iron and coal in war between France and Germany. According to the author, Germany, having secured the coal of the Saar in 1815 and the iron of Lorraine in 1871, systematically held back the development of this region in favor of Westphalia for the purpose of keeping her iron industry far removed from the vulnerable western frontier. France, on the other hand, failing to realize the fundamental importance of iron and steel in modern warfare, concentrated her plants in the region of Briey, and when war broke out not only failed to destroy the German mines across the border, but abandoned the Briey basin without an effort, thus losing ninety per cent. of her own

supply of ore. This whole question was ventilated in the French Chamber and the Paris press last spring, when military authorities denied the possibility of French operations in this sense in 1914, while the German statements that Briey had saved Germany's life were offset by statistics showing on her part relatively small utilization of the Lorraine mines and furnaces during the war. The greater portion of M. Engerand's book is devoted to tracing the rivalries of the coal and iron interests in Germany and the policy of the government in relation thereto. For the historical student this volume, consisting in large measure of contested interpretations of accessible material, is less valuable than the author's earlier work, *L'Allemagne et le Fer*, which utilizes interesting documents concerning the opening up of the Saar mines and the frontier of 1871.

C. H. H.

The Italian Emigration of our Times. By Robert F. Foerster, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Social Ethics in Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Series.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919, pp. xx, 558, \$2.50.) Dr. Foerster's careful and comprehensive study not only renders available a mass of facts regarding modern Italian emigration, but so co-ordinates them as to contribute a consistent and sympathetic picture of the human motives and traits which characterize this exodus. Each chapter of his work is an intensive inquiry into and report on the special developments, social and economic, due to the influx of Italians in the country discussed, and the conclusion is emphasized that this emigration has been of high general as well as particular benefit to several lands and in an exceptional measure to Tunisia, South Brazil, and Argentina. Economically, moreover, Switzerland, southern France, Germany, and the United States have been gainers since "it is the uniform testimony that the Italians have been in favor by the employing classes". Indeed from this standpoint the immigrant is not desirable only but indispensable.

Dr. Foerster gives a succinct account of the primary causes of emigration in the untoward physical, political, and agricultural conditions, plus the common overpopulation, of the Italian peninsula, demonstrating its inevitable character and showing the place it holds in the minds of Italian statesmen and economists. He quotes Senator Bodio's dictum, "migrations are ordained by Providence". But he does not overlook or underestimate the appalling conditions which it commonly encounters, and the tragic record of privation, inhumanity, disease, and social irregularity it too often writes.

Dr. Foerster's chapters on the Italians in the United States are almost exhaustive and illustrate the predominant place they occupy as laborers on public works and in only a less degree the wonderful adaptability evinced by these farmers of the hills in the presence of American metro-

politan conditions. It is shown too, that the clannishness with which they are often charged is due to a protective instinct and often proves beneficial.

Final chapters show that Italy regards her absentee children everywhere as wards whose welfare may not be discounted. The generous projects of Bodio, Luzzatti, and Rossi in the paternal regulation bills of 1901 are approved; and the value of the retention of his native tongue by the immigrant, even when he has taken permanent residence in a new land, is affirmed.

Finally, it may be said that Dr. Foerster's work is the most authoritative as it is the most comprehensive volume dealing with the subject of Italian immigration yet published in the United States, and is indispensable to all who care to know intimately its characteristic features and main purport.

W. E. DAVENPORT.

Civilization and the World War. By Anson Daniel Morse, LL.D., late Winkley Professor of History in Amherst College. (Boston and New York, Ginn and Company, 1919, pp. xiv, 222, \$1.60.) It has long been known to students of American history that the late Professor Morse of Amherst was engaged upon a history of political parties in the United States. Separate portions of his studies have been published as articles in various reviews, five in the *Political Science Quarterly*, others elsewhere, including this *Review*, and in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. These articles have proved useful to students, and a collected edition of them, with the omission of necessarily repeated passages, and such revisions as might properly be made, would probably multiply and perpetuate their usefulness. Professor Morse's family has chosen to publish, as indicating the character of his thinking on wider subjects and as a memorial, the volume under review, written since the beginning of the Great War.

Professor Morse first considers what civilization is; then how it was produced, the process resulting in two types, the one autocratic, aristocratic, and militaristic, the other democratic. The result, as it affects the individual and then as it affects the state, is discussed, and in chapter V. the influence upon civilization of war in comparison with peace. This portion of the book is largely of the nature of an introduction to what follows in part II., a somewhat more specific discussion of the two types of civilization in conflict with one another. In this part the situation of the world at the outbreak of the war is taken up, the contrasted civilizations of America and Germany in some detail, the dangers which threatened civilization from the possible triumph of German imperialism, and on the contrary the results which might be expected to follow a victory of the Allies. The last chapter is a strong plea for a League of Nations as a necessary safeguard of civilization, written we are told before March, 1916.

Professor Morse's conception of civilization is lofty and spiritual. He considers civilization in itself, as the outcome of history, to be "the aggregate of gains that man has made since his emergence from the condition of the brute, the end of which is the ideal man of the future perfected in his entire nature". Its foundation and its creative force are found in morality—morality of the individual and of the state. Unless these prevail any civilization is false and insecure, and the result of the war and of the arrangements made after it should be to secure permanently the rule of right in all human relations.

Bethmann Hollwegs Kriegsreden. Herausgegeben und historisch-kritisch eingeleitet von Dr. Friedrich Thimme, Direktor der Bibliothek des vormaligen Herrenhauses. (Stuttgart and Berlin, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1919, pp. lxii, 274.) It is probable that for some years to come controversy will centre around the personality of Bethmann-Hollweg and his relation to the outbreak of the war of 1914. Herr Thimme has done the American student a service in collecting in one convenient volume the war speeches of the German chancellor. As the name of the editor would lead one to expect, the editorial work has been carefully done, numerous and useful notes are provided, and a good index increases the value of the book. Especially valuable are the notes appended to each speech giving the reaction it had from the press and public opinion generally.

Unfortunately the edition is not complete. The speeches of the chancellor on the question of the submarine in the main committee of the Reichstag in March, May, and September, 1916, are omitted, as well as all the speeches during the governmental crisis which led to the fall of Bethmann-Hollweg in July, 1916. Again, the very important speeches on foreign policy made to the main committee of the Reichstag on November 9, 1916, and January 31, 1917, are only given in the abbreviated edition of the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The knowledge that speeches are sometimes carefully edited before publication in the official gazette justifies something less than absolute confidence in the text of the last two mentioned and, added to the omission of the others, renders the book less valuable, although the blame for this lies not with the editor. It might be interesting to speculate on the reasons of state which, as late as January 1, 1919, still prevented the full publication of these speeches.

The editor prefaces the collection with a long introduction which merits some attention. In it he traces the policy of Bethmann-Hollweg from 1909 to the outbreak of the war in 1914. The attempt is made to prove that the policy of Bethmann-Hollweg was crippled by the weight of the political inheritance which he received from the Bülow régime, and, secondly, that the policy of the chancellor during these years was consistent, able, and peaceful. Interesting as is the argument, it may

perhaps be said that the reader is not entirely convinced, especially with regard to the second proposition. But as a summary and criticism of German foreign policy during these years this introduction deserves careful perusal by all students of the diplomatic history of the period.

To those who lack access to large libraries of war-literature, the book will serve as a helpful guide to the public policy of Germany during the first three years of the war. To closer students of the period the introduction and notes may provide some helpful ideas or valuable clues. It is a useful addition to any library of war-literature.

MASON W. TYLER.

British Labor Conditions and Legislation during the War. By M. B. Hammond, Professor of Economics, Ohio State University. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History. Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, edited by David Kinley, Professor of Political Economy, University of Illinois, no. 14.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1919, pp. ix, 335, \$1.00.) This is a useful compilation but not altogether a mature treatment of the subject. The author is scarcely able to go far astray in his presentation of facts, since he steadfastly relies upon the *Labour Year Books*, the *Labour Gazette*, and the report of the commission appointed in 1917 to investigate industrial unrest. If to these official sources there be added Kirkaldy's compilation called *Labour, Finance and the War*, Barrett's three-volume Senate document on *British Industrial Experience during the War*, and the Carnegie study of women's and children's labor by Andrews and Hobbs, the foundations of Professor Hammond's work are pretty well revealed. Unfortunately there is no discussion or estimate of the literature of the subject, no bibliography, sometimes no indication of the provenance of a book (we are never told the date, authorship, or character of *British Industrial Experience*). More serious is the disregard of the journals of Parliament and of the British daily and weekly press as an exponent of public opinion. It is a pity that Professor Hammond shares so fully the contempt of parliamentary achievement sometimes entertained in these later days; for he would have found the debates on the measures which he discusses not uninteresting. A reading of them and of the press would have given him a larger sense of what may be called the unity of the developing industrial drama. Had he acquired a keen feeling for the relation between cause and effect in the legislation and unrest of 1915-1917, he would scarcely have separated his discussions of the two as widely as he has done. Schematic treatment of a subject, although adaptable to the arrangement of clippings and extracts, is bound to have organic disadvantages. But these criticisms must not discourage the reader who desires in accessible form a culling from important sources. The garnering has been conscientiously done, and the presentation is full, informing, and lucid.

H. L. GRAY.

The Fitch Papers: Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1754-1766. Volume I. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XVII.] (Hartford, the Society, 1918, pp. xlix, 402, \$3.00.) Mr. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society pursues the even tenor of his useful way and with noteworthy regularity, which even war and the world's unrest cannot affect, presents us with steadily recurring volumes in the society's series of the papers and correspondence of Connecticut's colonial governors. The latest volume, bearing the date of 1918 and numbered XVII. in the list of the society's publications, is the first of the Fitch Papers and covers the period from 1754 to 1758. A second and final volume, already three-quarters in type, is scheduled soon to appear, carrying the subject to 1766, the date which marked the end of Fitch's administration. This particular governorship came to an end under peculiar circumstances, for Fitch was one of the first among that early group of colonials who suffered because they could not square their consciences with what they believed to be a dereliction of duty, and consequently forfeited the good-will and support of their fellow-colonists. In October, 1765, Fitch took the oath to enforce the Stamp Act, and the next year was defeated for re-election and never again given political office. The issue in his case, as in that of thousands of others, was one of moral obligation. He was a loyalist, not in devotion to the king but in devotion to conscience, and there were many during the pre-Revolutionary period who were ostracized for a like cause. Fitch was an able and learned lawyer and a good governor, and he served his colony too well to be cast aside for conduct that was to say the least honorable, whatever else may be thought of it. The documents here printed call for no special comment, for except in detail they add but little to our general knowledge of the period. They concern chiefly the war, the Susquehanna settlement, the last stages of the Spanish ship case, the Massachusetts boundary question, and various matters of a financial, commercial, and agrarian nature. Mr. Forrest Morgan has furnished an introduction, and Mr. Bates a biography of Fitch, in which he gives us excellent statements of Connecticut's way of electing her governors, of the printed laws of the colony, and of the governor's salary. In addition to the documents which are printed in full, Mr. Bates has placed in parenthetical paragraphs brief synopses of documents printed elsewhere, references to letters known to have been written but which no longer exist, and statements of contents in certain cases as far as they can be recovered. As a result of such editorial contrivances this volume is unusually full and complete.

C. M. A.

The Story of Old Saratoga: the Burgoyne Campaign, to which is added New York's Share in the Revolution. By John Henry Brandow.

(Albany, the Author, 1919, pp. xxiii, 528.) In this volume the *Story of Old Saratoga* occupies nearly four-fifths of the space, and of this portion one-third is taken up with an account of the Burgoyne campaign. Of this event the author claims only to have retold the story "from the viewpoint of the Heights of Saratoga". As one of the many critical points of the "Old New York Frontier", the region deserves intensive study from what may be called the Turner point of view. But the author has chosen to cast his account on the conventional lines of a "local" history.

The part of the book entitled New York's Share in the Revolution is practically a pamphlet of one hundred pages accusing history-writers of a failure to "designate New York's legitimate place on the roll of honor". Especially bitter is the complaint that activities of New Yorkers and events occurring on New York soil receive less space, measured in pages, than corresponding activities and events in other states, particularly Massachusetts. We have here the familiar conception of history as a drama with the states participating as actors, and the equally familiar phenomenon of discontent over the distribution of the favors of the limelight. Now this portion of the book was added to the author's *Story of Old Saratoga*, published in 1900, because the volume was included by the School Libraries Division of the University of the State of New York in its list of supplementary readings for the public schools of the state. Whether this conception of history and this formulation of New York's grievance afford material most suitably adapted to stimulate historical-mindedness in the upcoming generation may be questioned. Interesting as such matters still are to many members of local historical societies, the newer views concerning the Revolution brought forward by the recent work of American scholarship would seem for coming citizens of greater importance.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806. Par F. P. Renaut. (Paris, Édouard Champion, Émile Larose, Libraires de la Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1919, pp. 242.) The material for the diplomatic history of the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States has long needed full treatment. This is provided by this able treatise on *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806*, which was first published in the *Revue des Colonies Françaises*, in whose pages have appeared many articles throwing light on the early colonial expansion of France.

It starts with a notice of the state of the colony in 1783 and follows the various changes in European politics which led up to the decision of Napoleon to treat for the whole province instead of the small portion for which the American envoys were instructed to negotiate. The author gives valuable reference to the second French domination under Pierre Clément Laussat, calling special attention to the rare diary of

the colonial prefect, published as *Mémoires sur ma Vie, à mon Fils, pendant les Années 1803 et suivantes, que j'ai rempli des Fonctions Publiques, savoir: à la Louisiane, en qualité de Commissaire du Gouvernement Français pour la Reprise de Possession de cette Colonie et pour sa Remise aux États-Unis* (Pau, 1831).

It is much to be desired that the portion of Laussat's book which relates to Louisiana should be reprinted. In the library of the Louisiana Historical Society in the Cabildo exist the several broadsides which are the official records of the government of Louisiana from December 1 to December 20, 1803. It is much to be regretted that no copy of the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* for November and December, 1803, is known to exist.

WILLIAM BEER.

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von Dr. Julius Goebel, Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. Volume XVII., Jahrgang 1917. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918, pp. 519.) The major part of the *Jahrbuch* for 1917 is devoted to the publication of the journal of Johann Conrad Döhla (*Amerikanische Feldzüge, 1777-1783, Tagebuch*), who took part in the campaigns of 1777-1781 as a common soldier in the British army. He was in the Anspach-Bayreuth division of auxiliary troops drawn from German principalities, and served until taken prisoner with Cornwallis's army, after which his diary extends over the period of his prison life at Winchester and Fredericktown, and finally his return to Bavaria, in 1783. Döhla's journal has never been properly accessible in print, though H. A. Rattermann succeeded in publishing the first half in his short-lived *Deutschamerikanisches Magazin* (1886-1887). E. J. Lowell in his *Hessians* seems not to have been able to avail himself of the valuable materials contained in Döhla's *Tagebuch*, though he quotes at second hand a paragraph which he found in Eelking, *Hülfsstruppen*, II. 86. Curiously enough this passage, an account of the Hackensack raid, is one that gives a false impression. It is the only plundering expedition in which Döhla took part during his five years' campaigning, and in this his regiment was acting under British orders (March 24, 1780). Döhla reports that during captivity the German prisoners received better quarters and treatment than their English fellow-prisoners. At Frederick many of the captive Germans, especially of the Hessian regiments, became naturalized, and secured their freedom on the payment of thirty pounds or eighty Spanish dollars, often advanced by a friend or master with whom the outlay could be paid back in work. Recruiting officers of the American army were admitted into the barracks, and a large number of Hessians secured their freedom from captivity by entering the American service and accepting the bounty of thirty Spanish dollars. The orders and stipulations were

posted publicly and also read in the churches (September, 1782). Kapp (*Soldatenhandel*) preferred Döhla's diary to many written by superior officers, because of its simplicity and trustworthiness. It has not the personal charm, however, nor the sprightliness of the memoirs of the Baroness Riedesel, nor the occasional brilliancy of Captain Wiederholdt's narrative.

The *Jahrbuch* contains several briefer contributions, one on the importance of the mission of Moritz von Fürstenwärther, who was commissioned officially to investigate the distressing conditions of emigrants in 1817, and whose report was one important factor in the enactment of remedial laws on both sides of the Atlantic. The author, M. J. Kohler, falls into the same error as Fürstenwärther when he says (pp. 397, 400), that there was no tax on the property of emigrants from Switzerland. It was quite as bad there as elsewhere, and mounted as high as ten per cent. (see the work of Kaspar Hauser, *Ueber den Abzug in der Schweiz*, Zürich, 1909). An interesting letter of John Quincy Adams to Fürstenwärther, and copious selections from the latter's almost forgotten work *Der Deutsche in Amerika*, conclude this chapter.

O. F. W. Fernsemer attempts to connect the Palatine emigration of 1710 with the origin of *Robinson Crusoe*, but in this he is not as convincing as when he reveals Defoe's deep sympathy for the unfortunate Palatines and his humane efforts in their behalf.

A. B. FAUST.

A History of the Theatre in America from its Beginnings to the Present Time. By Arthur Hornblow. In two volumes. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, pp. 356; 374, \$10.00.) The so-called *History of the American Theatre* written by William Dunlap and issued a hundred years ago, is an interesting book, and as Mr. Hornblow says in his preface "almost everything can be said in praise except that it is not history"—being in fact mainly the autobiography of Dunlap himself. The three solid tomes of George O. Seilhamer's *History of the American Theatre*, published thirty years ago, brought the record down only to 1792; and they were disfigured by a needless and petulant hostility toward Dunlap. So it is that Mr. Hornblow has really had no predecessor in the work he has now completed. His title is well chosen, since it is not the history of the drama in this country that he is telling but the story of the playhouse itself—its establishment in town after town, and in city after city during the past two centuries. He deals amply with players and with playwrights but his record of their achievements is subordinated to his record of the theatres in which the actors appeared and in which the dramas were performed. Mr. Hornblow is rather a chronicler than a historian. He devotes all his energy to the presentation of facts; his pages bristle with dates, diligently verified. He lacks the interpretative vision of the historian and

also the historian's ability to co-ordinate the facts he has gathered. Mr. Hornblow does not see the forest for the trees; but he does see the trees, one by one, and he catalogues them and sets them down in chronological array. At least, this is what he strives to do and what he generally succeeds in doing but what he is not always able to achieve, perhaps because of the very abundance of the facts themselves. It is as a repository of dates and names of managers and titles of plays that his two volumes are most valuable; and this is to say that his book, while it may be read with interest, is likely to be useful mainly as a work of reference. Its availability in this respect is increased by a forty-column index.

It remains to be said that Mr. Hornblow seems to have made no effort to disinter such information as may exist in manuscript records; and he has delved into contemporary newspapers perhaps less frequently than he might have done. On the other hand, he has carefully consulted the publications of the Dunlap Society and the many biographies and autobiographies of actors and of managers—although he has apparently never seen Archer's *Macready* or Matthews and Hutton's *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States*.

The Path of Empire: a Chronicle of the United States as a World Power. By Carl Russell Fish. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XLVI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. ix, 305.) If it may be said that good historical popularization demands, first, the preservation of historical accuracy, secondly, the ability to hold the interest of the reader, and thirdly, the power of judicious condensation, then by the first two criteria Mr. Fish's book must be rated as a distinct success. As to the third, the reviewer wonders whether the author has not tried to do two things, each difficult, in the one book, and whether the result is altogether satisfactory. Quite the largest part of the volume, nearly half the total number of pages, is devoted to an excellent narrative of the war between the United States and Spain in 1898 and of the insurrectionary conflict in the Philippines. In the earlier chapters Mr. Fish explains the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, recounts the controversies between the United States and Great Britain from the time of Canning through the Venezuela affair, tells of the purchase of Alaska and of the Bering Sea arbitration, and accounts for the beginnings of the interest of the United States in the Pacific. But all that is said of the Floridas or of Louisiana is the mention of the acquisition of those regions, while the statement that "the United States annexed Texas without serious protest [from Great Britain]; in spite of the clamor for 'fifty-four forty or fight' Oregon was divided peacefully, and England did not take advantage of the war with Mexico" affords all the light thrown upon those steps in the expansion of the United States. Yet in other parts of America, certainly, those steps would be thought to have marked the path of empire of the growing republic.

The volume is brought to a close with four chapters upon the Open Door, the Panama Canal, the Problems of the Caribbean, and World Relationships. The limit of time reached is 1914, and the World War is left for another volume. In that, no doubt, the part played by the United States at Algeciras will receive consideration, although the interest of the United States in the Hague Conferences and the Hague Tribunal is taken up in this.

The subtitle describes the book as "a chronicle of the United States as a world power". Only in a partial and selective sense does the volume live up to this. But what it does is, for the most part, very well done; and, embellished with six handsome portrait illustrations, and furnished with a bibliographical note and a good index, it will undoubtedly stimulate an intelligent interest upon the part of that type of reader to whom the series, as a whole, will make its chief appeal.

St. G. L. S.

Progressive Religious Thought in America: a Survey of the Enlarging Pilgrim Faith. By John Wright Buckham, Professor of Christian Theology in the Pacific School of Religion. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. ix, 352, \$2.25.) Professor Buckham has written a book of biographical sketches of the outstanding leaders of religious liberalism in New England from Horace Bushnell to Newman Smyth. He has known most of these men personally and writes with frank admiration, admitting that in some cases his chapter is a "eulogy, or even panegyric". But he writes with such ample knowledge of the men and their environment as to make his book instructive and valuable. It has the intimacy and charm of revelations made by a personal friend. Theodore T. Munger, George A. Gordon, William J. Tucker, Washington Gladden, and many others pass before us, and we know their significance far better because of the review.

Having chosen the biographical method, we submit to the defects of its qualities. The great leaders appear to be chiefly of the Congregational churches, and to have resided in New England. Is it possible to portray religious progress "in America" for the last fifty years without devoting at least one chapter to the immense initiative furnished by the University of Chicago and the institutions that surround it? What has been the influence of Vanderbilt University in Methodism? What of the powerful support given by American poets, reformers, and social workers? What of the discussions over slavery, temperance, and industrial betterment?

But once having accepted the limitations of personal sketches, we can enjoy a book rich in sympathy, insight, and loyal friendship.

Elizabeth Cary Agassiz: a Biography. By Lucy Allen Paton. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. xi, 423, \$3.00.)

Those who remember Mrs. Agassiz in her later years will probably agree that at first sight she looked impressive; that her features were often in repose; that you could hardly imagine her ever to have dressed with much attention to the whims of any passing fashion; and that you might therefore have expected her to be a little formidable. She never was. In a generation which still preserved the distinction of older New England, she was conspicuous for instinctive good-breeding. You felt her, too, by nature as kind as she was strong. The simplicity of her dignity implied her calm poise of judgment. Though she never seemed brilliant, she could quietly hold her own with anybody anywhere; for her intelligence was not only flexible enough instantly to understand whatever was said, in any mood, but furthermore was balanced by a delicate sense of humor. She was a woman of quality; the last things you could think of in her presence were sentimentality and priggishness.

Ironically enough, the lady charged with the duty of writing her official biography appears so reverently to admire these maidenly qualities as to feel that she must enrich with them a memory presently to be legendary. If this were her object, she may be commended for having achieved it—but at the expense of recognizable portraiture. This is the more regrettable because any other account of Mrs. Agassiz's life is unlikely to appear. So far as this book survives, it will probably lead the future to suppose that a great lady of New England was a belated offshoot of the Swiss Family Robinson.

The literary skill and historical acumen of the writer may be inferred from two or three passages taken almost at random. Of James Perkins she writes (p. 6): "Grave and courteous in manner and upright in principles he found his friends among such men as Samuel Adams, James Otis, and Paul Revere"—that is, men whom the fashionable prejudice of eighteenth-century Boston regarded as a demagogue, a madman, and a master-craftsman. Again (p. 51), when touching on the school kept by Mrs. Agassiz at Cambridge, she tells us: "She was the originator and guiding star, although the brilliant light of Agassiz gave it perhaps its more distinctive lustre." If Miss Agnes Irwin preserves in heaven the humor which made her delightful on earth, she will enjoy the innocent caricature of herself on page 260. Judge Hoar may be less patient above when he finds his fun embalmed in a phase almost babyish (pp. 268 ff.). As to Radcliffe College the book tells little or nothing not better stated in formal reports.

BARRETT WENDELL.

My Generation: an Autobiographical Interpretation. By William Jewett Tucker, President Emeritus of Dartmouth College. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. xv, 464, \$4.00.) President Tucker has given us more than an autobiography. He has pictured from the inside the religious and educational ideals of New England

during the last eighty years, and given us an intimate appraisal of leaders and tendencies in the great mental and spiritual struggles of his "generation".

Reviewing briefly his thirteen years as minister of two churches, the writer passes to his thirteen years as professor in Andover Theological Seminary when Andover was "a storm-centre and a working centre". The great theological controversy which shook New England is clearly outlined. In it Dr. Tucker manfully bore his part, but his dominant interests were never in theology but in "social economics".

In 1893 Dr. Tucker accepted the invitation which in the previous year he had declined and became president of Dartmouth College. There for sixteen years he exercised an unusual personal influence—largely through the famous chapel talks delivered on Sunday afternoons—and saw the college expand in all directions.

He found at Dartmouth an institution which like all the colonial colleges had been through storm and stress, and its early heroisms and adventures he capitalized immediately. The vivid episodes and colorful experiences of the early "Indian School" he made to live again in the minds of all Dartmouth students and alumni. At the same time with rare sagacity he healed the breach between the college and the state of New Hampshire, so that soon the legislature which once tried to seize the college and transform its character was appropriating \$40,000 a year for its support. Furthermore, by his understanding of young men and his power to interpret them to themselves, he drew students from great distances and nationalized the institution.

So far as the autobiography discloses, President Tucker has not held or expounded any special philosophy of education. It may not be too much to say that he is more interested in institutions than in educational creeds. "It was institutional loyalty that held me at Andover; it is the same principle which now sends me to Dartmouth." He has little to say of the value of technical scholarship, and praises English scholarship as being "more distinctly moral than intellectual". He rebukes "intellectualism", and affirms that the function of the college is not to transmit the culture of the past, but rather to reproduce its creative spirit. Evidently he could have no sympathy with William James's declaration concerning Harvard graduates: "Our irreconcilables are our proudest product."

But amid opinions which one may accept or debate, there are many helpful insights, many utterances of high administrative sagacity, and the book closes with a moving appeal for patience and optimism.

Mensch en Menigte in Amerika: Vier Essays over Moderne Beschavingsgeschiedenis. Door J. Huizinga. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1918, pp. xi, 226.) Your best cosmopolite is the Dutchman, yet sometimes your Dutchman's intellectual sympathies are bounded

within the limits of the best civilization of Western Europe, but here is one who has been impressed, to such a degree as few Europeans we know, with the American spirit, who, without visiting America, has by diligent study of a surprising range of books entered sympathetically into that spirit. and has set forth its characteristics with great penetration, skill, and completeness of view. Independence and union, the development of American economic and social life, of political ideas and practices, of moral feeling, of "movements", of tastes, and of literature, are all so well set forth that one could heartily wish the book a larger circulation in Europe than any book written in Dutch is likely to obtain. Its foundation was a series of lectures which the author gave in the academic year 1917-1918 at the University of Leiden.

The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes, by W. Stewart Wallace. [University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics, vol. III., no. 2.] (Toronto, University Librarian, 1919, pp. 135, \$1.00.) The letters here printed have been taken from the correspondence of the Hardwicke family in the British Museum. They were written by Francis Maseres, who was appointed by the Rockingham ministry attorney general for the province of Quebec, and with four exceptions were written to Fowler Walker, agent in London for the merchants of the province. The letters are followed by five appendixes containing letters and documents written by other hands on subjects illustrated by the correspondence.

Associated with Maseres in the new government were Governor Guy Carleton and Chief Justice William Hey. Their selection was due to a conscientious attempt on the part of the ministry to give the northern province a good administration which would correct the evils brought on it by the mistakes of the Proclamation of 1763. On the whole the attorney general, in spite of his fluency in the French language, proved himself less fitted than his companions for his work. He was never able to overcome the prejudices of his Huguenot ancestry.

The letters, which constitute a unique collection of contemporary private correspondence from the province, throw light on many events of the time. The clash of the military with the civilian party is in particular illuminated by the writer's account of the Thomas Walker affair. The historian will, however, turn to the pages for information on the civil administration and on the efforts of the officials to correct the chaos that existed in the law. Many pages are devoted to this subject, and the screen is often removed from before scenes in the office of the governor. The information is not as specific as might be hoped; but no historian of the future who wishes to write on the beginnings of British Canada can neglect these letters. The editor is to be complimented on the clarity of his editorial apparatus.

C. W. ALVORD.

The Hispanic Nations of the New World: a Chronicle of our Southern Neighbors. By William R. Shepherd. [Chronicles of America series, vol. L.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. ix, 251.) This booklet aims to describe the history of the Hispanic nations of America from the end of the eighteenth century to the present time. In typographical appearance it is admirable. It contains three maps and eight portraits. The sketch opens with a description of political and social conditions in Brazil and the Indies about 1783. Then follows an account of the movements that culminated in the independence of Brazil and the Spanish-American nations. A chapter entitled the Age of the Dictators deals with the years from 1830 to 1854 when dictators dashed across the Spanish-American stage very frequently. The author describes the interposition of Spain in the Dominican Republic and French intervention in Mexico. An account is given of the changes that took place in Hispanic America from 1876 to 1889. Scant notice is paid to the Pan-American Conferences, the Hague Conferences, and our policy toward the Caribbean republics. The longest chapter is concerned with certain phases in the recent history of the republics of South America. Short accounts of some contemporary events in Hispanic America close the volume.

Like other volumes in *The Chronicles of America*, this little book contains no scientific foot-notes. Its bibliographical note, which omits some good English titles and mentions only two titles in Spanish or Portuguese, is plainly not intended for the specialist. Here and there the reviewer was impressed with a lack of exactness in the statements of the author. The economic condition and the commercial relations of the huge area under consideration are neglected. Yet, despite its limitations, this booklet furnishes a kaleidoscopic survey of Hispanic-American history that should interest the general reader.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The headquarters of the American Historical Association in the house of the Royal Historical Society at 22 Russell Square has been given up, because of the opportunity offered American students in general by the establishment and maintenance in London of the British Division of the American University Union. At 50 Russell Square, headquarters of that union and of the British Universities Bureau, American students of history, as of other subjects, will find helpful guidance and opportunities of mutual association. The director of the British Division is Dr. George E. MacLean, formerly president of the University of Iowa.

Professor Eugene C. Barker is preparing for publication by the Historical Manuscripts Commission the collection of manuscripts and printed documents known as the Austin Papers, bequeathed to the University of Texas by Col. Guy M. Bryan, grandson of Moses Austin. The papers deal particularly with the business of the Austins in Philadelphia, Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. Professor Barker would be glad to communicate with persons knowing of any other letters or writings of the Austins.

For the benefit of the special committee on the historical congress which is to be held at Rio de Janeiro in 1923, members of the American Historical Association who have any expectation of attending that congress are requested to notify the managing editor of this journal.

PERSONAL

Dr. Isaac Sharpless, who for thirty years, 1887-1917, was the honored president of Haverford College, died on January 16, at the age of seventy-one. His historical works were confined to the special field of the history of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, which they illuminated with much learning and fairness, insight and judgment. They were, *A Quaker Experiment in Government* (1898), *Two Centuries of Pennsylvania History* (1900), *Quakerism and Politics* (1906), and *Political Leaders of Provincial Pennsylvania* (1919), reviewed on an earlier page of this present number.

Robert M. Johnston, professor of modern history in Harvard University, died on January 28 at the age of fifty-two, of an illness aggravated by two years' service with the American Expeditionary Force in France, where he represented the Historical Branch of the General Staff. Educated chiefly in England, but also in France, Germany, and

the United States, he was professor in Bryn Mawr College in 1907-1908 and had been at Harvard since that date. His most important works concerned Italian history, *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy* (1904) and *Mémoire de Marie Caroline, Reine de Naples* (1912), but he also wrote extensively on military history and was one of the editors of the *Military Historian and Economist*.

George L. Beer died on March 15, aged 47. He was the author of excellent books on the colonial period of American history: *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (1907); *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (1908); and *The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754* (1912). He also had an important part in the historical work done for the American representatives at the Peace Conference.

Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S. J., professor of Maryland colonial history in Georgetown University for some twenty years past, and author of various writings on the Catholic history of the colonies, died on January 27 at the age of seventy-nine.

Thomas M. Owen, who since 1901 had been the efficient director of the Department of Archives and History in the state government of Alabama, died on March 25, aged fifty-three.

Ethelbert O. S. Scolefield, librarian of the Provincial Library of British Columbia, and also provincial archivist, died on December 25, 1919, at the age of forty-four, after long illness. He had been provincial librarian for twenty-two years and with enthusiastic and tireless labor had built up both the library and archives into very important repositories of historical material.

Professor Julius von Pflugk-Harttung, author of numerous works in German history, died in Berlin on November 5, 1919, aged seventy-one.

Friends of the late Archdeacon Cunningham propose, as a permanent memorial to him, to place an appropriate window in St. Andrew's Chapel in Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, the church of which he was vicar from 1887 to 1908. Contributions may be sent to the present vicar of St. Mary's, Rev. C. L. Hulbert.

Professor Wallace Notestein of the University of Minnesota has accepted election as professor of English history in Cornell University, and will begin teaching there in October.

Dr. R. W. Kelsey of Haverford College has been promoted to the full rank of professor of history.

Dr. George F. Zook, professor of history in the Pennsylvania State College, has resigned that position to take charge of the division of higher education in the Bureau of Education at Washington. Dr. A. E. Martin has succeeded him in the department of history, political science, and economics at the college.

Professor R. V. D. Magoffin of the Johns Hopkins University has been appointed director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome for the year 1920-1921.

Dr. E. Merton Coulter, formerly professor of political science and economics in Marietta College, Ohio, has been elected associate professor of history in the University of Georgia.

In the University of Wisconsin, Professor Mikhail Rostovtsev, formerly of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, has been appointed professor of history for the academic year 1920-1921. Professor Rostovtsev, who was chairman of the ancient history section of the Berlin Historical Congress of 1908, is now in residence at Oxford University, and will come to America in the autumn. Assistant-professor E. H. Byrne has been advanced to the rank of associate professor. Professor Beverley W. Bond of Purdue University has been appointed lecturer in English history for the second semester of this year. Professor A. L. P. Dennis has resigned his connection with the university.

Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon has accepted election as superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and begins work there April 1.

At the Iowa State College, Mr. Louis B. Schmidt has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history. Mr. Albert B. Moore becomes assistant professor.

Dr. F. F. Stephens has been promoted from assistant professor to professor of American history in the University of Missouri.

Mr. J. W. Taylor of Wisconsin has been made professor of European history in the University of North Dakota. In the North Dakota Agricultural College the departments of history and social science have been separated and the former, which will give especial attention to agricultural and industrial history, has been put in charge of Dr. Earle D. Ross, who last year held the professorship of history in the Illinois Wesleyan University.

Professor Edward Krehbiel of Stanford University resigned his professorship in November to enter into commercial life; during the winter and spring Dr. Henry B. Learned of Washington has taken his place.

GENERAL

We have had the great pleasure of receiving *fasciculus* IV. of tom. XXXIII. of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, of which fasc. III. was published on July 22, 1914. In a dignified but moving prefatory note the Bollandist fathers set forth the calamities to which warfare and German rule subjected their enterprise during the intervening years, culminating in the arrest, in January, 1918, of the president of the group (then reduced to two members) Father Hippolyte Delehaye, who remained in prison nine

months. Now, though with resources sadly diminished, this venerable society, with undiminished courage, resumes the age-long labors to which it has been devoted with such signal profit to the learned world. In a little volume lately published, *À travers Trois Siècles: l'Oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915* (Brussels, pp. 284), Father Delehaye presents an interesting history of the society's work, to be more fully noticed later in this journal. In the present number of the *Analecta*, the most noteworthy contribution is an article on the canonization of saints in the Russian church, by Father Paul Peeters, Bollandist. The four numbers of 1920 will form vol. XXXVIII. Vols. XXXIV.-XXXVII. (1915-1919) are in preparation and will be sold as they are completed, along with the completing portions and index of M. Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum*. The annual subscription, for countries of the Postal Union, will hereafter be twenty francs.

World History is the subject of the annual Raleigh Lecture, delivered before the British Academy in 1919 by Viscount Bryce, and published by Milford.

Right Hon. Herbert A. L. Fisher, president of the British Board of Education, has published a volume of *Studies in History and Politics* through the Oxford University Press.

Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft an den Führenden Werken betrachtet (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1919, pp. xi, 461) is by Professor Moritz Ritter.

Papers on the Legal History of Government: Difficulties Fundamental and Artificial, by Melville M. Bigelow, includes studies of the Unity of Government, the Family in English History, Medieval English Sovereignty, the Old Jury, and Becket and the Law (Little, Brown, and Company).

Seals and Documents (Milford, pp. 21) is the subject of a paper contributed to the British Academy by Dr. Reginald Lane Poole, keeper of the archives at Oxford.

Dr. J. Holland Rose's inaugural lecture as Vere Harmsworth professor of naval history at Cambridge treats of *Naval History and National History* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 46).

J. Combarieu has completed his *Histoire de la Musique des Origines au Début du XX^e Siècle* (Paris, Colin, 1920, pp. 670) with a third volume covering the period since the death of Beethoven.

A. H. Keane's *Man, Past and Present* (Cambridge University Press) has been revised and largely re-written by A. Hingston Quiggin and A. C. Haddon.

An Introduction to Anthropology (Macmillan, pp. ix, 259), by the Rev. E. O. James, is a general survey of the early history of the human race.

Totem and Taboo (Routledge, pp. xii, 268), by Professor Sigmund Freud, deals with resemblances between the psychic lives of savages and of neurotics. The translation is by A. A. Brill.

To the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for December Mr. George F. Black contributes a valuable list of works relating to lycanthropy, to that of January a list on Druids and Druidism.

The late Sir Clements Markham's work on *Arctic and Antarctic Exploration*, edited by Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard, and illustrated with maps and photographs, will shortly be issued by the Cambridge University Press.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-eighth annual meeting in New York on February 22 and 23. Among the papers read we note one by Professor Gotthard Deutsch on the Talmud as Source-Material for Jewish History; one by Dr. Harry Friedenwald on Jewish Physicians in Italy, and their relation to the Papal and Italian states; and one by Max J. Kohler on Jewish Civic Activity and Patriotism during the Civil War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. F. Steffen, *Die Weltgeschichte* (Neue Rundschau, July); H. E. Barnes, *Psychology and History* (American Journal of Psychology, October).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The syndics of the Cambridge University Press have undertaken to publish in eight volumes, on the same general plan as their modern and medieval histories, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, to be prepared by various specialists under the editorship of Professor J. B. Bury, Mr. S. A. Cook and Mr. F. D. Adcock.

Dr. W. M. Flinders Petrie's book, *Some Sources of Human History* (S. P. C. K., pp. 128) contains three chapters—Unwritten History, dealing with early civilizations, centres of culture, roads, names, art; Byways of Written History, referring to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine, India, China, ancient science, coins, etc.; and Habit, Custom, and Law, touching on ancient law, property, wills, slavery, etc.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has lately published vol. III. of the late Professor W. Max Müller's *Egyptological Researches*, a quarto of 88 pages and 41 plates, entitled *The National Uprising against the Ptolemaic Dynasty according to the Two Bilingual Inscriptions of Philae*.

The Yale University Press has begun the publication, in five volumes, of the collection of Babylonian records in the library of the late J. Pierpont Morgan, and has also issued in its Oriental series a volume of some two hundred *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, chiefly relating to affairs of the temple at that place, and edited by Professor Albert T.

Clay. In another volume of the same series, entitled *Syria and the Powers: the Eastern Question in 1860*, Dr. J. F. Scheltema translates an Arabic manuscript containing an account, by an intelligent native Christian, of the outbreak of religious hatred in that year between the Druses and the Maronites, and provides an introduction establishing its place in history and its relation to the Eastern Question. The Yale University Press also announces a *Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions*, edited by some of our chief Semitic scholars and presented in transliteration and translation. The enterprise is an important one, involving many volumes of inscriptions from the valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates, Arabia, and the lands to the westward.

A committee formed for the purpose by joint action of the British Academy and the Palestine Exploration Fund is providing for a British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, intended to facilitate the researches of scholars into all periods of Palestinian history, to provide instruction and guidance for students, to train archaeological excavators and administrators, and to co-operate with the Palestine Exploration Fund. Arrangements have been concluded for cordial collaboration with the American School of Oriental Research. A site for the school has been secured. Professor J. Garstang is to be its first director. Under the new régime in Palestine and Mesopotamia great progress is to be expected.

Discovery in Greek Lands, by F. H. Marshall, an illustrated account of archaeological discoveries in Greece since 1870, is announced for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

The *Loeb Classical Library*, which has now grown to one hundred volumes, has lately been increased by the publication of the eighth volume of *Plutarch's Lives*, translated by Professor Bernadotte Perrin, and of the first volumes of Livy, namely books I. and II., with an English translation by Dr. B. O. Foster of Stanford University. The text is that of Weissenborn and Müller. The translation seems very good, though the fact that another, by Canon Roberts, is in course of publication in *Everyman's Library*, would seem to make it less necessary than versions of some other classics. A translation of Thucydides in four volumes, by C. Foster Smith of the University of Wisconsin, is also begun, volume I. embracing the first two books. The introduction and bibliography, somewhat strangely, make no mention of Jowett's or other existing translations. The present version seems careful and smooth.

W. W. Fowler has published through the Oxford University Press a volume entitled *Roman Essays and Interpretations*.

Dr. Donald McFayden, of the University of Nebraska, in a Chicago dissertation on *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire* (University of Chicago Press, 1920, pp. 67), written with much

learning and logical acuteness, discusses chiefly the reasons for the use of *Imperator* as a *praenomen*. It was so used by Julius and Augustus, but not by the succeeding emperors until Vespasian, who resumed it and from whose time it was in permanent use. Dr. McFayden makes pertinent criticisms of the somewhat artificial explanations advanced by Mommsen and others, and advances sensible suggestions, well fortified.

The first volume of *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europäischen Kulturentwicklung aus der Zeit von Cäsar bis auf Karl den Grossen* (Vienna, Seidel, 1918, pp. xi, 404) has been published by Alfons Dopsch.

The *Loeb Classical Library's* Procopius (Putnam), in its third volume, advances the *Histories* through the first two books of the Gothic Wars, books V. and VI.

Stéphane Gsell has issued the fourth volume of his monumental work on the *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris, Hachette, 1920), which deals with Carthaginian civilization.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Schäfer, *Die Anfänge der Reformation Amenophis des IV.* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, XXVI.); G. A. Reisner, *Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia* (Harvard Theological Review, January); A. Piganiol, *Les Attributions Militaires et les Attributions Religieuses du Tribunat de la Plèbe* (Journal des Savants, September); O. Viedebantt, *Hannibals Alpenübergang: eine Quellenkritische Vorstudie* (Hermes, LIV. 4); H. Oort, *Apollonius van Tyana* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LIII. 4); K. Benz, *Die Mithrasmysterien* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1); D. McFayden, *The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution* (American Journal of Theology, January); T. Birt, *Julian der Abtrünnige* (Deutsche Rundschau, August, September).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor E. von Dobschütz has edited *Die Hermes-Mystik und das Neue Testament* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1918, pp. xxi, 242) of Professor C. F. G. Heinrici.

Die Reste der Primitiven Religion im Ältesten Christentum (Gießen, Töpelmann, 1916, pp. viii, 172) is a recent contribution of Professor Carl Clemen of Bonn to the history of the origins of Christianity.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is publishing *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, edited by B. J. Kidd. The first volume extends to A. D. 313.

Writings of Clement of Alexandria—the Exhortation to the Greeks, the Rich Man's Salvation, and the fragment of an address entitled To the Newly Baptized—are published in Greek text, with English translation by G. W. Butterworth, in the *Loeb Classical Library* (Heinemann, Putnam).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Lietzmann, *Die Urform des Apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919, XVII.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Die Kaiserkrönungen in Rom und die Römer von Karl den Grossen bis Friedrich II., 800-1250 (Freiburg, Herder, 1919) is a contribution by Gerda Bäseler to the history of the Holy Roman Empire.

Mr. G. D. H. Cole, general editor of Methuen's new *Library of Social Studies*, will contribute to that series, in collaboration with M. I. Cole, a work on *Industry in the Middle Ages*.

F. Schneider has made a study of *Der Europäische Friedenskongress von Arras, 1435, und die Friedenspolitik Papst Eugens IV. und des Basler Konzils* (Greiz, Henning, 1919, pp. xvi, 230).

Medals of the Renaissance (Oxford University Press, pp. 204, 30 plates), by G. F. Hill, contains many portraits of historic personages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Oligier, *Petri Johannis Olivi, De Remuneratione Papae Coelestini V., Quaestio et Epistola* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, XI. 3); M. van Rhijn, *Middeleeuwse en Reformatorische Bijbelbeschouwing* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LIII. 4); J. M. Lenhart, O.M. Cap., *The "Open Bible" in Pre-Reformation Times* (Catholic World, February).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Rev. Robert H. Murray's *Erasmus and Luther* (S.P.C.K., pp. xxiii, 503) deals particularly with their attitude toward toleration.

Professor Auguste Leman of Lille has edited a *Recueil des Instructions Générales aux Nonces de France de 1624 à 1634* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 218) and has written an extended study of *Urbain VIII. et la Rivalité de la France et de la Maison d'Autriche de 1631 à 1635* (*ibid.*, pp. xx, 623).

The latest of F. M. Kircheisen's admirably illustrated contributions to the history of the Napoleonic period is *Napoleon im Lande der Pyramiden und seine Nachfolger, 1798-1801* (Munich, Müller, 1918, pp. xii, 356, 100 illustrations).

Dr. J. T. Merz, the author of *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, has brought out a volume supplementary to that work, entitled *A Fragment of the Human Mind* (Blackwood, pp. xv, 309).

A history of *Le Concile du Vatican d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1919), is by Professor Fernand Mourret of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice.

The *Handbook for the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia and Africa, 1870-1914* (pp. 482), prepared under the auspices of the National Board for Historical Service by Professors F. M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College, and A. S. Hershey, of the University of Indiana, under considerable pressure, but with the aid of many assisting contributors, for the uses of the Department of State in connection with the impending negotiations at Versailles, was for a time not procurable by the public. Now however copies can be obtained from the Government Printing Office, and many students will be glad to have this, not faultless but highly convenient, manual of modern diplomatic history, each section of which, beside concise but careful statements respecting facts and events, comprises excellent brief bibliographies.

The detailed diary of M. Korostovetz, when acting as secretary to Count Witte, at the Russo-Japanese peace conference at Portsmouth, N. H., in 1905, is included, together with the treaty, in the book entitled *Pre-War Diplomacy: the Russo-Japanese Problem* (pp. 160).

The new volume of Bismarck's *Memoirs*, covering his last years and his final relations with the Kaiser, is announced for early publication by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, who also have in preparation *The Kaiser's Letters to the Tsar, 1894-1914*, which have already appeared serially in certain newspapers. Later they will issue, in four volumes, a full and authoritative account of *The Peace Conference of Paris*, written by expert persons having first-hand knowledge of the inner workings of the conference, and edited by Majors (Professors) W. V. Temperley and C. K. Webster.

Viscount Haldane vindicates the policy of the government between January, 1906, and August, 1914, in a volume entitled *Before the War* (Cassell, pp. 208).

Diplomatic Reminiscences, by A. Nekludoff, translated from the French by Lady Alexander Paget and published by John Murray, records the observations of one who was Russian minister at Sofia in 1912 and 1913 and at Stockholm from 1914 to 1917, with abundant information also on affairs in Russia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. P. Whitney, *Erasmus* (English Historical Review, January); P. Kalkoff, *Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte Hadrians VI.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1); H. von Grauert, *Zur Geschichte des Weltfriedens, des Völkerrechts, und der Idee einer Liga der Nationen*, I. (*ibid.*); A. Fournier, *Die Pariser Friedenskonferenz von 1814; eine Historische Parallele* (Deutsche Rundschau, July); G. Lagny, *L'Angleterre et la France et les Stipulations Financières du Traité du 20 Novembre 1815, 1815-1818* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); P. Sagnac, *La Crise de l'Occident et la Question du Rhin: Essai sur l'Esprit Public en France et en Allemagne, 1830-1840*, I. (Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes, November-December);

E. Daniels, *Englisch-Französische Disharmonien: der Rückversicherungsvertrag vom 18. Juni 1887* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); A. Iswolsky, *Souvenirs de mon Ministère*, III., *Nicolas II. et Guillaume II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1).

THE GREAT WAR

The Library of Congress has reprinted its *Checklist of Literature and other Material in the Library of Congress on the European War*.

C. Daniélou has added a third volume to his work on *Responsabilités et Buts de Guerre* (Paris, Figuière, 1919). On the same subject A. Bazerque has contributed *Les Origines de la Guerre Mondiale: Responsabilités Lointaines et Responsabilités Immédiates* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. vi, 335). I. E. Guéchoff has naturally dealt mainly with Balkan matters in *La Genèse de la Guerre Mondiale* (Berne, Lib. Académique, 1919, pp. 165).

Der Weg zur Katastrophe (Berlin, Reiss, 1919), by K. F. Nowak, has an introduction by Field-Marshal Conrad von Hoetzendorf and contains much new information. The volume has already passed through numerous editions.

A Swiss diplomat, Dr. Cuno Hofer, has undertaken to recount the political history of the war and has already issued two volumes, *Die Keime des Grossen Krieges* (French edition: *Les Germes de la Grande Guerre*) and *Der Ausbruch des Grossen Krieges* (Zurich, Schulthess).

The Creighton Lecture for 1919, *The War and the European Revolution in relation to History*, by G. M. Trevelyan, has been published by the University of London Press, and is a stimulating and liberal-minded survey.

Professor A. F. Pollard's *Short History of the Great War* (Methuen) is one of the best accounts in one small volume; Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher has compressed into about 200 pages *A Short History of the War* (Murray).

The third volume of Hermann Stegemann's excellent *Geschichte des Krieges* (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt) begins with an account of the war on sea from August 2, 1914, to February 24, 1915, and ends with fifty pages on the Gallipoli campaign.

General Percin has endeavored in 1914: *les Erreurs du Haut Commandement* (Paris, Michel, 1920) to fix on certain high officials of the French army the responsibility for the invasion of France in 1914 and hence for the prolongation of the war. *La Genèse de la Bataille de la Marne, Septembre 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1919) is described by General H. Le Gros. General Cordonnier, a friend of General Nivelle, has replied to the recent volume of the ex-premier Paul Painlevé in *L'Arrêt de*

l'Offensive d'Avril 1917 (Paris, La Renaissance, 1919) which sets forth new facts and documents.

The English version of General von Kluck's book on *The March on Paris and the Battle of the Marne*, running from August 2 to September 16, 1914, has been published (London, Arnold) with notes by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense.

Der Grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen: die Schlacht bei Mons (Oldenburg, Stalling), is the latest of the series of German Great General Staff war-monographs, which, owing to the breakup of the general staff, will be indefinitely suspended. Earlier numbers of the series dealt with *Die Schlacht bei Longwy*, and with *Kämpfe in der Champagne (Winter 1914, Herbst 1915)*. The Great General Staff has also issued an analytical diary of the war, listing battles, fights, troops engaged, etc., under the title *Die Schlachten und Gefechte des Grossen Krieges, 1914-1918* (Berlin, Sack).

M. Maurice Barrès provides an introduction to *Behind the Scenes at German Headquarters* (Hurst and Blackett), by Henri Domelier, secretary of the municipal commission at the French town of Charleville, where the German General Staff had its headquarters from August, 1914, to the end of 1916, and the Kaiser and his personal household their residence.

General von Ludendorff defends himself, against the charge of losing the war, in three long pamphlets, *Das Scheitern der Neutralen Friedensvermittlung, August, September, 1918*; *Das Friedens- und Waffenstillstandsangebot*; and *Das Verschieben der Verantwortlichkeit* (Berlin, Mittler).

Der Europäische Krieg in Aktenmässiger Darstellung (Leipzig, Meiner), edited by Dr. F. Purlitz, has appeared as part of *Der Deutsche Geschichtskalender*, covering the history of the war from the outbreak to March, 1918, in eight volumes in twelve parts. Supplementary volumes have also been issued under the titles *Vom Waffenstillstand zum Frieden von Versailles*, *Die Deutsche Reichsverfassung*, containing the preliminary drafts and the final form of the new constitution; and *Diplomatische Enthüllungen*. The volumes contain many of the important documents of the political and diplomatic history of the war and the ensuing events. The same editor and publisher have begun the issue of *Die Deutsche Revolution*, of which the first volume covers events to February, 1919.

"*La Gazette des Ardennes*", *son Histoire, son Organisation, ses Collaborateurs* (Paris, Tallandier, 1919) is mainly a compilation of materials by G. Le Rouge and L. Chassereau on the notorious journal published and circulated by the Germans in the occupied territories of France during the war.

My Campaign in Mesopotamia (Thornton Butterworth), by Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Townshend, includes an account of his experiences as a prisoner of war, and his share in bringing about the Turkish surrender.

A German account of the naval phases of the Great War is *Der See- und Kolonialkrieg, 1914-1916, eine Schilderung der Ruhmestaten Deutscher Seeleute und Schutztruppen im Weltkriege* (vol. I., Halle, Mühlmann, 1919, pp. vi, 454) by Rear-Admiral M. Foss.

Admiral von Scheer's account of *Germany's High Sea Fleet in the World War* and the English edition of Marshal von Hindenburg's recollections, *Out of My Life*, are being issued by Cassell. The latter volume treats mainly of the World War.

Two volumes of the *History of the Great War* prepared by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defense are already on the point of publication by John Murray in London and by Messrs. Longmans in New York: volume I. of *The Merchant Navy in the War*, by Archibald Hurd, and volume I. of *Seaborne Trade*, by C. Ernest Fayle, both based on official documents supplied by the Admiralty, the Board of Trade, and the Ministry of Shipping, and illustrating aspects of modern warfare almost new to historians. *Merchantmen-at-Arms: the British Merchants' Service in the War* (London, Chatto and Windus), by David W. Bone, sets forth in excellent fashion, though unofficially, a part of the same important aspect of the history of the war. The first volume of the Committee's *Naval History of the War* is issued about the present time. The official narrative of the battle of Jutland is expected to be published soon after. The Admiralty are in possession of a report by Admiral von Scheer, the German commander-in-chief in that battle, and will publish it as an appendix to the official narrative.

The volumes of *Memories and Records* by Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher (London, Hodder and Stoughton) forms, whatever criticisms its self-assertion and pungency of expression may have provoked, an important contribution to naval history by a very able man.

Those who read from time to time in the newspapers the current comments of Captain L. Persius on German naval warfare will be much interested in *Der Seekrieg* (Charlottenburg, Weltbühne), a volume in which he says many interesting things, and many that he was in war-time not permitted to publish. Much light on such censorship is, by the way, conveyed in a very interesting book, *Was Wir als Kriegsberichterstatter nicht sagen dürften* (Munich, the author), by H. Binder, formerly official war correspondent with the German Supreme Command and now a Bavarian pressman, protesting against the methods of the press bureau of the Great General Staff.

The late Sir Edward Cook left ready for publication (London, Macmillan) an essay entitled *The Press in War-time, with some Account of*

the *Official Press Bureau*, of which bureau he was during the latter part of the war the official head.

While the following works are primarily technical accounts of the organization and activities of the respective branches of the service, they obviously afford much information of interest to the historical student. *L'Aéronautique pendant la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Brunoff, 1919, pp. 750) is by M. Marchis, professor of aviation at the Sorbonne; and *Les Services Automobiles pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Delagrave, 1920) by A. Navarre, secretary of the Automobile Union of France.

Strategic Camouflage: the Probing of a German Secret (London, Murray), by Solomon J. Solomon, R. A., who initiated the Camouflage Corps in the British army, is largely devoted to an exposition of the remarkable and vast landscape camouflage system employed by the Germans to conceal their great offensive of March, 1918.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has issued a study entitled *Effects of the War on Money, Credit, and Banking in France and the United States* (pp. 227), by B. M. Anderson, Ph.D. The monograph constitutes no. 15 of the series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*.

Dr. E. J. Dillon's *The Inside Story of the Peace Conference* (Harper) is the work of a journalist than whom no member of his craft present at Versailles had better information or a greater amount of pertinent experience.

A Kommentar zum Friedensvertrage von Versailles has been prepared by the competent hands of Dr. Walther Schücking, and is issued in five octavo volumes, with an additional volume containing texts of the pertinent diplomatic documents. The series may be obtained from Martinus Nijhoff, in the Hague, the price being about 150 marks.

L'Allemagne Vaincue (Paris, Bossard, 1920) is the somewhat misleading title of a volume by E. Lémonon on diplomatic events from 1917 through the peace conference. *Les Nouvelles Frontières d'Allemagne et la Nouvelle Carte d'Europe* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. xxxvi, 176) is by Charles Benoist, who has recently been compelled to discontinue his fortnightly political reviews in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* because of his appointment as French minister at the Hague.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. W. Foerster, *Zur Frage der Deutschen Schuld am Weltkrieg* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); L. Madelin, *La Bataille de France*, VI.-VII. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, 15); Marshal Pétain, *Rapport sur les Opérations de la II^e Armée en Champagne* (Les Archives de la Grande Guerre, December); Lieut.-Col. de Thomasson, *Les Mémoires de Falkenhayn* (Revue Hebdomadaire, December 20); General Buat, *Un Homme de Guerre Allemand: Ludendorff* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15, January 1); H.

Delbrück; *Ludendorff* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); E. Daniels, *Die Erinnerungen des Botschafters Morgenthau* (*ibid.*); Munroe Smith, *War Books by American Diplomats* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

An *Introduction to the Study of Beowulf*, by Dr. R. W. Chambers, will be brought out by the Cambridge University Press.

L. M. Hewlett's book on *Anglo-Gallic Coins* (A. H. Baldwin and Sons, pp. xvi, 278, plates) is reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and covers the period from the reign of Henry II. to that of Henry VI.

The Yale School of Law intends to publish, through the Yale University Press, a series of *Early English Law Texts*, prepared under the general editorship of Dr. George E. Woodbine. New editions of early legal treatises come first, such as Ranulf de Glanville's *Tractatus de Legibus* and Ralph de Hengham's *Summae, Magna et Parva*, and *Fleta*, and Fortescue *De Laudibus*; later, it is planned to issue some unpublished materials dealing with the early development of English law.

Messrs. Longmans have lately published for the Manchester University Press the first two (of four) volumes of a work entitled *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Seals*, upon which Professor T. F. Tout has been engaged for several years. These two volumes extend through the reign of Edward II.; two more will carry on the subject to the revolution of 1399. Professor Tout's short story of *Medieval Forgers and Forgeries* (pp. 31), has been brought out by the same publishers.

An important work on *The Evolution of Parliament* by Professor A. F. Pollard is being published by Longmans. Its object is to clear away the fictions of the seventeenth and later centuries relating to the origins and development of parliamentary institutions.

G. Brodnitz carries his narrative to the sixteenth century in the first volume of his *Englische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Jena, Fischer, 1918, pp. vii, 516).

The Royal Historical Society has added to its Camden Series two volumes, *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, respecting which the editor, C. L. Kingsford, states that next to the Paston letters they are by far the most considerable collection of private correspondence of the fifteenth century which has come to light.

The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions, by Miss Margaret Deanesly of Newnham College, is a large work based on original documents, announced for publication by the Cambridge University Press.

R. B. Mowat, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, writes of *Henry V.* in the *Kings and Queens of England* series, published by Constable.

England under the Yorkists, 1460-1485 (Longmans, pp. xx, 280), a source-book compiled by Isobel D. Thornley, of University College, includes a preface by Professor A. F. Pollard.

The Oxford University Press has lately published *Four Centres of Greek Learning in England*, the inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford in March, 1914, by the late Ingram Bywater, as regius professor of Greek.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing Dr. G. C. Williamson's *Life of George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland*, which portrays Cumberland not only as an Elizabethan buccaneer, but also as soldier and statesman.

In a monograph entitled *Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, August, 1919), H. S. V. Jones discusses the fundamental philosophy of Spenser's apology for Grey's Irish policy and the source from which this philosophy was derived.

C. M. Lloyd will contribute a volume on *The British Labour Movement* to Methuen's *Library of Social Studies*.

Two works tracing the development of modern industry are *Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century*, by C. R. Fay, to be published by the Cambridge University Press; and *A Social and Industrial History of England, 1815-1918*, by T. F. Rees of the University of Edinburgh, issued by Methuen.

Portraits of the 'Eighties, by Mr. Horace Hutchinson, containing sketches and recollections of persons prominent in public and social affairs of the period, will be issued through Fisher Unwin.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for January has articles on the causes of the Highland emigrations of 1783-1803, by Margaret I. Adam; Old Edinburgh, by Sir J. B. Paul; a note on Scottish Middle Templars, 1604-1689, with a list of the same, by C. E. A. Bedwell, and the first installment of the minutes of the Fenwick Improvement of Knowledge Society, 1834-1842.

The third and fourth volumes of *Ireland under the Normans, 1216-1333* (Oxford University Press) complete this detailed study by G. H. Orpen.

New volumes announced for Fisher Unwin's series *Modern Ireland in the Making*, are Professor Henry's *The Evolution of Sinn Féin*, and *The Constitutional Home Rule Movement*. The former covers the period from the death of Parnell; the latter, from Isaac Butt to the death of John Redmond.

British government publication: *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Venice and Northern Italy*, vol. XXII., 1629-1632, ed. A. B. Hinds (pp. lviii, 792).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Jost, *Kirchliche und Religiöse Zustände in England vom Tode König Alfreds bis zur Normannischen Eroberung* (Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift, XXXVI. 5); R. Stewart-Brown, *The End of the Norman Earldom of Chester* (English Historical Review, January); E. R. Turner, *Small Councils and Cabinets in England* (Sewanee Review, January-March); H. H. Brown, *The Old Scots Law of Heresy* (Juridical Review, December); L. M. Sears, *British Industry and the American Embargo* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, November); R. L. Schuyler, *The British Cabinet, 1916-1919* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

FRANCE

The *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXIX. 497-499, reports the destruction of the archives of the port of Bordeaux in the burning of the naval storehouse of that place in March, 1919. They extended over the years 1726-1879, and their value was of wide scope. Included among them was a series of volumes relating to privateers during the American Revolution. A brief inventory of the archives was printed by M. Lacoste in the *Revue Maritime* for December, 1906.

The Bibliothèque Nationale has recently received the manuscript bibliography of the history of French literature compiled by the late Émile Picot. It comprises over 250,000 cards and is especially valuable for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France, founded shortly before the outbreak of the war, has resumed activity and will publish as its organ a *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*. The general secretary of the society and editor of the *Revue* is Victor Carrière, 212 Rue de Rivoli, Paris. The dues including the subscription to the *Revue* are twenty francs a year.

The development of the regionalist movement in France in the years immediately preceding the war and its effects on war-time legislation and administration are recounted and discussed in *L'Évolution Régionaliste* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. xv, 239) by F. Jean-Desthieux. The volume takes account of the process of decentralization not only in economic and administrative matters but especially in education.

In the fifth and sixth volumes of his masterly *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, Hachette, 1920) M. Camille Jullian deals respectively with the material conditions and with the moral factors of the Gallo-Roman civilization. The governmental conditions were treated in the fourth volume.

Bassompierre's memoirs and accounts of his diplomatic missions are the basis of a two-volume work entitled *A Gallant of Lorraine: François de Bassompierre, Maréchal de France, 1579-1640* (Hurst and Blackett) by H. Noel Williams.

Saint-Simon: la France de Louis XIV. (Paris, Hachette) is the title of a volume of lectures by René Doumic.

The Fall of Feudalism in France, by Sydney Herbert, is to be issued in Methuen's *Library of Social Studies*.

A biographical study of *Frédéric de Dietrich, Premier Maire de Strasbourg sous la Révolution Française* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919), by G. G. Ramon, is a timely publication. Under the title *Un Allemand en France sous la Terreur* (Paris, Perrin, 1920), W. Bauer has translated and edited the souvenirs of Frederick Christian Laukhard. A. Kuscinski has completed the publication of his *Dictionnaire des Conventionnels* (Paris, Rieder, 1919) on which he has been engaged for many years.

An English translation of *The Life of Gambetta*, by Paul Deschanel, president of France, reviewed on a previous page, will be published in London by Heinemann.

Paul Vergnet has attempted to give an account of the several phases of *L'Affaire Caillaux* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1920).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Tardif, *Le Procès d'Enguerran de Coucy* [cont.] (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXIX.); Sir Geoffrey Butler, *Roman Law and the New Monarchy in France* (English Historical Review, January); J. H. Mariéjol, *Catherine de Médicis, Dauphine et Reine* (Revue de Paris, January 1); F. K. Mann, *Der Politische Ideengehalt von John Laws Finanzsystem: ein Beitrag zur Staatslehre des Absolutismus* (Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, August); C. Ballot, *Philippe de Girard et l'Invention de la Filature Mécanique du Lin* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, VII. 2); G. Lenotre, *Le Roi Louis XVII., I.-III.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1, 15, January 1); Louise Lévi, *Saint-Just, était-il un Disciple de Robespierre?* (Révolution Française, October); G. Schelle, *Le Relèvement Économique de la France après la Révolution* (Journal des Économistes, November); H. A. Gibbons, *The Caillaux Case* (Century, February).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Two highly important recent contributions to the history of the intellectual development of Italy are Signora V. Benetti-Brunelli's *Le Origini Italiane della Scuola Umanistica* (Rome, Soc. ed. Dante Alighieri), and J. Roger Charbonnel's *La Pensée Italienne au XVI^e Siècle et le Courant Libertain* (Paris, Champion).

Students of Spanish history will welcome the first volume of a series of bibliographies dealing with the *Fuentes de la Historia Española*, compiled by B. Sánchez Alonso, and published, with a prefatory note by Professor R. Altamira, under the auspices of the Junta para Ampliación

de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos (Madrid, 1919, pp. xxi, 448). This volume lists only printed sources, documents, and works of investigation, including articles in periodicals, which illustrate the national political history of Spain from the ante-Roman period to 1898. The titles, which number nearly 7000, are arranged mainly in chronological order. Sources treating of Hispano-American relations are not included, but will probably be the subject of the next volume.

The second volume of *Estudios Históricos, 1515-1555* (Madrid, Imp. Clásica Española, 1919, pp. 371), by F. de Laiglesia, is concerned with *Organización de la Hacienda en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XVI*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Ashby, *Archaeological Research in Italy* (Times Literary Supplement, January 15, 22).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The period from 1197 to 1227 is dealt with in the first part of the sixth volume of Emil Michael's *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom 13. Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, Herder, 1915, pp. xxii, 512). The author is a member of the Society of Jesus and a professor in the University of Innsbruck.

Professor A. Werminghoff's *Ludwig von Eyb der Aeltere, 1417 bis 1502* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1919, pp. xii, 614) is an important contribution to the history of Hohenzollern rule in Brandenburg in the fifteenth century. The volume precludes the publication of the writings of Eyb.

The thirty-second volume of *Die Chroniken der Deutschen Städte vom 14.-16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917, pp. viii, cxliv, 589) is the seventh on Augsburg and contains the journal of P. H. Mair for the important years 1547-1565, edited with full introduction and apparatus by Professor F. Roth.

As the newest volume of the *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven* has appeared the *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1919, pp. v, 599). The volume covers the period from May, 1663, to December, 1666, and was edited by the late O. Meinardus.

Dr. F. Vollmer has contributed as the fifty-sixth volume of the *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica* a study of *Die Preussische Volksschulpolitik unter Friedrich dem Grossen* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1918, pp. xiv, 333) which is largely devoted to the General-Landschul-Reglement of August 12, 1763.

Professor Max Lenz has completed his *Geschichte der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses). The third volume contains the account of the associated insti-

tutions, and the fourth volume is made up of documentary materials, while the narrative occupies the earlier volumes.

The *Life of Goethe* prepared by the late Professor P. Hume Brown of Edinburgh is shortly to be published in two volumes by John Murray.

A concise and timely account of *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung: eine Geschichtliche Studie über die Frankfurter Paulskirche* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1919, pp. viii, 172) is by Veit Valentin.

Eduard Engel has edited *Kaiser Friedrichs Tagebuch, mit Einleitung und Aktenstücken* (Halle, Diekmann, 1919, pp. 153). The volume claims to be the first complete edition but the small amount of new material reveals little excuse for the previous suppression of portions of the diary.

A study of *L'Armée Allemande avant et pendant la Guerre de 1914-1918* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. viii, 368) has been brought out by Professor P. Camena d'Almeida of Bordeaux.

Professor Charles Andler has published a compilation of materials relating to *La Décomposition Politique du Socialisme Allemand, 1914-1917* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 250).

Dr. F. Salomon, whose manuals of German party programmes had considerable currency before the war, has added to that material for students' use a further pamphlet, *Die Neuen Parteiprogramme mit den letzten der Alten Parteien zusammengestellt* (Leipzig, Teubner).

The English edition of the new documents supplementing the recent Austrian Red Book will be brought out by Allen and Unwin (London) under the title *Austrian Red Book: Files pertaining to Pre-War History*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Mediaeval Germany* (American Journal of Theology, January); H. Herre, *Das Reichskriegssteuergesetz vom Jahre 1422* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXVII. 1); O. Schiff, *Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte des Bauernkrieges* (ibid.); B. Duhr, *Die Jesuiten am Hofe zu München in der Zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

De Raad van State nevens Matthias, 1578-1581 (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1917, pp. 145), is the subject of a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Leiden by J. C. H. de Pater.

The first fruits of Dr. H. T. Colenbrander's professorship of colonial history at Leiden will be a series of five large volumes entitled, *Jan Pietersz Coen: Bescheiden omtrent zijn Bedrijf in Indië*, which will for the first time set forth with full documentation the work of the founder of the Dutch empire in the East Indies, 1614-1629. Volume I. (pp. xx,

854), comprising the letters sent home by Coen, has already been published by Nijhoff.

J. M. Plante-Fébure has written *West-Indië in het Parlement 1897-1917: Bijdrage tot Nederland's Koloniaal-Politieke Geschiedenis* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1919, pp. 12, 196).

H. Vander Linden's *Belgium: a General Sketch of its History from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Great War*, translated by Sybil Jane, forms a new volume in the series of *Histories of the Nations* published by the Oxford University Press.

The latest issue of the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, of Belgium, the publication of which is happily resumed, contains the proceedings of May 4, 1914. The communications consist of: Claus van Lit, *Maitre de l'Artillerie de Gand au XIV^e Siècle*, by Napoléon de Pauw; *Petit Manuel d'un Bailli du XV^e Siècle*, by Léo Verriest; and *Avis sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas adressé à l'Archiduc Albert par Philippe de Croy, Comte de Solre*.

Noteworthy article in periodical: C. Terlinden, *The History of the Scheldt*, I. (History, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Capt. William P. Cresson, formerly secretary of the American embassy at Petrograd, has written a historical study of *The Cossacks, their History and Country* (New York, Brentano).

Professor Theodor Schiemann has issued the fourth volume of his *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I.* (Berlin, Gruyter, 1919, pp. xii, 435) which completes the narrative from 1840 to the close of the reign.

Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg, ein Geschichtlicher Ueberblick (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1919, pp. viii, 590) is an extended study by A. Fischl.

A history of *Russia in Rule and Misrule* (Murray, pp. xii, 241), by Brig.-Gen. C. R. Ballard, records events of the reign of Nicholas II. and of the revolution to 1917 and attempts to present a Russian point of view.

From the pen of General A. A. Noskov (Jason) comes an interesting volume on *Nicolas II. Inconnu; Commandant Suprême, Allié, Chef d'État* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 304).

Émile Laloy has furnished a French translation of *Les Documents Secrets des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Russie publiés par les Bolchéviks* (Paris, Bossard, 1919).

Dr. Paul Miliukov is publishing through Allen and Unwin a work entitled *Bolshevism an International Danger: its Doctrine and its Practice through War and Revolution*.

The narrative is carried to the end of the reign of Alexander III. in the first volume of the *Histoire du Mouvement Révolutionnaire en Russie* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 320), by J. W. Bienstock, which promises to be the best work in the field. R. Labry has compiled and translated the laws, decrees, and proclamations of the Bolshevik government under the title *Une Législation Communiste* (*ibid.*, pp. xx, 588). *Les Bolchéviks Jugés par Eux-mêmes: Documents des Soviets de 1917* (Paris, Rirachovsky, 1919, pp. 96) is a small compilation by B. Sokolov, translated into French.

P. G. La Chesnais has furnished an account of *La Guerre Civile en Finlande, Janvier-Avril 1918* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 200).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Duchesne, *Le Concile de 1551 et le Stoglav* (*Revue Historique*, September); A. Iswolsky, *Nicolas II.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); J. W. Bienstock, *Un Précurseur des Bolchéviks: Netchaiev* (*Mercure de France*, January 1); Baron Boris Nolde, *Le Règne de Lénine* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 15); Prince Eugene Trubetzkoi, *The Bolshevik and the Religious Movement in Russia* (*Hibbert Journal*, January).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Jean Hatzfeld is the author of *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* (Paris, Boccard, 1920, pp. 424).

General Regnault has collected his notes jotted down from day to day in a volume entitled *La Conquête d'Athènes, Juin-Juillet, 1917* (Paris, Fournier, 1919, pp. 264). The publication of the volume was delayed by the censorship till after the signature of the peace treaty.

In form similar to that of Ishirkoff and Llatarski's *The Bulgarians* (see vol. XXIV., p. 330, of this journal) and with a similar propagandist intention, the Greek Bureau of Foreign Information publishes a useful book of maps and text (25 maps, historical and ethnological) on *The Question of Thrace: Greeks, Bulgars, and Turks* (London, Stanford) by J. Saxon Mills and Matthew G. Chrussachi.

Gabriel Deville, former French minister at Athens, has written *L'Entente, la Grèce, et la Bulgarie* (Paris, Figuière, 1919, pp. 335). Serbia's story is told by L. Marchovitch in *La Serbie et l'Europe, 1914-1918* (Bâle, 1919, pp. 334). *Les Bulgares devant le Congrès de la Paix* (Berne, 1919, pp. 304) is by J. Ivanov. The observations made by René Puaux as a special correspondent of the *Temps* on the ambitions and activities of the Greeks for the domination of the Aegean are recorded in *L'Égée* (Paris, Payot, 1919).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Nekludoff, *Souvenirs Diplomatiques: auprès de Ferdinand de Bulgarie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Day of the Crescent, a work by G. E. Hubbard, consisting mainly of stories from travel-books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries illustrating life in Turkey, is forthcoming from the Cambridge University Press.

The Memoirs of Naim Pasha: Turkish Official Documents relating to the Deportations and Massacres of Armenians is being published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton.

A work of the greatest value to the historian and philologist, as well as to the scientist, is *Sino-Iranica* (pp. 185-630), by Berthold Laufer, a publication of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropological Series, vol. XV., no. 3. The main task of the author is to trace the history of all objects of material culture in their migration from Persia to China (*Sino-Iranica*), and others transmitted from China to Persia (*Irano-Sinica*).

Professor E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia under the Tartar Dominion* is being published by the Cambridge University Press.

New Light on Ser Marco Polo (Murray) is a volume by Professor Henri Cordier supplementary to his revised edition of Sir Henry Yule's translation of *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*. This new volume of addenda includes information derived from the travels of Sir Aurel Stein, Sven Hedin, Pelliot, Kozlov, and others, as well as material from old books.

The Oxford University Press is publishing part I. of *Kharosthi Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart.

Mr. William Foster's *Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode) describes briefly and classifies a mass of papers amounting to 48,000 volumes, and will be an indispensable manual to all workers in the history of India during the period of the Company.

A member of the Rowlatt Commission, Sir Verney Lovett, K. C. S. I., bases mostly upon Indian authorities his *History of the Nationalistic Movement in India* from its commencement up to the end of April, 1919; it is published in London by John Murray and in New York by the Frederick A. Stokes Company.

Modern China: a Political Study, by Sih Gung Cheng, forms one of the *Histories of the Nations* series, published by the Oxford University Press.

An Histoire Moderne du Pays d'Annam, 1592-1820; Étude sur les Premiers Rapports des Européens et des Annamites et l'Établissement de la Dynastie de Nguyen (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 406) is by Dr. C. B. Maybon.

South Australian Exploration to 1856 (pp. 118), by Gwenneth Williams, is no. 2 of the series of *Historical Compilations based upon the Study of Original Documents*, published by the Board of Governors of the Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery of South Australia (Adelaide, Hassel, 1919). The monograph includes ten maps.

The Hakluyt Society has published the Diary of Máximo Rodríguez as the third volume of the work entitled *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti* by emissaries of Spain during the years 1772-1776, told in despatches and other contemporary documents, translated and edited by Bolton G. Corney.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. W. Willoughby, *Japan and Korea* (Unpartizan Review, January-February).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A comprehensive survey of the history of Africa has been furnished by A. Moulin in *L'Afrique à travers les Ages* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1920, pp. 529).

The Clarendon Press is issuing a series of some 250 Coptic texts, hitherto unpublished, collected by W. E. Crum since the appearance of his *Coptic Ostraca*. The work contains indexes but no translations.

In *La France au Maroc* (Paris, Colin, 1919) Berthe Georges-Gaulis has given an account of the work of General Lyautey. André Chevrillon has dealt with Moroccan affairs in his characteristically able manner in the volume *Marrakech dans les Palmes* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1920). Another descriptive work on recent events and present conditions in Morocco is *Au Maroc* by Comte M. de Périgny which has just been completed with a third volume (Paris, Roger, 1920) on Casablanca and Rabat. The first volume dealt with Fez, and the second with Marrakesh and the small ports of the south.

The Republic of Liberia (Allen and Unwin) by R. C. F. Maugham, treats of the subject from many aspects, including the historical.

Zanzibar, Past and Present (Unwin, pp. xii, 431), by Maj. Francis B. Pearce, British resident there, treats of the history, anthropology, archaeology, and resources of the sultanate.

The third volume of Mr. G. E. Cory's *The Rise of South Africa* (Longmans) runs from 1834 to 1838, fateful years; the fourth and concluding volume will extend to 1857.

Kruger's coadjutor for many years, Dr. W. J. Leyds, is the author of *The Transvaal Surrounded* (Fisher Unwin, pp. xxiv, 603), which continues his earlier volume, *The First Annexation of the Transvaal*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. G. Botha, *Early Cape Land Tenure* (South African Law Journal, May, August).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The *Annual Report* of the Librarian of Congress for the year 1919 records (pp. 31-44) many noteworthy accessions to the Division of Manuscripts. The more important of these have already been mentioned in these pages, but attention may properly be called to them here: papers of Presidents Tyler, Buchanan, Roosevelt, and Taft; important records of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; Beaumarchais papers; letters of Earl Macartney (1777-1779); papers of Philip Mazzei, the Rodneys, John Rodgers, David B. Warden, John Lloyd (merchant of Alexandria), Willie P. Mangum, John Randolph of Roanoke, John P. Hatch, John C. Underwood, John Sherman, Walt Whitman, and bodies of transcripts from foreign archives. These accessions are listed in detail in appendix III. of the *Report* (pp. 143-168).

The Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress has more recently acquired a letter-book of Samuel Hodgdon, intendant of stores, U. S. army, 1795-1798; a letter-book of the deputy quartermaster of the state of Pennsylvania, 1781-1782; John Holker papers, 1776-1822, about 2000 pieces; Joseph H. Nicholson papers, 1789-1816, about 740 pieces; some 500 papers of John Fisher, assistant deputy quartermaster at Fish-kill, 1778-1784; some 500 miscellaneous papers, 1781-1820, dealing with the French and Spanish administration of Louisiana; drafts of the official despatches to France of Comte de Menou, chargé d'affaires in Washington, 1821-1826; and some miscellaneous papers of Amos Kendall relating to the Cherokee claims, 1832-1880.

Writings on American History, 1917, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin, has come from the press (Yale University Press), and, as usual, furnishes indispensable guidance to a year's product, listed with extraordinary completeness and care. In its 181 pages, 2833 items are catalogued. Members of the American Historical Association should interest themselves in increasing its sales.

Mr. William F. Jacob, chairman of a committee which is engaged in preparing a directory of special libraries in the United States, would be glad if the librarians of any special collections would send him brief data respecting the character and scope of their collections. They should be sent to William F. Jacob, librarian, General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of References on Shipping and Shipbuilding* (pp. 303), compiled under the direction of Herman H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer.

The *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, whose vol. XXVIII. appeared in July, 1914, now comes forward again with a very welcome vol. XXIX. (pp. 303), published all at once and devoted to studies of the United

States, its history, and the pursuit of French history in this country. Here are excellent studies on the economic factor in United States history (A. Viallate), on the development of philosophic thought in this country (E. Leroux), on Woodrow Wilson and J. F. Rhodes as historians (G. Weill), on American religion, poetry, humor, and architecture, and an especially excellent paper on the press in America. The surveys of American work in French history are by Professors Haskins, Thompson, Fling, and Hazen. The whole volume will richly repay the American scholar who reads it. Publication of a number of this journal every two months, and thus of two volumes per annum, begins with February, 1920. The subscription, in this country, is thirty francs; the publisher is Léopold Cerf, 3 rue Ste. Anne.

The contents of the January number of the *Historical Outlook* include an account of How American Aviators were trained, by Col. Hiram Bingham, and Price-Fixing in Revolutionary France: a Source Study for College Classes, by Professor H. E. Bourne. In the February number Professor R. V. D. Magoffin discourses upon Morale Work in an Army Camp; Mr. Morgan P. Robinson describes what he calls Virginia's Historical Laboratory, that is, the work of "archival apprentices" in the Virginia State Library; and Edith M. Clark presents a study of the History Curriculum since 1850. There are also an account of the Cleveland meeting of the American Historical Association, by Dr. C. A. Coulomb, and a report of the conference then held on the teaching of history. In the March number Professor Guy S. Ford gives an account of the work of the Committee on Public Information, Mr. B. M. Jaquish describes the Evolution of our Present Calendar and a perpetual one derived from it, Professor A. M. Schlesinger discusses the History Situation in Colleges and Universities, 1919-1920, and Mr. M. E. Brandon the "Project Problem Method" in History. There are also supplementary papers relating to the conference at Cleveland on history teaching.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for January contains the following articles: The Catholic Church in America in 1819, by Rev. J. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., based on the *Notizie Varie* of Father Grassi published in Milan in 1818; the Episcopal Career of Bishop McQuaid of Rochester (1868-1902), by Rev. Frederick J. Zwierlein; and Eusebio Kino (1641-1711), by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. Of especial importance to students of church history is a catalogue compiled by Professor Peter Guilday of documents in the archives of the province of Westminster, England, relating to American church history.

Included in the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are: the address of the president, Edward J. Galbally, at the annual meeting of the society in December; an article concerning Cardinal Mercier's uncle, Mgr. Adrian J. Croquet, by T. C.

B.; one concerning Father L. Conrardy, leper missionary in Hawaii and China, by Rev. J. van der Heyden; a continuation of the papers relating to the San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia; and some letters selected from the cathedral archives, Philadelphia. Principal among the latter are letters from Peter R. Kenrick, archbishop of St. Louis, to Mark Antony Frenaye (1849).

The French Blood in America, by Lucian J. Fosdick, is published by Richard G. Badger of Boston in an edition identical in all respects with the editions of 1906 and 1911 of the same work. It is principally a study of French Protestantism, the main part of the book being devoted to an account of the Huguenots in different parts of the United States.

The Čechs (Bohemians) in America: a Study of their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic, and Religious Life, by Thomas Čapek, comes from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company.

Articles in the January number of the *Journal of Negro History* are: the Negro in Education, by Loretta Funke; the Negro Migration to Canada after 1850, by Fred Landon; the Relations of Negroes and Indians in Massachusetts, by C. G. Woodson; and a sketch, by Frank Cundall, of Richard Hill (1795-1872), a native of Jamaica, active in earlier life in politics and anti-slavery work and later in scientific and historical pursuits. The most important documentary contribution is a compilation, by Monroe N. Work, of facts relating to negro members of reconstruction conventions and legislatures and of Congress.

The Abingdon Press announces for publication this spring *Steps in the Development of American Democracy*, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin.

It is announced that Henry Holt and Company will bring out in May a volume of essays by Professor Frederick J. Turner, with the title *The Frontier in American History*.

D. Appleton and Company expect to bring out shortly a *History of American Journalism*, by George Henry Payne.

The Macmillan Company has published *An Introduction to the History of American Diplomacy* (pp. 63), by Professor Carl R. Fish.

Mr. William M. Meigs has brought out through the Neale Publishing Company a study entitled *The Relation of the Judiciary to the Constitution*.

Hesperia, an American National Poem, by Professor Harry L. Koopman, librarian of Brown University (Providence, Preston and Rounds), attempts to make more impressive by poetic dress the story of the American nation. The six cantos thus far published deal respectively with the Indian's religion, the sixteenth century's vision of an ideal society (here put in the mouth of Parmenius), the voyage of the *May-*

flower, the strivings of Roger Williams in behalf of soul-liberty, Oglethorpe's humanitarian experiment, and Edwards's reasonings on the sovereignty of God. Mr. Koopman shows much insight into the true philosophy of the story, much appreciation of its inspiring qualities.

Bulletin no. 69 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a study of the *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi* (pp. 111), by David I. Bushnell, jr. Mr. Bushnell's volume brings together much of the descriptive material found in books of travel and other historical sources. The volume includes a section of the La Harpe manuscript map (*ca.* 1720) and numerous plans and other illustrations.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Under the auspices of a distinguished Dutch committee, the departure of the Pilgrim Fathers from Holland will be celebrated, on August 29–September 2 of this year. On the Sunday there will be memorial services in the Bagynekerk in Amsterdam and in the ancient Scots Church in Rotterdam. A congress of two days will be held at Leiden, in the university and the Pieterskerk, with addresses by prominent Dutch and American scholars and speakers. On September 2, American members of the congress will be taken, as the Pilgrims were taken, by canal-boats from Leiden to Delfshaven, now a part of Rotterdam, where there will be a concert of sacred music in the cathedral of St. Lawrence and a service in the old Delfshaven church. For a more permanent memorial of the tercentennial, and of American gratitude for Dutch hospitality, it is proposed to erect in Delfshaven, at the place of departure, a home for American sailors visiting the port of Rotterdam, "*The Pilgrims' Rest, Speedwell*". Contributions for this purpose may be sent to Rev. J. Irwin Brown, minister of the Scots Church in Rotterdam. After the Dutch celebration there will be celebrations in England, at Southampton, Plymouth, and Scrooby.

The Dutch committee also is preparing to publish in August, under the editorial care of its secretary, Dr. D. Plooi, a handsome historical volume, containing facsimiles of documents relating to the Pilgrims, such as betrothal and marriage records, or papers in legal cases, found in the archives of Amsterdam and Leiden, Winwood's letters, etc., with text, and with English translations and notes by Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

Isaack de Rasière's celebrated report of 1628 to Samuel Blommaert respecting New Netherland and New Plymouth, though published more than once in English, has, it seems, never been printed in full in the original Dutch. Its text, from the Rijksarchief at the Hague, is now printed by Dr. A. Eekhof in the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s., XV., with a learned and interesting introduction.

The Library of Congress has issued a *List of the Washington Manuscripts from the Year 1592 to 1775* (pp. 137), prepared from the original

manuscripts in the Library of Congress by John C. Fitzpatrick, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division. The Washington manuscripts purchased by the government in 1834 and 1849, which constitute the main body of the collection in the Library, are now all repaired, mounted, and bound in 302 royal folio volumes; this *List* covers the first fifteen and a part of the sixteenth volume, that is, to June 17, 1775, the last paper preceding Washington's commission as commander-in-chief, which is dated June 29.

Mr. F. Regis Noel, of the bar of the District of Columbia, has prepared at the instance of a committee of that bar, and privately published, *A History of the Bankruptcy Law* (pp. 209), in which he reviews, with much care and knowledge, bankruptcy legislation in foreign countries and in the American colonies and states prior to the constitutional convention of 1787, the history of federal legislation under the eighth section of article I. of the Constitution, and judicial interpretation of the clause respecting bankruptcy therein comprised.

In the fortnightly publication called the *Mentor* (New York, Mentor Association), Mr. George S. Bryan puts forth an attractively illustrated pamphlet on *Pioneers of the West*.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published part 2, I-Q (pp. 795-1331) of Miss Adelaide R. Hasse's *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*.

The Library Employees' Union of Greater New York has prepared an annotated check-list of books and articles on industrial parliaments, labor councils, shop committees, and work councils, to which is given the title *Industrial Democracy, 1848-1919*.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published the Civil War journal of Col. Thomas L. Livermore, with the title *Days and Events, 1860-1866*.

Mr. Paul L. Haworth has in press a volume called *The United States in our Own Times, 1865-1920* (Scribner) primarily designed as a college text, but also intended to be useful to the general reader.

The Restoration of the Southern Railroads (pp. 28), by Professor Carl R. Fish, appears in the series of *Studies in the Social Sciences and History* of the University of Wisconsin.

The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884, by Harrison C. Thomas, is a recent issue of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (vol. LXXXIX., no. 2).

The Life and Times of Henry Gassaway Davis, 1823-1916, by Charles M. Pepper, comes from the press of the Century Company.

The autobiographical chronicle of Henry Watterson, long-time editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, bears the title *Marse Henry* (Doran). It is in two volumes.

Memories of Buffalo Bill, written by his wife in collaboration with C. R. Cooper (Appleton, pp. 326), is not a book that naturally lends itself to formal review in a "three-decker" quarterly like this, but it is a book by no means negligible by the historian. The reader, beside being carried on by much of the same pleasure with which in former times he has watched the Wild West Show, will get from the book copious and valuable drafts of the atmosphere of a bygone period, of a region since transformed, and see a substantially heroic type of man now extinct.

Mrs. Thomas J. Preston, jr., formerly Mrs. Grover Cleveland, has entrusted to Professor Robert M. McElroy of Princeton University the task of preparing the authorized *Life and Letters* of President Cleveland. The work is the same to which we previously called attention in connection with the name of Mr. William G. Rice, and we repeat the request that any persons who have letters of Mr. Cleveland should communicate with the author. The biography will be published by Harper and Brothers; some portions will appear serially in *Harper's Magazine* before the publication of the book.

The widow of Walter Q. Gresham, secretary of state under President Cleveland, has written a life of her husband, in two volumes, which Rand, McNally, and Company have printed. The work bears the title *Life of Walter Quintin Gresham, 1832-1895*, by Matilda Gresham.

Mr. James Morgan's *Theodore Roosevelt, the Boy and the Man*, first brought out in 1907, is now published in a new edition (Macmillan, 1920, pp. 350) with additional brief chapters bringing the story down to Roosevelt's death. The boyish element in that great man, his unflagging vivacity, and the many ways in which his career is an inspiration to young citizens, give excellent opportunity for a boy's book of this sort, and Mr. Morgan's book meets the opportunity in a most spirited and interesting manner.

Selected Addresses and Public Papers of Theodore Roosevelt, compiled and edited, with an introduction, by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, is announced for publication this month by Boni and Liveright.

The well-known French publicist, Charles Maurras, has paid his compliments to the president of the United States in *Les Trois Aspects du Président Wilson* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1920).

Woodrow Wilson and his Work, by Professor William E. Dodd, will be published this spring by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

Some Letters of Augustus Peabody Gardner, edited by his widow, Mrs. Constance Gardner, is from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company. The letters pertain especially to Major Gardner's services in the Spanish-American War, in the Massachusetts state senate, and in Congress.

Leonard Wood: Administrator, Soldier, Citizen, by W. H. Hobbs, is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. *Leonard Wood, Conservator of Americanism: a Biography*, by Eric F. Wood, is from the press of George H. Doran Company.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

A concluding volume entitled *Woodrow Wilson and the Great War* will be added to the series called *The Chronicles of America* (Yale University Press) and will be prepared by Professor Charles Seymour of Yale.

The December issue of the *Monthly List of State Publications* published by the Library of Congress will be especially valued as containing a tentative check-list of state publications relating to the European war, so extensive as to fill seventy pages.

A Handbook of Economic Agencies of the War of 1917 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919, pp. 539), prepared in the Historical Branch of the War Plans Division of the General Staff, presents historical notes upon several hundred agencies which had a part in the processes of economic mobilization. It is based on careful and comprehensive inquiries and on information officially supplied, and is arranged in alphabetical order.

America during Five Years of War, 1914-1919 (pp. 51), by R. L. Ashley, is issued as a supplement to the author's *American History* (Macmillan).

Gen. Peyton C. March has written an introduction for Lieut.-Col. Édouard Réquin's volume, *America's Race to Victory*, which is published by Messrs. Stokes.

The Historical Report of the Chief Engineer of the American Expeditionary Force, 1917-1919, covering all operations of the engineer department during those two years, has lately been issued by the War Department as its document no. 907 (pp. 437, one plate, nine maps). General Pershing's report as commander-in-chief is also obtainable from the Government Printing Office (pp. 96, nine plates, seven maps).

The *Report* of the surgeon general of the United States army to the Secretary of War, 1919, which has appeared in two bulky volumes, contains much material for a history of the training camps (Washington, Government Printing Office).

The United States marine corps has brought out a preliminary *History of the United States Marine Corps in the World War*, prepared by Maj. Edward N. McClellan, the officer who, in succession to Maj. T. H. Low, has lately had charge of the historical division of the marine corps, and previously was its representative in France.

A Pictorial History of the World War: also America's Great Feat of Arms, etc., by S. J. Duncan-Clark, is put forth in Chicago by L. W. Walter Company. The same publishers have brought out a volume bearing the title *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, etc., by E. J. Scott.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The New Hampshire Historical Society has recently received the papers of Gen. John Stark, in three volumes. These papers are a gift from Mr. Arthur Winslow of Boston, Admiral Cameron M. Winslow, and their sister, Miss Sarah Winslow.

The secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in order to secure its historical archives from destruction, is taking the unusual and expensive course of having copies made, for preservation in another building. It will be agreed by historical scholars that the method has little to recommend it, in comparison either with extensive publication or the erection of a perfectly fire-proof building. The office of commissioner of records has been abolished.

We have received, as a separate reprint from vol. XX. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (pp. 286-462), Professor Edmund B. Delabarre's Recent History of Dighton Rock. The present, and apparently concluding, installment of the writer's learned investigation covers the period from the beginning of Rafn's inquiries to the present day, investigates carefully all previous deductions and surmises, and presents, among other findings of his own, a fresh conjecture—that the inscription may contain the name of Miguel Cortereal.

Mr. George F. Dow, 2 Lynde Street, Boston, having occasion to search through the files of eighteenth-century Boston newspapers, presently, for two subjects, offers to conduct at the same time, in an economical fashion, a parallel search for any other subjects on which information is desired by historical inquirers.

The Story of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety, February 10, 1917–November 21, 1918, by George H. Lyman, is privately printed by the author (Boston, 351 Commonwealth Avenue).

The January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains a paper by Francis B. C. Bradlee entitled the Dreadnought of Newburyport and some Account of the Old Transatlantic Packet Ships, and a continuation of the diary of Samuel Holten, member of the Continental Congress, 1778-1780.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association for January (vol. I., no. 2) includes an address, by Charles M. Dow, on Daniel D. Tompkins; a biographical sketch, by D. S. Alexander, of John W. Taylor, member of Congress 1813-1833, and speaker of the House of Representatives 1820-1821 and 1825-1827; a brief paper on New York and the National Banking System, by A. Barton Hepburn; Some Unprinted Minutes of the Albany Common Council, by E. W. Root; and a continuation of the Minutes of the Presbytery of New York, 1876.

The New York Public Library recently received what is known as the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, given to it, under the terms of the will of Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, by Mr. V. H. Paltsits. This collection consists of about 10,000 books and pamphlets, 200 broadsides, 100 newspapers, 1000 photographs, and 25,000 manuscripts. The manuscripts include the military and other papers of General Peter Gansevoort, jr., papers of his son, Peter Gansevoort, and of the latter's son, Brig.-Gen. Henry S. Gansevoort; also numerous papers of the Lansing, Douw, Van Schaick, and Melville families, and several hundred papers of Abraham Yates, jr. The dates run from the last quarter of the seventeenth century down.

The New York Historical Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for January contains an historical account of liberty poles erected in New York in the years just preceding the Revolution, followed by a proposal to erect in the city a liberty pole as a memorial to the patriotism of the New York troops who served in the World War. There are facsimiles of broadsides, etc.

The four numbers of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* for the period January to October are brought out as a single issue. The principal contents are: an address by Professor Walter T. Marvin, entitled the Shifting of Intelligence during the Past One Hundred Years; an account of the Battle of Iron Works Hill (December, 1776), by William A. Slaughter; a history of the Early Settlements and Settlers of Pompton, Pequannoc, and Pompton Plains, by Rev. Garret C. Schenck; the Story of Beverwyck, by Mrs. Benjamin S. Condict; and a Journal of a Trip to Kentucky in 1795 by Dr. Lewis Condict of Morristown. The January, 1920, number is a subject-index to the thirty-six volumes of the *Proceedings*, 1845-1919.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published its *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States: Pennsylvania, 1790-1904*, part I., A-E, by Adelaide R. Hasse.

The Pennsylvania War History Commission has issued, under the title *Pennsylvania's Participation in the World War*, a suggested outline for a state or county history of the war.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. V., nos. 1 and 2 (October, 1919-January, 1920), is a monograph, by Margaret Woodbury, Ph.D., on *Public Opinion in Philadelphia, 1789-1801* (pp. 138). The subject is examined under four topics: Newspapers and Editors; the Financial System; Foreign Relations; and Political Parties. The monograph is a useful contribution to the history of the period.

The *Proceedings*, vol. XXVIII., of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia for the years 1916, 1917, 1918 contains a number of papers of historical interest. Chief among these are: Early American Portrait Painters, including Local Annals connected with a Number of them, by Edward Biddle; the Origin of Belgium, by Professor Albert J. Carnoy of the University of Louvain; Formation of the Calendar, by Walter Wood; the Origin of Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, with Incidents of the Neighborhood, by Charles J. Cohen; Nicholas Biddle's Journey to Greece in 1806, by Professor William N. Bates; the Civilization of Crete in Prehistoric Times, by Dr. Stephen B. Luce; and the Old Gulph Road, by Allen Evans.

Following are recent issues of *Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society*; Items of Local Interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1750 to 1760, inclusive, copied by H. Frank Eshleman (vol. XXIII., no. 8, October 3); the Loyalists in the Revolution, by Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer (no. 9, November 7); and Captain William Trent, an Indian Trader, by Hon. Charles I. Landis (no. 10, December 5).

The January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a brief paper by Thomas L. Rodgers narrating some Recollections of Early Times on the Ohio and Pennsylvania Railroad.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a paper by George E. Davies on Robert Smith and the Navy, the third part of Edward S. Delaplaine's Life of Governor Thomas Johnson, the third series of memorial sketches of Marylanders who lost their lives in the Great War, a continuation of the Carroll Papers, some extracts from the Dulany Papers (1743-1767), and sketches of Some Early Colonial Marylanders, by McHenry Howard. The March number presents continuations of these papers, together with one on Solomon Etting, by Aaron Baroway, and one on the Reverdy Johnson papers in the Library of Congress, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.

Vol. XXII. of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society consists mainly of papers by Allen C. Clark on R. C. Weightman, mayor of Washington, and on Gen. John P. Van Ness, but it also contains an account, by Justice Job Barnard, of the Early Days of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, established in 1863, and a sketch of the history of the Patent Office, by George W. Evans.

The general assembly of Virginia has appropriated \$40,000 for the construction of a fire-proof repository for the archives of the state, to be connected with the State Library building by means of a bridge or arcade.

John Randolph's *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia*, and the *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined*, by Robert Carter Nicholas, have been edited by Earl G. Swem and published as no. 32 of *Heartman's Historical Series* (New York, Heartman).

The *Proceedings* of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina for the year 1918 (*Bulletin* no. 25 of the Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission) contains the addresses prepared for the nineteenth annual session of the association, October 28-29, 1918, a session which however was not held because of the epidemic of influenza. The chief papers concern Anglo-American Relations and commemorate the tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh. They are: introductory remarks by Dr. James Sprunt, president of the association; Sir Walter Raleigh as a Man of Letters, by F. W. C. Hersey; Raleigh's Place in American Colonization, by Professor Charles M. Andrews; England and the Birth of the American Nation, by Professor William T. Laprade; the Converging Democracies of England and America, by Professor William E. Dodd; Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations during the Last Half-Century, by Charles H. Levermore, secretary of the New York Peace Society; and Social and Political Ideals of the English-Speaking Peoples, by Professor George A. Wauchope. There is also an address by Dr. James Sprunt on George Davis, a leader of the Wilmington bar in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Series XIII. of the *Historical Papers* published by the Trinity College Historical Society (Durham, 1919, pp. 115) embodies three studies by students of the college: Religious Defense of Slavery in the North, by Adelaide A. Lyons, Militia of North Carolina in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, by Luther L. Gobbel, and Life and Public Services of Hugh Williamson, by John W. Neal. In the first article are brought into view the attitudes of the different denominations toward slavery, expressions of individual clergymen, and pamphlets and books which appeared in the North in defense of slavery. The second article brings together materials for the most part found in the *Colonial and State Records*. The sketch of Williamson is naturally more especially concerned with his services in Congress and the Federal Convention, but also gives glimpses of his private career. Touching Williamson's activities in Europe in the early years of the Revolution one misses Silas Deane's frequently voiced suspicions of Williamson's patriotism. Two original letters of Williamson (1778, 1783) are printed in full.

The James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. XVI., no. 2, contains the Diary of Bartlett Yancey Malone, edited by W. W. Pierson, jr., and

a short study of the Provincial Agents of North Carolina, by Samuel J. Ervin, jr. Malone was a private (later sergeant) in a North Carolina regiment in the Civil War, and his diary relates to his service in the army from January, 1862, to November, 1863, and to his experiences as a prisoner at Point Lookout, Maryland, from that time until March, 1865.

The Georgia Historical Society, established for eighty-one years in Savannah, and the recently founded Georgia Historical Association have formed plans for a union which shall give the state one stronger historical society, based on the whole body of those interested in history, and with but one organ, the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. The library, of 40,000 volumes and some 26,000 pamphlets, remains of course in Savannah, but meetings will be held in other cities.

The December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* prints a Biographical Sketch of James Habersham, found among some papers of William B. Stevens, the historian of Georgia, which were deposited with the Georgia Historical Society after the death of Dr. Stevens. The sketch as it exists is incomplete (if ever completed), and the editor of the *Quarterly* writes a continuation of it. The same number of the *Quarterly* contains a sketch of Abraham Baldwin, taken from the *National Intelligencer*, and a brief one of James Jackson, reprinted from the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, April 6, 1806. In the department of Editor's Notes is found a warrant (May 10, 1733) from the trustees of Georgia to the vestry of St. Margaret, Westminster, to collect money for the purpose of sending "poor people to be settled and established in the Southern frontiers of South Carolina", together with some correspondence pertaining to the document and its acquirement by the society.

At New Port Richey, Florida, the Avery Library and Historical Society was formed in November for the purpose, among other things, of gathering and preserving historical material relative to Pasco County. Dr. Elroy M. Avery is president.

WESTERN STATES

In the Museum of Natural History at Havre there is a remarkable collection of some 1600 drawings and aquarelles made by Charles Alexandre Lesueur during extensive travels in the Mississippi Valley, 1816-1839. Madame Adrien Loir, upon the basis of this collection, has made him the subject of a thesis at the University of Caen, *Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Artiste et Savant Français en Amérique de 1816 à 1839* (Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, pp. 108) with reproductions of some forty of Lesueur's pictures, illustrating Western conditions a hundred years ago.

The December number of the *Mississippi Historical Review* contains a paper by Dr. Charles W. Hackett entitled *New Light on Don Diego de Peñalosa: Proof that he never made an Expedition from Santa Fe to Quivira and the Mississippi River in 1662*, and one by Professor James E. Walmsley discussing the question what was the Last Meeting of the Confederate Cabinet. Two other articles are concerned with the period of the late war: the one, *the Khaki Journalists, 1917-1919*, is an account, by A. M. Schlesinger, of the soldier press during the war, the other is a survey, by John C. Parish, of Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, 1917-1919. In the section of documents is presented a group of four financial reports relating to Louisiana, 1766-1788, edited, with an introduction, by Charles H. Cunningham.

In the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is found, besides an account of the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society in August, an article on Lutheranism in Perry County, Ohio, by C. L. Martzloff. In the January number is an article by Carl Wittke on Ohio's German-Language Press and the Peace Negotiations.

In the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, R. C. Buley continues his papers on Indiana in the Mexican War, George F. White writes a memoir of his grandfather, Colonel Isaac White, and George C. Perring gives some account of the New Albany and Salem Railroad: Incidents of Road and Men.

The diary of John Parsons of Virginia describing *A Tour through Indiana in 1840*, edited by Kate M. Rabb, will be brought out shortly by McBride.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are: *Reminiscences of Early Chicago*, by Bedelia K. Garraghan; *Father Saint Cyr, Missionary and Proto-Priest of Modern Chicago* (a group of documents, 1803-1833); *the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati*, by Rev. John Rothensteiner; *the Irish in Early Illinois*, by Joseph J. Thompson; *the Franciscans in Southern Illinois*, by Rev. Silas Barth, O.F.M.; and *the Beaubiens of Chicago*, by Frank G. Beaubien. The four papers last mentioned are continuations.

Chicago Yesterdays: a Sheaf of Reminiscences, is a compilation, by Caroline Kirkland, from family letters, memoirs, etc., and deals with the early life of Chicago (Daughaday and Company).

Among the contents of the January number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* is a second paper by Ella H. Ellwanger on *Famous Steamboats and their Captains on Western and Southern Waters*; a sketch of Lieut. P. N. O'Bannon, a Kentucky soldier in the war with Tripoli; and an assemblage of data under the title *Ken-*

tucky, Mother of United States Senators and Representatives, by A. C. Quisenberry.

The *Transylvania College Bulletin* for November is a list of the many rare and curious old books in the college library, with a sketch of the library, by Mrs. Elizabeth Norton, librarian. The list comprises 238 volumes, a number of which were printed in the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Bulletin* contains also a number of title-pages in facsimile, illustrations of college buildings, etc.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* are an account of the Battle of Shiloh, by Rev. T. M. Hurst; an article on the Management of Negroes upon Southern Estates, reprinted from DeBow's *Industrial Resources of the Southwest*; and the conclusion of the Tour in 1807 down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers from Nashville to New Orleans, by Dr. John R. Bedford.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out a volume containing two studies: *The Michigan Fur Trade* (pp. 1-202), by Ida A. Johnson, and *The Pere Marquette Railroad Company* (pp. 203-461), by Paul W. Ivey, Ph.D. To the cover title is added: *University Series, V.* The first monograph surveys the rise and growth of the fur-trade within the boundaries of Michigan under the French, British, and American régimes, with a study of the respective policies, and describes the life of the traders, their relations to the red men and to each other. Dr. Ivey's study of the Pere Marquette system is largely from the financial side.

Among the articles in the October number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: some personal recollections, by O. E. McCutcheon, of President Johnson's visit to Albion during his tour in September, 1866; Indian Wars and Warriors of Michigan, by Rev. Norman B. Wood; Recollections of Civil War Conditions in the Copper Country, by O. W. Robinson; and Lewis Cass and the Saginaw Treaty of 1819, by Henry E. Nageley. There are also accounts of several phases of war-work in Michigan.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired a collection of manuscripts from the estate of Capt. Joseph Buisson of Minneapolis. These papers are of value for the history of the fur-trade.

At the 1919 session of the Wisconsin legislature an act was passed making provision for county and rural planning committees. The measure includes in its scope the marking of historical sites, and the State Historical Society, through its state landmarks committee, is co-operating with state authorities in projects of this character.

In the March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, M. M. Quaife describes an Experiment of the Fathers in State Socialism (the Indian trading-house system of the government); Dr. William Brown-

ing presents an investigation into the Early History of Jonathan Carver; Dr. John C. Reeve writes a chapter in the story of his own life, entitled a Physician in Pioneer Wisconsin (a reprint); Miss Kellogg, continuing the Story of Wisconsin, 1634-1848, discusses Foreign Immigration in Territorial Times; and W. A. Titus, in his study of Historic Spots in Wisconsin, describes the Fond du Lac Trading Post and Early Settlement. There is also a Journal of Life in Wisconsin One Hundred Years ago (June 2, 1817, to May 31, 1818), kept by Willard Keyes of Newfane, Vermont.

Two articles make up the principal contents of the August number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*; Henry Hastings Sibley and the Minnesota Frontier, by Wilson P. Shortridge, and War History Work in Minnesota, by F. F. Holbrook.

Articles in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are: an Historical Survey of the Militia in Iowa, 1865-1898, by Cyril B. Upham; the Internal Grain Trade of the United States, 1850-1860, by Louis B. Schmidt; and Some Episodes in the History of the Founding of the Medical College of the State University of Iowa, by John P. Irish.

The April (1919) number of *Iowa and War* is a brief study of *Fort Des Moines in Iowa History*, by Ruth A. Gallaher. The number for May is an account, by Marcus L. Hansen, of the difficulties encountered in *The Writing of War History in Iowa*.

The January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains a paper by E. W. Stephens on the Little Bonne Femme Church; one by Robert A. Glenn on the Osage War; the second of William G. Bek's articles on the Followers of Duden; the fifth paper by Rollin J. Britton on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War; and the second installment of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by John N. Edwards.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* begins in the January number the publication of a life of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, by A. K. Christian. The same number contains the second installment of Ruby Smith's James W. Fannin, jr., in the Texas Revolution, and a paper by Professor Charles E. Chapman, Gali and Rodriguez Cermenho: Exploration of California.

In the July-September issue of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* is an article by Albert Watkins, Why Fort Atkinson was Established. The October-December number contains an article by Mr. Watkins entitled Three Military Heroes of Nebraska, namely, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, Gen. Philip Kearny, and Lieut. Caspar Collins.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* is a general index to volumes I.-X. of the quarterly, together with the tables of contents of the several volumes. In the January number, Judge B.

C. Howay narrates the interesting story of the voyage of the *Hope*, from Boston to the Northwest Coast, in 1790-1792, chiefly by means of Captain Ingraham's journal, preserved in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. William S. Lewis gives an account of Francis Heron, fur-trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest from 1810, and a chief trader from 1828 to 1838, and of his son George Heron, born in 1834 and still living. Professor Meany's notes on geographical names in Washington, and the journal of Fort Nisqually, are continued.

In the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for December, Katharine B. Judson contributes a second paper on the British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria; T. C. Elliott some documents from the Hudson's Bay Company correspondence relative to the Northwest Boundaries, and L. B. Shippee the seventh of his studies of the Federal Relations of Oregon.

The California Historical Survey Commission has published in a large volume (Sacramento, 1919, pp. 622) a *Guide to the County Archives of California*, by Owen C. Coy, director and archivist.

The University of California has just published a paper on *Calendars of the Indians North of Mexico* (pp. 58) by Leona Cope, and has in press a dissertation on *The Sources and Authenticity of the History of the Ancient Mexicans*, by Paul Radin. It also has in press an account of the Uprising of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, 1680-1682, by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, and one of the Constitutional History of the Louisiana Purchase, 1803-1812, by Dr. Everett S. Brown.

Miss Doris Bepler, holding one of the fellowships of the Native Sons of the Golden West, has nearly prepared for publication a reference list of some 6000 titles of articles, large and small, relating to the history of California, which appeared, before the close of the nineteenth century, in any of the California magazines, many of which were short-lived and are now rare.

A history of the city of San Diego, by Rolland A. Vandegrift and Lloyd Mechem, forms the chief historical article in the April number of the *Grizzly Bear* magazine.

The centennial of the arrival in Hawaii of the first American missionaries will be celebrated in Honolulu, April 11-19, with impressive ceremonies, a pageant, and historical exercises.

CANADA

In place of the annual *Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada*, which for twenty-two years has performed invaluable service to all students of its field, there will hereafter be published the *Canadian Historical Review*, in March, June, September, and December of each

year. The board of editors consists of Messrs. A. H. U. Colquhoun, deputy minister of education for Ontario, W. L. Grant, principal of Upper Canada College, H. H. Langton, librarian of the University of Toronto, R. M. MacIver and George M. Wrong, professors in that university. The managing editor will be Professor W. S. Wallace of McMaster University. The journal will contain articles and original historical documents, as well as those reviews of books which have made the staple of the annual publication hitherto provided by Messrs. Wrong, Langton, and Wallace. The first number, March, 1920, which we have received, contains an important article on Canada and the Imperial War Cabinet by Professor Wrong, a body of notes on the Quebec Conference of 1864 on Confederation (a conference held behind closed doors), taken down by one of the delegates from Prince Edward Island, a British secret service report on Canada in 1711, and a report made by John Rose in 1868, from Washington, relative to trade arrangements then under negotiation between Canada and the United States, casting light upon transactions which at the time were left in some mystery. The reviews of books are of the same high standard that was maintained in the annual publication, and in general the new journal has an excellence that, we hope, insures to it great prosperity. Subscriptions (at \$2.00 per annum) may be sent to Mr. W. J. Dunlop, Faculty of Education Building, 321 Bloor Street, West, Toronto.

Sir John Willison's *Reminiscences Political and Personal* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart) gather up in one volume the important notes on a lifetime of Canadian journalism and politics which we have mentioned as they appeared from time to time in articles in the *Canadian Magazine*.

The *Transactions*, part X., of the London and Middlesex Historical Society contains a paper by Fred Landon, on Fugitive Slaves in London before 1860.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The November number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* contains an article entitled Some Historical and Political Aspects of the Government of Porto Rico, by Pedro Capó-Rodríguez; and one on German Political Designs with reference to Brazil, by Loretta Baum. In the section of Documents is a letter from Col. John T. Pickett of the Southern Confederacy to Señor Don Manuel de Zamacona, minister of foreign affairs in Mexico, dated Mexico, September 16, 1861. The document is contributed with an introduction, by Miss Mary W. Williams. Articles in the February number are: Hispanic American Appreciations of the Monroe Doctrine, by William S. Robertson; and Anti-American Propaganda in Hispanic America, by Edward Perry. In the section of Documents is an Agreement by Ferdinand and Isabella re-

specting the Town and Fortress of Lumbier, in Navarre, dated November 20, 1486, which is contributed, with an introduction and a translation, by Dr. Frances G. Davenport. In the bibliographical section, the editor of the *Review*, Dr. James A. Robertson, gives some account of the Oliveira Lima Collection of Hispano-americana, recently donated by Dr. Oliveira Lima to the Catholic University of America.

Among the contents of the July-October issue (double number) of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba) are the following: an *expediente* of correspondence relative to the removal to the United States of the bodies of fifty-one Americans who, under Colonel William Crittenden, took part in the expedition of Gen. Narciso Lopez and were captured and executed in August, 1851; some papers relative to the arrival at Port-au-Prince of the filibustering vessel *Hornet* (January and February, 1871); a communication of the secret agents of the Spanish government in the United States, dated New York, January 28, 1871; a group of correspondence of Cuban insurgents, 1868; an *expediente* upon interpellations in the House of Commons concerning the abolition of slavery in Cuba (1878); and a project brought forward in 1861 by Francisco de Frías y Jacott, Conde de Pozos Dulces, for the founding of an Instituto Agrónomo Cubano.

Under the title *The Great Adventure of Panama* Messrs. Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out Philippe Bunau-Varilla's own account of the efforts in which he was engaged for controlling the Panama Canal and insuring its completion through means offered by revolutionary action at the Isthmus.

Argentina: Legend and History: Readings, by Garibaldi G. B. Laguardia and Cincinnato D. B. Laguardia, is included in the *Hispanic Series* of B. H. Sanborn and Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. A. Prud'homme, A. H. de Trémaudan, and P. G. Roy, *Le Chevalier de la Vérendrye* (Canada Français, December); G. Jones, *Why Copley left Boston* (Mid-West Quarterly, January, 1918); H. M. Ellis, *Thomas Cooper: a Survey of his Life* [part I., England, 1759-1794] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); A. E. Morgan, *New Light on Lincoln's Boyhood* (Atlantic Monthly, February); T. Williams, *Lincoln the Reader* (Review of Reviews, February); E. D. Ross, *Samuel J. Tilden and the Revival of the Democratic Party* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, shown in his Own Letters*, IV., V., VI. (Scribner's Magazine, December, January, February); Princess Catherine Radziwill, *A Russian Appreciation of Theodore Roosevelt: a hitherto unpublished Document of the Portsmouth Peace Conference* (Outlook, January 7); F. B. Elser, *General Pershing's Mexican Campaign* (Century, February); Rear-Adm. W. S. Sims, *The Victory at Sea*, V., VI., VII. (World's Work, January, February, March); W. E.

Dodd, *President Wilson, his Treaty, and his Reward* (*ibid.*, March); C. H. Grasty, *The Personality behind the President* (Atlantic Monthly, January); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina* [concl.] (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); H. I. Priestley, *The Relations of the United States and Mexico since 1910* (University of California Chronicle, January); E. Schultze, *Der Wirtschaftliche Imperialismus der Vereinigten Staaten in Mexiko* (Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft, X. 7); F. A. Ogg, *Mexico from Diaz to Carranza* (Munsey's Magazine, January); H. Lyra, *Pan-Americanism in Brazil prior to the Declaration of Monroe* (Inter-America, English, December).

[The publication of this number of the *Review* has been delayed by failure of print-paper to arrive at the printing office.]

The
American Historical Review

THE GREEK ELEMENT IN THE RENAISSANCE OF THE
TWELFTH CENTURY

THE renaissance of the twelfth century consisted in part of a revival of the Latin classics and the Roman law, whence the movement has sometimes been called a "Roman renaissance", in part of a rapid widening of the field of knowledge by the introduction of the science and philosophy of the ancient Greeks into western Europe. This Greek learning came in large measure through Arabic intermediaries, with some additions in the process, so that the influence of the Saracen scholars of Spain and the East is well understood. It is not always sufficiently realized that there was also a notable amount of direct contact with Greek sources, both in Italy and in the East, and that translations made directly from Greek originals were an important, as well as a more direct and faithful, vehicle for the transmission of ancient learning. Less considerable in the aggregate than what came through the Arabs, the Greek element was nevertheless significant for the later Middle Ages, while it is further interesting as a direct antecedent of the Greek revival of the Quattrocento. No general study has yet been made of this movement, but detailed investigation has advanced sufficiently to permit of a brief survey of the present state of our knowledge.

The most important meeting-point of Greek and Latin culture in the twelfth century was the Norman kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily.¹ Long a part of the Byzantine Empire, this region still retained Greek traditions and a numerous Greek-speaking population, and it had not lost contact with the East. In the eleventh cen-

¹ See, in general, Haskins and Lockwood, "The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's *Almagest*", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI, 75-102 (1910); Haskins, "Further Notes on Sicilian Translations of the Twelfth Century", *ibid.*, XXIII, 155-166 (1912); and the literature there cited.

ture the merchants of Amalfi maintained an active commerce with Constantinople and Syria; Byzantine craftsmen wrought great bronze doors for the churches and palaces of the south;² and traveling monks brought back fragments of Greek legend and theology to be turned into Latin.³ Libraries of Greek origin, chiefly of Biblical and theological writings, were gathered into the Basilian monasteries,⁴ and more comprehensive collections were formed at the Norman capital. Only in the Norman kingdom did Greek, Latin, and Arabic civilization live side by side in peace and toleration. These three languages were in current use in the royal charters and registers, as well as in many-tongued Palermo, so that knowledge of more than one of them was a necessity for the officials of the royal court, to which men of distinction from every land were welcomed. The production of translations was inevitable in such a cosmopolitan atmosphere, and it was directly encouraged by the Sicilian kings, from Roger to Frederick II. and Manfred, as part of their efforts to foster learning. While Roger commanded a history of the five patriarchates from a Greek monk, Neilos Doxopatres, and a comprehensive Arabic treatise on geography from the Saracen Edrisi, translation appears to have been more actively furthered during the brief reign of his successor. Under William I. a Latin rendering of Gregory Nazianzen was undertaken by the king's orders, and a version of Diogenes Laertius was requested by his chief minister Maio. Indeed the two principal translators were members of the royal administration, Henricus Aristippus and Eugene the Emir, both of whom have left eulogies of the king which celebrate his philosophic mind and wide-ranging tastes and the attractions of his court for scholars.⁵

Archdeacon of Catania in 1156, when he worked at his Plato in the army before Benevento, Aristippus was the principal officer of the Sicilian *curia* from 1160 to 1162, when his dismissal was soon

² A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker* (Munich, 1906), pp. 34-37; F. Novati, *Le Origini*, in the co-operative *Storia Letteraria d'Italia*, p. 312 ff.

³ The principal examples are Nemesius, *De Natura Hominis*, translated by Alfano, bishop of Salerno, and a collection of miracles put into Latin by the monk John of Amalfi. On Alfano, see particularly C. Baeumker, in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, vol. XIII., coll. 1095-1102 (1896); and G. Falco, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXXV. 439-481 (1912). On John, M. Huber, *Johannes Monachus, Liber de Miraculis* (Heidelberg, 1913).

⁴ F. Lo Parco, "Scolario-Saba", in *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli*, n. s., vol. I., pt. II., pp. 207-286 (1910), with Heiberg's criticism in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXII. 160-162.

⁵ *Hermes*, I. 388; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI. 451.

followed by his death. Besides the versions of Gregory Nazianzen and Diogenes, which, if completed, have not reached us, Aristippus was the first translator of the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato and of the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology*,⁶ and his Latin rendering remained in current use during the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance. An observer of natural phenomena on his own account, he was also instrumental in bringing manuscripts to Sicily from the library of the Emperor Manuel at Constantinople. One of these possesses special importance, a beautiful codex of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, from which the first Latin version was made by a visiting scholar about 1160. The translator tells us that he was much aided by Eugene the Emir, "a man most learned in Greek and Arabic and not ignorant of Latin", who likewise translated Ptolemy's *Optics* from the Arabic. The scientific and mathematical bent of the Sicilian school is seen in still other works which were probably first turned into Latin here: the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* of Euclid, the *De Motu* of Proclus, and the *Pneumatica* of Hero of Alexandria. A poet of some importance in his native Greek, Eugene is likewise associated with the transmission to the West of two curious bits of Oriental literature, the prophecy of the Erythraean Sibyl and the Sanskrit fable of Kalila and Dimna. If it be added that the new versions of Aristotle's *Logic* were in circulation at the court of William I., and that an important group of New Testament manuscripts can be traced to the scribes of King Roger's court, we get some further measure of the intellectual interests of twelfth-century Sicily, while the medical school of Salerno must not be forgotten as a centre of attraction and diffusion for scientific knowledge.

Italy had no other royal court to serve as a centre of the new learning, and no other region where East and West met in such constant and fruitful intercourse. In other parts of the peninsula we must look less for resident Greeks than for Latins who learned their Greek at Constantinople, as travellers or as members of the not inconsiderable Latin colony made up chiefly from the great commercial republics of Venice and Pisa.⁷

Among the various theological disputations held at Constanti-

⁶ See now F. H. Fobes, "Mediaeval Versions of Aristotle's *Meteorology*", in *Classical Philology*, X. 297-314 (1915); and his edition of the Greek text (Cambridge, 1919). Cf. also C. Marchesi, "Di Alcuni Volgarizzamenti Toscani", in *Studi Romanzi*, V. 123-157 (1907). For the *Phaedo* the conjectures of F. Lo Parco, *Petrarca e Barlaam* (Reggio, 1905), should be mentioned.

⁷ See, in general, G. Gradenigo, *Lettera intorno agli Italiani che seppero di Greco* (Venice, 1743). J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (second ed.), I. 557 ff., touches the matter very briefly.

nople in the course of the twelfth century, Anselm of Havelberg has left us an account of one before John Comnenos in 1136, at which

there were present not a few Latins, among them three wise men skilled in the two languages and most learned in letters, namely James a Venetian, Burgundio a Pisan, and the third, most famous among Greeks and Latins above all others for his knowledge of both literatures, Moses by name, an Italian from the city of Bergamo, and he was chosen by all to be a faithful interpreter for both sides.⁸

Each of these Italian scholars is known to us from other sources, and they stand out as the principal translators of the age, beyond the limits of the Sicilian kingdom.

Under the year 1128 we read in the chronicle of Robert of Torigni, abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, and well informed respecting literary matters in Italy, that "James, a clerk of Venice, translated from Greek into Latin certain books of Aristotle and commented on them, namely the *Topics*, the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, and the *Elenchi*, although there was an older version of these books".⁹ Long the subject of doubt and discussion, this passage has recently been confirmed from an independent source,¹⁰ so that James can be singled out as the first scholar of the twelfth century who brought the *New Logic* of Aristotle afresh to the attention of Latin Europe. What part his version had in the Aristotelian revival, and what its fate was as compared with the traditional rendering of Boethius, are questions which for our present purpose it is unnecessary to examine.

Moses of Bergamo evidently found his eastern connections by way of Venice.¹¹ He is the author of an important metrical description of Bergamo, and kept up relations with his native city through letters to his brother and through benefactions to various churches,

⁸ L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), I. 172; cf. Dräseke, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXI. 160-185 (1900).

⁹ Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ed. Delisle (Société de l'Histoire de Normandie), I. 177; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, VI. 489.

¹⁰ The preface to another version of the twelfth century which I discovered in the cathedral library of Toledo in 1913 and published in an article on "Mediaeval Versions of the Posterior Analytics", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXV. 93 ff. (1914), where the problem of the diffusion of the *New Logic* is also discussed. For recent discussion of this problem, see Hofmeister, in *Neues Archiv*, XL. 454-456; Baemker, in *Philosophisches Jahrbuch*, XXVIII. 320-326; Geyer, *ibid.*, XXX. 25-43. Geyer believes James of Venice to be the author of the version which became current.

¹¹ See Haskins, "Moses of Bergamo", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIII. 133-142 (1914).

but his messengers pass through Venice, and he lives in the Venetian quarter at Constantinople. Here he is found in the emperor's service in 1130, when he has lost by fire a precious collection of Greek manuscripts, brought together by long effort at the price of three pounds of gold. He tells us that he learned Greek for the special purpose of turning into Latin works not previously known in the West, but the only specimen which has been identified is a translation of an uninteresting theological compilation. He has also left grammatical *opuscula*, including a commentary on the Greek words in St. Jerome's prefaces, which attest his familiarity with the language and with the writings of the Greek grammarians. Apparently what we have left are only the fragmentary remains of a many-sided activity, as grammarian, translator, poet, and collector of manuscripts, which justifies us in considering him a prototype of the men who "settled *hoti's* business" in the fifteenth century.

Burgundio the Pisan is better known, by reason of his public career as well as of his indefatigable zeal as a translator.¹² Appearing first at the debate of 1136, he is found in legal documents at Pisa from 1147 to 1180, first as an advocate and later as a judge; he is sent on diplomatic missions to Ragusa in 1169 and to Constantinople in 1172,¹³ and was present at the Lateran Council of 1179; and he died at a ripe old age in 1193. The sonorous inscription on his tomb is still preserved, celebrating this *doctor doctorum, gemma magistrorum*, eminent alike in law, in medicine, and in Greek and Latin letters; and this reputation is confirmed by the surviving manuscripts of his work.¹⁴ Translation was evidently not the principal occupation of this distinguished career, indeed Burgundio tells us that one of his versions required the spare time of two years, but his long life made possible a very considerable literary output. Theology held the first place: John of Damascus, *De Orthodoxa Fide* (1148-1150), which had been "preached for four centuries as the

¹² See particularly G. M. Mazzuchelli, *Gli Scrittori d'Italia* (Brescia, 1753), vol. II., pt. III., pp. 1768-1770; [Fabroni], *Memorie Istoriche di più Uomini Illustri Pisani* (Pisa, 1790), I. 71-104; Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (1850), IV. 394-410; F. Buonamici, "Burgundio Pisano", in *Annali delle Università Toscane*, vol. XXVIII. (1908); P. H. Dausend, "Zur Uebersetzungsweise Burgundios von Pisa", in *Wiener Studien*, XXXV. 353-369 (1913).

¹³ Besides the documents cited by Savigny, see G. Müller, *Documenti sulle Relazioni delle Città Toscane coll' Oriente* (Florence, 1879), pp. 18, 416 ff.

¹⁴ Cf. his survey of previous translations, ancient and medieval, from the Greek, *infra*, note 56.

theological code of the Greek church";¹⁵ the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom on Matthew (1151)¹⁶ and John (1173)¹⁷ and perhaps on Genesis (incomplete in 1179);¹⁸ St. Basil on Isaiah (before 1154);¹⁹ Nemesius, *De Natura Hominis*, dedicated to Frederick Barbarossa on his Italian expedition of 1155;²⁰ perhaps others.²¹ Two of these versions were dedicated to Pope Eugene III., who secured a manuscript of Chrysostom from the patriarch of Antioch and persuaded Burgundio to undertake the task of turning it into Latin.²² His results were used by the great theologians of the Western Church, such as Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas;²³ indeed he "made accessible to the West works which exercised great influence on the scholastics, the exegetes, the mystics, and the orators of the Middle Ages".²⁴ In medicine, Burgundio's name is attached to the Latin versions of ten works of Galen:²⁵ *De Sectis Medicorum*,²⁶ *De*

¹⁵ J. Ghellinck, "Les Oeuvres de Jean de Damas en Occident au XII^e Siècle", in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, LXXXVIII. 149-160, reprinted in his *Le Mouvement Théologique du XII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1914), pp. 245-275, where further studies of Burgundio are promised. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der Scholastischen Methode*, II. 93; P. Duhem, *Le Système du Monde*, III. 37.

¹⁶ Preface in Martène and Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum Amplissima Collectio* (Paris, 1724), I. 817. On the date, cf. Dausend, in *Wiener Studien*, XXXV. 357.

¹⁷ Preface, incomplete, Martène and Durand, p. 828; see note 56, below.

¹⁸ Robert of Torigni, ed. Delisle, II. 109. Cf. C. Baur, *S. Jean Chrysostome*, p. 62.

¹⁹ Savigny, IV. 401; *infra*, note 56, where a version of the Psalter is also mentioned.

²⁰ Preface in Martène and Durand, I. 827; text, ed. C. Burkhard, Vienna programmes, 1891-1902.

²¹ Commentary of St. Paul, inferred from the sepulchral inscription; Athanasius, *De Fide*, conjectured by Bandini, *Catalogus*, IV. 455; St. Basil on Genesis (*ibid.*, IV. 437; *Codices Urbinates Latini*, I. 78); Chrysostom on Acts, R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici: Nuove Ricerche* (Florence, 1914), p. 264.

²² Martène and Durand, I. 817.

²³ Ghellinck, *loc. cit.*; G. Mercati, *Note di Letteratura Biblica* (Rome, 1901), pp. 141-144.

²⁴ Mercati, p. 142. His Chrysostom is cited as late as Poggio; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, LXI. 409.

²⁵ The elaborate catalogue of Greek MSS. and translations of Galen published by H. Diels, "Die Handschriften der Antiken Aertzte", in *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy (1905), pt. I., pp. 58-150, does not ordinarily indicate the authorship of the Latin versions, which in many cases still remains to be investigated. Evidently some of Burgundio's work was revised in the fourteenth century by Nicholas of Reggio and Peter of Abano. For Nicholas see F. Lo Parco, "Niccolò da Reggio", in *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia di Napoli*, n. s., vol. II., pt. II., pp. 241-317. There may be some confusion with a Johannes de Burgundia, to whom is ascribed a treatise *De Morbo Epidemie* in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. 1102, f. 53, MS. 1144, f. 110 v.; and in Caius College, MS. 336, f. 144 v.

Temperamentis,²⁷ *De Virtutibus Naturalibus*,²⁸ *De Sanitate Tuenda*,²⁹ *De Differentiis Februm*, *De Locis Affectis*,³⁰ *De Compendiositate Pulsus*,³¹ *De Differentiis Pulsuum*,³² *De Crisibus*,³³ and *Therapeutica (Methodi Medendi)*,³⁴ while his translation of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates is cited in the thirteenth century as preferable to that from the Arabic.³⁵ In a quite different field, he turned into Latin a treatise on the culture of the vine,³⁶ doubtless for the practical benefit of his native Tuscany, just as a Strassburg scholar of the sixteenth century sought to help the vineyards of the Rhine by translating extracts from the same *Geoponica*.³⁷ As a lawyer, too, he had opportunity to apply his knowledge of Greek to translating the Greek quotations in the *Digest*,³⁸ for which he appears to have used the text of the famous Pisan manuscript. He is freely credited

²⁶ "Translatio greca est Burgundionis". Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6865, f. 81; Diels, p. 60.

²⁷ "Explicit liber Galieni de complexionibus translatus a Burgundione cive Pisano secundum novam translationem". Vatican, MS. Barberini Lat. 179, f. 14 v.; MS. unknown to Diels, p. 64.

²⁸ Prag, Public Library, MS. 1404; not in Diels, p. 66.

²⁹ Diels, p. 75; Lo Parco, "Niccolò da Reggio", p. 282 ff.

³⁰ "Explicit liber Galieni de interioribus secundum novam translationem Burgundii". Vatican, MS. Barb. Lat. 179, f. 36 v.; MS. not in Diels, p. 85.

³¹ "Finis libri qui est de compendio pulsus a Burgundione iudice cive Pisano de greco in latinum translatus". Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 15460, f. 111 v.; MS. not in Diels, p. 86. For the *De Differentiis Februm* the Latin MSS. are cited by Diels, p. 80.

³² Diels, p. 87.

³³ Munich, Cod. Lat. 35; Diels, p. 90.

³⁴ "Expletus est liber tarapeutice cum additionibus magistri Petri de Ebano que deficiunt ex translatione Burgundionis civis Pisani". Vatican, MS. Barb. Lat. 178, f. 44 v.; not in Diels, p. 92. Cf. G. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, V. 79, and MS. Madrid 1978 (L. 60), f. 45 v.

³⁵ Puccinotti, *Storia della Medicina* (Leghorn, 1850), vol. II., pt. II., p. 290; Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1906), vol. II., pt. I., p. 375. As cited by Diels, pp. 14-16, the Latin MSS. do not mention Burgundio.

³⁶ Edited by Buonamici, in *Annali delle Università Toscane*, vol. XXVIII. (1908). Incomplete MS. also in the Ambrosian, MS. C. 10, sup., f. 118 v.; also formerly at Erfurt (W. Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung*, p. 802) and at Peterhouse, Cambridge (James, *Catalogue*, p. 11).

³⁷ *Serapeum*, XVII. 287 ff.

³⁸ Savigny, IV. 403-410; Mommsen, *Digesta*, editio maior (1876), I. 35*; H. Fitting, "Bernardus Cremonensis und die Lateinische Uebersetzung des Griechischen in den Digesten", in Berlin *Sitzungsberichte* (1894), II. 813-820; N. Tamassia, "Per la Storia dell' Autentico", in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto*, LVI. 607-610 (1898). I agree with Savigny that there is no evidence that Burgundio translated the *Novels*, and that the reference to them in the preface to his translation of Chrysostom's St. John (see below, note 56) shows that Burgundio accepted the extant version as a literal translation made at Justinian's order.

with the Latin version by the glossators of the thirteenth century, and, as in the case of his theological and medical translations, the results of his work passed into the general tradition of the later Middle Ages.

Less noteworthy than Burgundio, two other members of the Pisan colony should also be mentioned, Hugo Eterianus and his brother Leo, generally known as Leo Tuscus. Hugo, though master of both tongues, was not so much a translator as an active advocate of Latin doctrine in controversy with Greek theologians, a polemic career which was crowned with a cardinal's hat by Lucius III. Leo, an interpreter in the emperor's household, translated the mass of St. Chrysostom and a dream-book (*Oneirocriticon*) of Ahmed ben Sirin. Another dream-book, compiled by one Pascal the Roman at Constantinople in 1165, offers further illustration of the interest in signs and wonders which prevailed at Manuel's court.³⁹

North of the Alps there is little to record in the way of translation, although it is probable that certain of the anonymous translators who worked in Italy came from other lands. In 1167 a certain William the Physician, originally from Gap in Provence, brought back Greek manuscripts from Constantinople to the monastery of Saint-Denis at Paris,⁴⁰ where he later became abbot (1172-1186). Sent out originally by Abbot Odo, he was evidently specially charged with securing the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, who was confused with the patron saint of the monastery and of France, and a volume of these which he brought back is still preserved among the Greek codices of the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁴¹ He also brought with him and translated the text of the *Vita Secundi*, a philosophical text of the second century,⁴² and summaries (*hypotheses*) of the Pauline epistles, while still other manuscripts may have been included in the *opes atticas et orientales* mentioned by one of his fellow-monks. This monk, also named William and sometimes confused with the physician, translated the eulogy of Dionysius by Michael Syncellus, but the writings which occupy the remainder of the Dionysian volume—*De Caelesti Hierarchia*, *De Ecclesiastica*

³⁹ See my note on "Leo Tuscus", in *English Historical Review*, XXXIII. 492-496 (1918).

⁴⁰ The material relating to William the Physician is conveniently given by Delisle, in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, pp. 725-739.

⁴¹ MS. Gr. 933.

⁴² Delisle, in *Journal des Savants*, p. 728. The version is critically edited, and its use by French writers traced, by A. Hilka in 88. *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur* (Breslau, 1910), IV. Abt., c. 1. See further F. Pfister, in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1911, coll. 539-548.

Hierarchia, *De Divinis Nominibus*, *De Mystica Theologia*, and ten epistles—were rendered into Latin by John Sarrazin.⁴³ This John had himself visited the Greek East, where he had sought in vain the *Symbolica Theologia* of Dionysius, as we learn from one of his prefaces.⁴⁴ In spite of the crudeness of his translations, his learning was valued by John of Salisbury, who turns to him on a point of Greek which Latin masters cannot explain, and who even expresses a desire to sit at Sarrazin's feet.⁴⁵

The dependence of the leading classicist of the age upon a man like Sarrazin shows the general ignorance of Greek. "The most learned man of his time", John of Salisbury made no less than ten journeys to Italy, in the course of which he visited Benevento and made the acquaintance of the Sicilian chancellor; he knew Burcardo, whom he cites on a point in the history of philosophy;⁴⁶ he studied with a Greek interpreter of Santa Severina, to whom he may have owed his early familiarity with the *New Logic*; yet his culture remained essentially Latin.⁴⁷ "He never quotes from any Greek author unless that author exists in a Latin translation."⁴⁸ Greek could be learned only in southern Italy or the East, and few there were who learned it, as one can see from the sorry list of Greek references which have been culled from the whole seventy volumes of the Latin *Patrologia* for the twelfth century.⁴⁹ The Hellenism of the Middle Ages was a Hellenism of translations—and so, in large measure, was the Hellenism of the Italian Renaissance.⁵⁰

Finally there remain to be mentioned the anonymous transla-

⁴³ Delisle, p. 726 ff.; *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XIV. 191-193. MSS. of these translations, with the prefaces, are common, e.g., Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS. 529; Chartres, MS. 131; Vatican, MS. Vat. Lat. 175; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 523 (A. 90); Munich, MSS. 380, 435.

⁴⁴ Delisle, p. 727.

⁴⁵ *Epistolae*, no. 169; cf. also nos. 147, 149, 223, 229, 230.

⁴⁶ *Metalogicus*, bk. IV., c. 7.

⁴⁷ Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis* (Leipzig, 1862); Poole, in *Dictionary of National Biography*; C. C. I. Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policraticus*, vol. I., introd.

⁴⁸ Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (second ed.), I. 540.

⁴⁹ How sorry this list is, the Abbé A. Tougaard does not seem to realize when he has drawn it up. *L'Hellénisme dans les Écrivains du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1886), ch. V. On the reserve necessary in using such citations, cf. Traube, *O Roma Nobilis* (Munich, 1891), p. 65. On Greek in the twelfth century, see Sandys, pp. 555-558. Miss Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism* (Columbia thesis, 1906), adds nothing on this period.

⁵⁰ Loomis, "The Greek Renaissance in Italy", in *American Historical Review*, XIII. 246-258 (1908).

tions, made for the most part doubtless in Italy. Where we are fortunate enough to have the prefaces, these works can be dated approximately and some facts can be determined with respect to their authors, as in the case of the first Latin version of the *Almagest*, made in Sicily about 1160, and a version of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (1128-1159) preserved in a manuscript of the cathedral of Toledo.⁵¹ In the majority of cases no such evidence has been handed down, and we have no guide beyond the dates of codices and the citations of texts in a form directly derived from the Greek. Until investigation has proceeded considerably further than at present, the work of the twelfth century in many instances cannot clearly be separated from that of the earlier Middle Ages on the one hand, and on the other from that of the translators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries who follow in unbroken succession. Often we know only that a particular work had been translated from the Greek before the time of the humanists. The most important body of material with which the twelfth century may have occupied itself anonymously is the writings of Aristotle.⁵² The *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and briefer works on natural history reach western Europe about 1200; the *Politics*, *Ethics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Economics* only in the course of the next two generations. In nearly every instance translations are found both from the Greek and from the Arabic, and nearly all are undated. At present about all that can be said is that by the turn of the century traces are found of versions from the Greek in the case of the *Physics*, *De Caelo*, *De Anima*, and the *Parva Naturalia*.⁵³ The *Metaphysics* seems to have come from Constantinople shortly after 1204.⁵⁴

On the personal side these Hellenists of the twelfth century have left little of themselves. James of Venice is only a name; the translator of the *Almagest* is not even that. Moses of Bergamo we know slightly through the accident which has preserved one of his letters; others survive almost wholly through their prefaces. Characteristic traits or incidents are few—Moses lamenting the loss of

⁵¹ *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI. 99; XXV. 98.

⁵² The fundamental work of A. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l' Age et l' Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843), has now been supplemented by M. Grabmann, "Forschungen über die Lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, vol. XVII. (Münster, 1916). For a summary of the problem, see Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (Louvain, 1911), pp. 9-15.

⁵³ *Harvard Studies*, XXV. 87-89; Baeumker, in *Munich Sitzungsberichte* (1913), no. 9, pp. 33 ff. For the *Meteorology*, see above, note 6.

⁵⁴ Grabmann, "Forschungen", pp. 124-137.

his Greek library, and the three pounds of gold it had cost him; the Pisan secretary of Manuel Comnenos trailing after the emperor on the tortuous marches of his Turkish campaigns; Burgundio redeeming his son's soul from purgatory by translating Chrysostom in the leisure moments of his diplomatic journeys; a Salerno student of medicine braving the terrors of Scylla and Charybdis in order to see an astronomical manuscript just arrived from Constantinople, and remaining in Sicily until he had mastered its contents and made them available to the Latin world; Aristippus working over Plato in camp and investigating the phenomena of Etna's eruptions in the spirit of the elder Pliny; Eugene the Emir, in prison at the close of his public career, writing Greek verse in praise of solitude and books. Little enough all this, but sufficient to show the kinship of these men with "the ancient and universal company of scholars".

In all its translations the twelfth century was closely, even painfully literal, in a way that is apt to suggest the stumbling and conscientious school-boy. Every Greek word had to be represented by a Latin equivalent, even to μέν and δέ. Sarrazin laments that he cannot render phrases introduced by the article, and even attempts to imitate Greek compounds by running Latin words together.⁵⁵ The versions were so slavish that they are useful for establishing the Greek text, particularly where they represent a tradition older than the extant manuscripts. This method, *de verbo ad verbum*, was, however, followed not from ignorance but of set purpose, as Burgundio, for example, is at pains to explain in one of his prefaces.⁵⁶ The texts which these scholars rendered were authorities in

⁵⁵ John of Salisbury, *Epistolae*, nos. 149, 230; cf. William the Physician, in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, p. 738.

⁵⁶ "Verens igitur ego Burgundio ne, si sententiam huius sancti patris commentacionis assumens meo eam more dictarem, in aliquo alterutrorum horum duorum sapientissimorum virorum sententiis profundam mentem mutarem et in tam magna re, cum sint verba fidei, periculum lapsus alicuius alteritatis incurrerem, difficilius iter arripiens, et verba et significationem eandem et stilum et ordinem eundem qui apud Grecos est in hac mea translatione servare disposui. Sed et veteres tam Grecorum quam et Latinorum interpretes hec eadem continue egisse perhibentur", the Septuagint being an example. "Sanctus vero Basilius predictum Ysaïam prophetam exponens lxx duorum interpretum editione mirabiliter ad litteram commentatur, eiusque commentacionem ego Burgundio iudex domino tercio Eugenio beate memorie pape de verbo verbum transferens ex predicta lxx duorum interpretum editione facta antiquam nostram translationem in omnibus fere sum prosequutus. Cum Sancti Ieronimi novam suam editionem nullatenus ibi expositam invenirem nec eam sequi ullo modo mea commentacione possem, psalterium quoque de verbo ad verbum de greco in latinum translatum est sermonem". He then passes in review the various literal translations previously made from the Greek—the Twelve Tables, the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the *Dialogues*

a sense that the modern world has lost, and their words were not to be trifled with. Who was Aristippus that he should omit any of the sacred words of Plato?⁵⁷ Better carry over a word like *didascalía* than run any chance of altering the meaning of Aristotle.⁵⁸ Burgundio might even be in danger of heresy if he put anything of his own instead of the very words of Chrysostom. It was natural in the fifteenth century to pour contempt on such translating, even as the humanists satirized the Latin of the monks, but the men of the Renaissance did not scruple to make free use of these older versions, to an extent which we are just beginning to realize. Instead of striking out boldly for themselves, the translators of the Quattrocento were apt to take an older version where they could, touching it up to suit current taste. As examples may be cited the humanistic editions of Aristotle's *Logic*, of Chrysostom and John of Damascus, and even of Plato.⁵⁹ It has always been easier to ridicule Dryasdust than to dispense with him!

Apart from such unacknowledged use during the Renaissance, the translators of the twelfth century made a solid contribution to the culture of the later Middle Ages. Where they came into competition with translations from the Arabic, it was soon recognized that they were more faithful and trustworthy. At their best the Arabic versions were one remove further from the original and had passed through the refracting medium of a wholly different kind of language,⁶⁰ while at their worst they were made in haste and with the

of Gregory the Great, Chalcidius's version of the *Timaeus*, Priscian, Boëthius, the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and the *Tegni* of Galen, John the Scot's version of Dionysius the Areopagite, and the *De Urinis* of Theophilus—and concludes: "Si enim alienam materiam tuam tuique iuris vis esse putari, non verbo verbum, ut ait Oratius, curabis reddere ut fidus interpres, ymo eius materiei sententiam sumens tui eam dictaminis compagine explicabis, et ita non interpres eris sed ex te tua propria composuisse videberis. Quod et Tullius et Terentius se fecisse testantur. . . . Cum igitur hec mea translatio scriptura sancta sit et in hoc meo labore non gloriam sed peccatorum meorum et filii mei veniam Domini expectavi, merito huic sancto patri nostro Iohanni Crisostomo sui operis gloriam et apud Latinos conservans, verbum ex verbo statui transferendum, deficienciam quidem dictionum intervenientem duabus vel etiam tribus dictionibus adiectis replens, idyoma vero quod barbarismo vel metaplasmo vel scemate vel tropo fit recta et propria sermocinacione retorquens". Preface to translation of Chrysostom's St. John, Vatican, MS. Ottoboni Lat. 227, ff. lv-2. For specimens of Burgundio's method, see Dausend, in *Wiener Studien*, XXXV. 353-369.

⁵⁷ Even to the point of rendering *τε καὶ* by *que et*. *Rassegna Bibliografica della Letteratura Italiana*, XIII. 12.

⁵⁸ *Harvard Studies*, XXV. 98.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, XXI. 88, XXV. 105; *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1896, col. 1097.

⁶⁰ Eugene of Palermo remarks on the difference of Arabic idiom. G. Govi, *L'Ottica di Claudio Tolomeo* (Turin, 1885), p. 3.

aid of ignorant interpreters working through the Spanish vernacular.⁶¹ It was more or less a matter of accident whether the version from the Greek or that from the Arabic should pass into general circulation; thus the Sicilian translation of the *Almagest*, though earlier, is known in but three copies, while that made in Spain is found everywhere; but in the case of Aristotle the two sets of renderings existed side by side. The list of works known only through the Greek of the twelfth century is, however, considerable. It comprises the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato, the only other dialogue known to the Middle Ages being the *Timaeus*, in an older version; the advanced works of Euclid; Proclus and Hero; numerous treatises of Galen; Chrysostom, Basil, Nemesius, John of Damascus, and the Pseudo-Dionysius; and a certain amount of scattered material, theological, legendary, and liturgical.⁶²

The absence of the classical works of literature and history is as significant in this list as it is in the curriculum of the medieval universities. We are in the twelfth century, not the fifteenth, and the interest in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, and theology reflects the practical and ecclesiastical preoccupations of the age rather than the wider interests of the humanists. It is well, however, to remember that these same authors continue to be read in the Quattrocento, in translations new or old; they are merely crowded into the background by the newer learning. In this sense there is continuity between the two periods. There is also a certain amount of continuity in the materials of scholarship—individual manuscripts of the earlier period gathered into libraries at Venice or Paris, the library of the Sicilian kings probably forming the nucleus of the Greek collections of the Vatican.⁶³ To what extent there was a continuous influence of Hellenism is a more difficult problem, in view of our fragmentary knowledge of conditions of the south. The Sicilian translators of the twelfth century are followed directly by those at the courts of Frederick II. and Manfred, while in the fourteenth century we have to remember the sojourn of Petrarch at the court of Robert of Naples, and the Calabrian Greek who taught Boccaccio. The gap is short, but it cannot yet be bridged.

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⁶¹ Cf. Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII. 335 ff.

⁶² Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte dei Codici: Nuove Ricerche*, pp. 262–265, gives a list of medieval versions from which Euclid, Hero, and the *Geoponica* are absent.

⁶³ See the studies of Heiberg and Ehrle cited in *Harvard Studies*, XXV. 89, note.

NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WORLD WAR, I. BERLIN AND VIENNA, TO JULY 29

AFTER the revolution of November 9, 1918, the new German republic at once made Karl Kautsky assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, and authorized him to edit the documents which would throw light on the origins of the World War. By March, 1919, he and his assistants had carefully copied, dated, arranged, and annotated a mass of papers contained in eighteen volumes in the archives of the Foreign Office. He was eager to publish this material as soon as possible during the Peace Conference at Versailles, in order to convince the world how completely the new régime had broken with the old Junker rulers of 1914. But the Ebert government feared that Kautsky's known opposition to the Kaiser and the old imperial government might lay his edition of the documents open to the charge of party bias. It therefore delayed its publication until it could be examined and edited by three scholars of different political views, Dr. Walter Schücking, Count Montgelas, and Professor Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. These co-editors found that Kautsky had done his work most conscientiously and carefully. Meanwhile, however, in June, the Ebert government published a *White Book, Germany Guilty?*, drawn up by Hans Delbrück, the well-known historian, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Count Montgelas, and Max Weber. It was intended as a reply to the report which the Allied commissioners at Versailles had made on the responsibility for the war.¹ But as it repeated many of the old arguments of 1914, trying to exculpate Germany and throw the blame on Austria, it had quite the opposite effect from convincing the world that the new Germany had completely broken with the past. This *White Book*, as Kautsky bitterly complained, was nothing but a "white-washing book". He felt all the more aggrieved because he himself had already written a book on the causes of the war, quoting large extracts from the documents, but had agreed not to make it public until after the documents had been officially published. In December, 1919, after many delays, the documents were finally published by the co-editors, in four volumes.² They comprise 1123 docu-

¹ *Deutschland Schuldig? Deutsches Weissbuch über die Verantwortlichkeit der Urheber des Krieges* (Berlin, 1919).

² *Die Deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch: Vollständige Sammlung der von Karl Kautsky zusammengestellten Amtlichen Aktenstücke* (Charlotten-

ments, of which '937 are given *in extenso* and the remainder in a sufficiently full summary. Included also are the complete texts of the secret Triple and Rumanian alliances, translations of which have recently been edited by Professor Coolidge.³ There is no reason to believe that any material documents which passed through the German Foreign Office have been deliberately withheld by the editors.⁴ The editors have wisely refrained, absolutely, from all subjective comment, but have conveniently given cross-references, indexes, and all existing official indications as to the exact day, hour, and minute, when despatches were sent and received. This precise information, unfortunately lacking in the various colored books issued at the beginning of the war, now makes it possible to determine just how much an official knew when he took an action; it enables one to judge with nicety as to the motives, honesty, and ability of the men in charge of Germany in 1914. Most interesting from the point of view of the Kaiser's psychology are his numerous marginal annotations, which have been much featured in the press, and which led Kautsky to many jibes at royalty revealed in *Unterhosen*.⁵

As publication of the official compilation of documents was still delayed beyond the date agreed, Kautsky's publishers at last lost patience and published in November, 1919, the work which he had written in the preceding May, *How the World War arose*.⁶ It is distinctly a partizan attack on the old régime, and is, of course, much less trustworthy than the documents themselves.⁷

In Vienna Dr. Richard Gooss did for the Austrian Foreign Office what Kautsky had done for the German. He edited anonymously, without such detailed information as to dates, a three-volume *Red Book* containing 352 documents, dealing with the four

burg, 1919); referred to hereafter not by page but by document number, as "*Kautsky Docs.*" For Count Montgelas's own interesting account of the documents, see *Littell's Living Age*, January 24, 1919, pp. 218-220.

³ A. F. Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary, 1879-1914*, ed. A. C. Coolidge (Cambridge, 1920).

⁴ There may, however, very probably be documents which did not pass through the Foreign Office, which may yet be published. There are no documents from the General Staff except a few sent in to the Foreign Office. These would of course give needed light on the vexed question of mobilization.

⁵ Some are reproduced in *Littell's Living Age*, January 10, 1920, pp. 63-67.

⁶ K. Kautsky, *Wie der Weltkrieg entstand* (Berlin, 1919). As this pamphlet, costing only six marks, tended to injure the sale of the official documentary compilation, published a few days later and costing five times as much, he was sued on December 10 for breaking his agreement about priority of publication. Cf. *New York Times*, February 9, 1920.

⁷ It is subjected to severe criticism by Hans Delbrück, "Die Kautsky Papiere", in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CLXXIX. 71-100 (January, 1920).

weeks prior to the outbreak of war.⁸ Like Kautsky, he also published prior to his official compilation a volume summing up his own conclusions and interpretations.⁹ It is a valuable book, more temperate than Kautsky's, and contains much information not given in the *Red Book*.

It is curious to see how zealously each of these two men, after studying one set of documents, assigns exclusively the whole blame for the war to his own former government. According to Kautsky, Germany eagerly pushed a hesitating Berchtold into the attack on Serbia and a world war. According to Gooss the unsuspecting Emperor William was the sacrificial lamb offered up on the altar of Berchtold's reckless perfidy and obstinacy.

In addition to the *Kautsky Documents* and the *Red Book*, the two great sources on which writers will largely base the future war of words as to the immediate responsibility for the World War, a flood of exculpatory memoirs and pamphlets followed the German collapse of 1918, similar to that which followed the French débâcle of 1870. Jagow¹⁰ rests his work mainly on his reply to Lichnowsky,¹¹ and on the already well-known material in the various colored books.¹² Pourtalès,¹³ the German ambassador at Petrograd, gives a very straightforward account of his share in the events at Petrograd and of his honest efforts to carry out the instructions of his government to keep Russia quiet and preserve the peace by localizing the conflict. His narrative is based on the contemporary notes which he made on his journey home in August, 1914,¹⁴ and on the embassy telegrams which he appears to have taken with him. Bethmann-Hollweg's *Observations*¹⁵ still insist that England was chiefly responsible for the war: England encouraged Russia with

⁸ *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges, 1914: Ergänzungen und Nachträge zum Oest.-Ungar. Rotbuch* (Vienna, 1919, 3 vols.); quoted hereafter as *Red Book*.

⁹ *Das Wiener Kabinett und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* (Vienna, 1919).

¹⁰ G. von Jagow, *Ursachen und Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, February, 1919).

¹¹ First printed in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 23, 1918, and translated with Lichnowsky's own Memorandum in *Disclosures from Germany* (American Association for International Conciliation, June, 1918), no. 127, pp. 352-357.

¹² *Collected Diplomatic Correspondence relating to the Outbreak of the European War* (London, 1915); quoted hereafter as *Dipl. Corresp.*

¹³ Graf Pourtalès, *Am Scheidewege zwischen Krieg und Frieden* (Berlin, February, 1919).

¹⁴ Published in *Kautsky Docs.*, app. V.

¹⁵ Bethmann-Hollweg, *Betrachtungen zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, May, 1919).

the hope of support, and Russia was consequently encouraged to interfere in the Austro-Serbian crisis which Germany had intended to localize. Tirpitz,¹⁶ however, like Lichnowsky, takes Bethmann severely to task for having trusted too optimistically in thinking that Russia and France would not dare to call the bluff which Germany was allowing Austria to make. Helfferich¹⁷ agrees with Tirpitz that the German Foreign Office and the German people made their great mistake in taking the Serajevo crime so calmly and in thinking that war could be avoided as in 1909 and the later Balkan crises, if only Germany and Austria stood firm.

The Austrians, and with good reason, have made little effort to exculpate themselves. Berchtold, who more than any one else was responsible for the World War, has kept silent except for a very short and lame letter of excuse.¹⁸ Count Czernin's interesting volume deals mainly with diplomacy during the war, but in an introductory chapter he expresses the view, in which there may be truth, that the German ambassador at Vienna, Tschirschky, like so many German militarists, "was firmly persuaded that in the very near future Germany would have to go through a war against France and Russia, and he considered that the year 1914 would be more favorable than a later date. . . . That, however, was his policy, not Bethmann's." Tschirschky was one of those ambassadors who "did not keep to the instructions from their governments; they communicated messages correctly enough, but if their personal opinion differed, they made no secret of it, and it certainly weighed in the balance".¹⁹ Count Tisza, the Hungarian premier, by what we know of his character and attitude in July, 1914, might have been able to tell the truth fearlessly, but he lies in a bloody grave, assassinated, his lips sealed forever.²⁰

¹⁶ A. von Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen* (Leipzig, April, 1919). Lord Haldane, who had such good opportunities to judge Bethmann and Tirpitz from personal contact, gives an admirable review of their books in his own volume, *Before the War* (London, 1920), pp. 101-173. See also reviews of Tirpitz and Helfferich by Professor Gauss, pp. 496-500, above.

¹⁷ K. Helfferich, *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Berlin, March, 1919).

¹⁸ Letter to K. H. von Wiegand, in *Chicago Herald and Examiner*, October 10, 1919; reprinted as an appendix in Goričar, *The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue* (New York, 1920), pp. 299-301.

¹⁹ Count Czernin, *In the World War* (New York, 1919), pp. 9-11.

²⁰ See "Some New Sources of European History", by "Tramontana" in *The New Europe*, nos. 162, 163, 167 (November 20, 27, December 25, 1919). See also C. Oman, *The Outbreak of the War of 1914-1918* (London, 1919); M. Ritter, "Deutschland und der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges", in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXI. 23-92 (1919); K. F. Nowak, *Der Weg zur Katastrophe* (Berlin,

During the quarter of a century following Bismarck's dismissal in 1890, the Triple Alliance had lost much of that dominating position in Europe which he had left as his heritage to the irresponsible, ambitious, erratic young master who succeeded him. Emperor William by a series of often well-intentioned, but usually ill-judged, moves, had essentially weakened, instead of strengthened, Germany's diplomatic position. He had lowered her prestige and had alarmed his neighbors who consequently drew closer together. The Triple Entente, in spite of its exterior position, divergent interests, and different forms of government as represented by republican France and autocratic Russia, represented in man-power and sea-power a far stronger combination than that of the Triple Alliance supported by Rumania. Moreover, the Triple Alliance was beginning to develop dangerous disruptive tendencies within itself. Italy held close to her old friendship with England, and since 1902 had begun to coquette with France. She had not hesitated to embarrass the Triple Alliance by her attack on Germany's friends in 1911, and she had developed inconvenient ambitions in the Balkans, antagonistic to Austria's interests, ambitions which found expression at the renewal of the Triple Alliance in 1912, and in her alleged refusal to back Austria in action against Serbia in August, 1913. Above all, Italy's nationalistic aspirations and traditions made her people still hate her Austrian ally, and covet the *terra irredenta* still under Austrian domination.²¹ Similarly, Tisza's nationalistic Magyar policy toward the Rumanians in Hungary had created such a strong anti-Austrian feeling in Rumania that King Carol admitted his doubt whether in the event of an Austro-Russian war he could stand against public feeling and fulfill his obligations to the Triple Alliance. He even seemed to be shifting to the side of Russia, judging at any rate by the tsar's visit to Bucharest in the spring of 1914 to attend a marriage uniting the royal houses of Russia and Rumania.

But the most ominous danger for the Triple Alliance lay in the situation in Austria. The disruptive tendency of the increasingly powerful nationalistic aspirations of the subject nationalities had long led political Cassandras to prophesy the dissolution of the Dual

1919); Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (New York, 1918); R. Hoeniger, *Russlands Vorbereitung zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919); Lord Loreburn, *How the War came* (London, 1918); and Goričar, *The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue* (New York, 1920).

²¹ The strength of this popular feeling and San Giuliano's consequent pessimism on the subject of the Triple Alliance, even before Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, are strikingly revealed in the numerous despatches of Flotow, the German ambassador at Rome. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 59, 60, 64, 73, 75, 78, 109, 119.

Monarchy upon the death of its venerable ruler. Though Emperor William had stood beside his ally "in shining armor" at the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Great-Serbian movement had grown menacingly stronger. In spite of Serbia's official promises to Austria in 1909, Austria still feared that a Greater Serbia might one day wrench away from Austria not only Bosnia but also her other Jugo-Slav districts. This fear had been increased by the unexpected events of the Balkan wars, which had so greatly weakened Turkey and extended Serbia directly athwart the projected Austrian avenue to Salonica. Austria suspected in the spring of 1914 that Russia and France were secretly urging on the Pan-Serbian movement and encouraging the formation of a new Balkan alliance of which Serbia was to be the head and of which the purpose was the uniting of all Jugo-Slavs under Serbian rule.²²

While the Triple Alliance was weakened by rifts within, its leaders began to suffer from the "encirclement" nightmare. They saw that the members of the Triple Entente were drawing more closely to one another and strengthening themselves internally. In June, 1912, the Franco-Russian alliance was strengthened by a naval convention between the two countries.²³ In November this was supplemented by a naval understanding between England and France,²⁴ which enabled England to concentrate her naval forces in the English Channel, while the French navy could look after England's interests in the Mediterranean. On April 2, 1914, Sazonov wrote to Izvolski, the Russian minister at Paris, that the Triple Entente ought to be strengthened and extended into a regular Triple Alliance. Accordingly when King George, accompanied by Sir Edward Grey, visited Paris in the following month, the French naval minister on behalf of Russia suggested the adoption of a similar naval arrangement between Russia and England.

Grey was unwilling to enter into any formal binding alliance with Russia, but consented to carry on further naval discussions, and a Russian naval officer was sent, in strictest secrecy, to London from Petrograd. At a conference of Russian officials on May 26, at which the chief of the Russian naval staff presided, Russia had de-

²² *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 14; *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 2, 8; Gooss, p. 4; Bethmann-Hollweg, pp. 115-122; Jagow, pp. 75-81; Ritter, p. 49; Boghitchewitsch, *Kriegsursachen*, p. 7.

²³ *Deutschland Schuldig?*, p. 168; *Russian Documents* (Amer. Assoc. for Int. Concil., March, 1919), no. 136, p. 532.

²⁴ Published in *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 79-82, but discovered in some way by the Germans apparently as early as March, 1913. Cf. *Nordd. Allg. Zeitung*, October 16, 1914; *New York Times*, November 8, 1914, p. 6.

cided to ask England to agree to a naval convention, which should provide for a co-operative action between the Russian and English fleets, such as had already been adopted between France and England.

An agreement must be reached concerning signals and special ciphers, radio-telegrams, and the mode of communication between the Russian and English naval staffs. Besides this the two naval staffs are to inform each other regularly about the fleets of third powers and about their own navies, in particular about technical data and newly introduced machines and inventions. . . . The Russian naval agreement with England, like the Franco-Russian agreement, is to make provision for actions of the Russian and English navies, which, previously agreed upon, are to be fought separately.²⁵

The negotiations gave rise to so many rumors and suspicions that Grey was interpellated on the subject in the House of Commons in June. In reply he repeated Asquith's statement of the year before, which still held good, that

there were no unpublished agreements with European powers apt to restrain or hem in the free decision of the Government or Parliament as to whether England was to participate in a war or not. No negotiations with any power had since been concluded which would detract from the truth of the declaration in question. No such negotiations were in progress, nor was it likely, as far as he could judge, that such would be entered upon.

But Grey's denial, though within the letter of the truth, did not satisfy either English newspapers like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily News*, nor, much less, the *Berlin Tageblatt* and the German Foreign Office. The latter finally became so uneasy that, on July 15, Jagow suddenly called on Herr Ballin to leave his bath resort and go to England to see what he could find out:

Lichnowsky called Grey's attention to the *Tageblatt* [article on an Anglo-Russian naval agreement] and Grey, after some hesitation, did not deny the matter altogether. Now there may in fact be more behind this than even Theodore Wolff himself may know, or than the good Lichnowsky may believe. There are actually negotiations taking place between London and Petersburg for a naval agreement in which—this in the greatest secrecy—Russia is striving for a wide-reaching military and naval co-operation. These negotiations have not yet come to a result in spite of Russian pressure, partly perhaps because Grey has become somewhat hesitant on account of the *Tageblatt's* indiscretion and on account of the open opposition in a part of the Liberal Party in England. But the Russians appear to be pressing hard, and who knows what they may offer as an equivalent in return? In the end Grey will certainly not oppose its conclusion, unless he meets with opposition within his own party or in the Cabinet. . . . The importance which the matter has

²⁵ Nordd. Allg. Zeitung, October 16, 1914. Cf. Jagow, *Ursachen*, pp. 85-91; also *New York Times*, November 8, 1914, p. 6.

for us, I need not go into further. We could scarcely consider any longer any farther drawing closer to England. It seems to me, therefore, very important to make once more an effort to wreck the affair. . . . My idea was whether you, through your numerous relations with influential Englishmen—have you not such relations with Lord Haldane?—could not sound a warning beyond the Channel.²⁶

Similarly, Pourtalès, at the close of Poincaré's visit in Petrograd, tried to sound Sazonov on the subject. But Sazonov replied with indignation that "such a naval convention exists only in the imagination of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and in the moon".²⁷ Emperor William, however, was by no means convinced of Sazonov's sincerity, for he pencilled on Pourtalès's despatch, "according to the declaration of the Russian naval attaché, it is just coming into being! To-day, indeed! Or to-morrow!"

While the members of the Triple Entente were thus drawing more closely together, and were suspected by Germany of being more close than they really were, it was well known that Russia and France were both strengthening their military forces in the spring of 1914. Since 1912 Russia had been reorganizing and greatly increasing her army, and had borrowed millions from France with which to build strategic railways directed against the Central Powers.²⁸ France was changing from the two-year to the three-year term of military service. Germany's own great military increase of 1913 was thus more than offset by that of her neighbors. An article in the Petrograd *Bourse Gazette*, urging upon France the three-year term of service, calculated that

according to the Czar's ukase this year's contingent of recruits is raised from 450,000 to 580,000 men, and the period of service increased by six months. Thanks to this measure there stand every winter in Russia four contingents of recruits under arms, i.e., an army of 2,300,000 men. . . . Germany has 880,000 [Kaiser's note: "Praise God"], Austria 500,000, and Italy 400,000. Quite naturally therefore Russia expects 770,000 from France, which is only possible with the three-year term of service. [Kaiser's note: "So there! at last the Russians have laid their cards on the table! Whoever in Germany still doubts that the Russo-Gauls are working at high pressure for an early war with us, and that we ought

²⁶ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 56. Ballin accordingly dined with Haldane and Grey on July 23, and received the correct but elusive reply that England as a member of the Entente had to discuss questions which Russia and France brought to her, just as Germany doubtless had to discuss matters within the Triple Alliance, but that no naval convention with Russia existed nor did England intend to consent to one. *Ibid.*, no. 254.

²⁷ Pourtalès to Bethmann, July 24. *Ibid.*, no. 203.

²⁸ For details of Russia's secret military preparations, based on documents captured by Germany in Russia during the war, see Hoeniger, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

to take corresponding counter-measures, deserves to be sent straight to the madhouse at Dalldorf."]²⁹

Such was the situation in the early summer of 1914. Germany and the Triple Alliance had lost prestige and were growing relatively weaker in comparison with the Triple Entente, and Austria faced the danger of dissolution unless she rehabilitated herself. This situation was not the result of any purposeful English policy of encirclement, nor of any aggressive intentions on the part of either England or France, whatever most Germans might think to the contrary. It was the result of the unfortunate way in which the Kaiser and his mediocre favorites had mismanaged Bismarck's inheritance during near a quarter of a century. Germany and Austria, however, felt that it was becoming increasingly imperative to do something to remedy the situation, and prevent themselves from losing ground still further. There were various ways by which they might hope to extricate themselves from this unenviable situation.

Bethmann-Hollweg's way, and that of Jagow, his associate at the Foreign Office, had been to make a friendly settlement with England of the irritating points at issue between the two countries in Africa and Mesopotamia. Similar settlements by England with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907 had worked admirably. Though Germany, in view of the commercial and naval rivalry between Germans and Englishmen, might not be able to develop such a settlement into a close entente, such as England had established with France and Russia, nevertheless it would go far toward establishing better relations between the two great naval powers, and lessen Germany's sense of danger. Accordingly, the draft of a treaty in regard to the Portuguese colonies and the Bagdad Railway was drawn up. Grey was ready to meet Lichnowsky more than half-way. But the signature to the treaty was held up at the last minute, probably through the influence of the militarists at Berlin, and perhaps as a result of Berlin's suspicions in regard to the Anglo-Russian naval convention, mentioned above.³⁰

Berchtold's way, on the other hand, was at first an alliance with Bulgaria. Soon after the assassination, however, he abandoned this in favor of the plan for crushing Serbia. His first idea was developed from a memorandum drawn up by one of his subordinates in

²⁹ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 2. The article was reprinted on June 14 in the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*, and the italics indicate the passages which the Kaiser underlined. Cf. Pourtalès's despatch, June 13, in *Deutschland Schuldig?*, pp. 186-188.

³⁰ Lichnowsky, pp. 279-295; Jagow, *Ursachen*, pp. 57-63; Bethmann-Hollweg, *Betrachtungen*, pp. 61-63; Haldane, pp. 93 ff., 143 ff.

the Austrian Foreign Office, Baron Flotow, to the following effect.³¹ Since Austria could no longer count on King Carol's being able to fulfill Rumania's treaty obligations to Austria, Austria must compel Rumania to declare herself openly either for or against Austria. The best way to put pressure on Rumania for this purpose was for Austria to enter into an alliance with Bulgaria, and to make Sofia, instead of Bucharest, the pivot of Austrian Balkan policy. Bulgaria would guarantee to Rumania the existing boundary between Bulgaria and Rumania, so that King Carol would not be antagonized or alarmed. In fact he would then see the wisdom of holding to the Triple Alliance, and could even be induced to use his great influence with Serbia "to draw Serbia closer to the Dual Monarchy; in which case the Dual Monarchy, within the bounds of such a political situation, would meet Serbia most loyally half-way".³² But if King Carol should not consent to make a satisfactory public declaration of his loyalty to the Triple Alliance, then Austria must revise her military arrangements and seek to bring Turkey into alliance with Bulgaria, so that both would support the Triple Alliance.

Flotow's memorandum, somewhat amplified by Matscheko and Pogatscher, was put before Berchtold in the middle of June. He decided that it should be worked out in greater detail and laid before the Berlin authorities as a memorandum for the guidance of the Central Powers in Balkan affairs. Accordingly, an elaborate draft to this effect was completed on June 24. It retained the idea of an Austrian *rapprochement* with Serbia, by means of Rumania's good graces.³³ But during the next few days Berchtold went over the draft and altered it with his own hand considerably. He omitted altogether the idea of a *rapprochement* with Serbia, as he doubted whether he could count upon Rumania. Instead he emphasized in more detail his idea of closer relations with Bulgaria and the formation of a new Balkan league under Austrian influence.

In this form the memorandum was complete and ready for transmission to Berlin, when on Sunday June 28 came the news that Franz Ferdinand had been murdered at Serajevo. The memorandum was not changed, except to add a few sentences to the effect that the frightful deed gave indubitable proof of the irreconcilability

³¹ Gooss, pp. 3-6.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³³ "Sollte Rumänien ferner mit Rücksicht auf seine freundschaftlichen Verhältnisse zu Serbien darauf Gewicht legen, so konnte die Monarchie in Bukarest auch die Versicherung abgeben, dass sie eine von Rumänien in Belgrad unternommene Aktion, welche auf eine Aenderung der Haltung Serbiens gegenüber der Monarchie abzielen würde, ihrerseits durch Entgegenkommen auf politischem und wirtschaftlichem Gebiete Serbien gegenüber zu fördern bereit sei." *Ibid.*, p. 18.

of the conflict between Austria and Serbia. Austria's good-will and concessions toward Serbia in the past were useless; henceforth Austria would have to reckon with the persistent, irreconcilable, and aggressive hostility of Serbia.³⁴ Berchtold also drew up a personal letter from Francis Joseph to Emperor William:

I am sending you a memorandum drawn up by my Minister of Foreign Affairs, prior to the frightful catastrophe at Serajevo, which after that tragic event now appears especially noteworthy. The attack on my poor nephew is a direct result of the agitation of the Russian and Serbian Pan-Slavs whose single aim is the weakening of the Triple Alliance and the disruption of my Empire. Serajevo is not the deed of a single individual, but the result of a well-arranged plot whose threads reach to Belgrade; and though presumably it will be impossible to prove the complicity of the Serbian government, there can be no doubt that its policy of uniting all the South Slavs under the Serbian flag promotes such crimes and that a continuation of this situation spells lasting danger for my dynasty and for my territories.

This danger is heightened by the fact that Rumania, in spite of its existing alliance with us, is in close friendship with Serbia and permits in its own territory just as hateful an agitation against us as does Serbia. . . . I fear that Rumania can only be saved for the Triple Alliance in case we do two things: prevent the establishment of a new Balkan League under Russian protection by joining Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance; and give it clearly to be understood in Bucharest that Serbia's friends cannot be our friends, and that Rumania can no longer count upon us as allies, unless she cuts loose from Serbia and suppresses with all her power her own agitation in Rumania which is directed against the existence of my Empire. The aim of my government must henceforth be to isolate and diminish Serbia. The first step in this direction must be to strengthen Bulgaria and secure an alliance with her. Bulgaria can then unite with Rumania and guarantee her territorial integrity; and Rumania will then perhaps retreat from the dangerous path into which she is led by her friendship with Serbia and her rapprochement with Russia. If this should succeed, a further attempt could be made to reconcile Greece with Bulgaria and Turkey, and so form a new Balkan League under the protection of the Triple Alliance; its purpose would be to set a dam to the Pan-Slav flood and assure peace to our lands. This will only be possible when Serbia, which at present forms the pivot of the Pan-Slav policy, is *ejected from the Balkans as a political factor*. After the last frightful events in Bosnia, you too will be convinced that a *friendly settlement of the opposition which divides Austria from Serbia is no longer to be thought of*, and that the peace policy of all European monarchs is threatened so long as the source of criminal agitation in Belgrade lives on unpunished.³⁵

The royal letter and Berchtold's accompanying memorandum

³⁴ *Red Book*, I, 4-16; *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 14; Gooss, p. 24.

³⁵ Condensed from *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 13; *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 1. The italics are mine; they indicate words which Tisza objected to as being too strong and likely to make Berlin "shy off" from the action proposed. Cf. Gooss, p. 29. For other indications of Tisza's disapproval of strong action against Serbia, see *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 2, 8, 9, 10, 12.

were despatched to Berlin by special messenger (Hoyos) for presentation to the Kaiser by the Austrian ambassador, Szögyény. As a luxuriant legend has grown up about a "crown council" at Potsdam, Szögyény shall tell in his own words exactly what happened:³⁶

After I had brought it to the knowledge of Emperor William that I had a letter to deliver, I received Their Majesties' invitation to lunch today at noon in the New Palace. I gave His Majesty the letter and the accompanying memorandum. He read both documents in my presence with the greatest attention. At first he assured me that he had expected an earnest action on our part against Serbia, but that in view of the statements of Francis Joseph, he must keep in view a serious European complication and therefore wished to give no definite answer until he had consulted with the Chancellor.

After luncheon when I again emphasized the seriousness of the situation, His Majesty authorized me to report that in this case also we could reckon on Germany's full support. He thought action ought not to be delayed. Russia's attitude would doubtless be hostile, but he had been prepared for that for years; and if it should even come to a war between Austria and Russia, we could be convinced that Germany would stand by our side with her accustomed faithfulness as an ally. Russia, furthermore, he thought, was in no way ready for war and would certainly ponder very seriously before appealing to arms.

His Majesty said he understood how hard Francis Joseph, with his well-known love of peace, would find it to invade Serbia; but if we had really decided that military action against Serbia was necessary, he would be sorry if we left unused the present moment which was so favorable for us. Early tomorrow morning Emperor William intends to go to Kiel to start from there on his northern cruise. But first he will talk with the Chancellor, and for this purpose he has summoned him for this evening to the New Palace.

On the next day, after Bethmann, accompanied by Zimmermann, had discussed the matter with Emperor William, the chancellor officially defined Germany's attitude to Szögyény as follows: "Austria must judge what is to be done to clear up her relation to Serbia; whatever Austria's decision may turn out to be, Austria can count with certainty upon it, that Germany will stand behind her as an ally and friend."³⁷

³⁶ Szögyény to Berchtold, July 5, 7:35 P.M. (condensed); *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 6.

³⁷ *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 7; Gooss, p. 34, note 1, tries to show that Szögyény, being old and not always able to grasp things correctly, over-emphasized the war pressure from Berlin. But his accuracy in these two despatches is fully confirmed by Bethmann's account to Tschirschky: "Concerning Serbia His Majesty naturally cannot take any stand in the questions opened between Austria and Serbia, for they are beyond his competence. But Francis Joseph may be sure that His Majesty in accord with his treaty obligations and old friendship will stand true by Austria's side under all circumstances." The last three words in the original draft made by Zimmermann were stricken out by the more cautious Bethmann and not sent to Tschirschky. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 15.

Thus the Kaiser and Bethmann chose their policy. They gave Austria a free hand and made the mistake of putting the situation outside of their control into the hands of a man as reckless and as unscrupulous as Berchtold. They committed themselves to a leap in the dark. They soon found themselves involved, as we shall see, in actions which they did not approve, and by decisions which were taken against their advice; but they could not seriously object or threaten, because they had pledged their support to Austria in advance, and any hesitation on their part would only weaken the Triple Alliance at a critical moment when it most needed to be strong. Bethmann and the Kaiser on July 5 were not criminals plotting the World War; they were simpletons putting "a noose about their necks"³⁸ and handing the other end of the rope to a stupid and clumsy adventurer who now felt free to go as far as he liked.

But a difference in attitude between the Kaiser and his chancellor is already visible on July 5, and was to grow as the crisis increased, though Bethmann always ended by yielding his own views to his master's, out of a mistaken sense of loyalty and honor. The Kaiser with his shrewder insight and longer acquaintance with the Austrian situation, at once grasped the fact that action against Serbia was the main thing to be considered on July 5. He devoted his main attention to that and only touched briefly on Berchtold's plan for diplomatic action in the Balkans. Bethmann's reaction was just the reverse; he thought the diplomatic action at Bucharest and Sofia to be the main thing. To it he devoted four-fifths of his despatch of July 6 to Tschirschky. Only in a sentence at the end does he say anything concerning Serbia.³⁹

The Kaiser was deeply shocked emotionally at the murder of the archduke, with whom he had been visiting at Konopischt only a few weeks before. In his annotations he never ceases to exclaim against the Serbians as "murderers". For fear of attacks against his own life, he abandoned his projected visit to Francis Joseph.⁴⁰ He felt that the monarchical principle was in danger, and that all monarchs, Nicholas II. most of all, ought to agree with him that the crime at Serajevo should meet with the severest condemnation.^{40a} He wanted

³⁸ As the Kaiser himself frantically wrote on July 30 after learning of Grey's warning, Russian mobilization, and Berchtold's persistent rejection of all proposed peaceful solutions: In addition to encirclement by the Entente, "wird uns die Dummheit und Ungeschicklichkeit unseres Verbündeten zum Fallstrick gemacht". *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 401.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, no 15; cf. note 37 above.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 6.

^{40a} *Ibid.*, nos. 29, 120, 288, 290, 335.

retribution to come as quickly as possible while Europe was still under the vivid impression of the assassination and sympathized with Austria. He expected military action by Austria against Serbia, but on July 5 he did not think it probable that the Austro-Serbian dispute would lead to a European war; he could safely start next morning as had long been planned, and as Bethmann advised, on his northern cruise. This he would hardly have done, if he had expected that the early action, which he hoped Austria would take at once instead of delaying more than two weeks, would certainly involve serious European complications.⁴¹ Nevertheless, he realized that while it was not probable that Austria would kindle a European war, it was possible. Therefore, early on July 6, before leaving Potsdam at quarter past nine for Kiel, he had brief separate interviews with subordinate representatives of the army and navy. He informed each of his interview with Szögyény. He told them privately to inform their chiefs, who were absent on furlough from Berlin, but added that they need not cut short their furloughs to return to Berlin, and that no orders for military preparations need be given, as he did not expect any serious warlike complications.⁴²

Such were the events which grew into the legend of a "crown council" at Potsdam on July 5, so naïvely reported by Mr. Morgenthau from the lips of Wangenheim, the German ambassador at Constantinople:

The Kaiser, he told me, had summoned him to Berlin for an imperial conference. This meeting took place at Potsdam on July 5. The Kaiser presided and nearly all the important ambassadors attended; also Tirpitz, Moltke, the great bankers, railroad directors, and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparation as the army itself.⁴³ The Kaiser solemnly put the question to each man in turn, "Are you ready for war?" All replied, "Yes," except the financiers; they said they must have two weeks to sell their foreign securities and to make loans. At that time few people had looked upon the Serajevo tragedy as something that would inevitably lead to war. This conference, Wangenheim told me, took all precautions that no such suspicion should be aroused. It decided to give the bankers time to readjust their finances for the coming war, and then the

⁴¹ The idea of withdrawal from the scene in order to lull Europe before a sudden attack, he characterized as "childish" in the case of the Austrian chief-of-staff. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 29. The moment he heard the kind of ultimatum that Austria had presented to Serbia he started in a hurry to return to Berlin.

⁴² Statements of Capelle, Bertrab, and Zenker, in October, 1919, in *Kautsky Docs.*, pp. xiii-xvi. It is quite possible, as Tirpitz states (*Erinnerungen*, p. 209), that the Kaiser had also consulted Falkenhayn, the minister of war, on July 5.

⁴³ According to other forms of the legend, an Austrian archduke and the Austrian chief-of-staff also attended.

several members went quietly back to their work, or started on their vacations. Wangenheim of course admitted that Germany precipitated the war. I think he was rather proud of the whole performance, proud that Germany had gone about the matter in so methodical and far-seeing a way, and especially proud that he himself had been invited to participate in so epoch-making a gathering.⁴⁴

What are the facts as revealed by the documents? The reason for the two weeks' delay was not Germany's need to sell securities. It was due, as we shall see, to Tisza's opposition and then to Berchtold's wish to avoid sending the ultimatum until Poincaré had left Russia. Most of the persons alleged to have been present were elsewhere. As for ambassadors, Tschirschky was certainly at Vienna;⁴⁵ Lichnowsky was not present, or he would not have said in his memoir that he learned of the conference "subsequently".⁴⁶ There is not the slightest indication that Pourtalès and Schoen came from Petrograd and Paris. Moltke was away at Karlsbad, and Tirpitz at Tarasp.⁴⁷ Jagow, secretary of state, did not return from his honeymoon in Switzerland until July 6.⁴⁸ It is scarcely conceivable that an Austrian archduke and chief-of-staff could come from Vienna to Potsdam without the fact becoming known. Helfferich, director of the German Bank, Bethmann, and Jagow all vigorously deny that any such council took place.⁴⁹ We must therefore reject the whole story of a crown council on July 5 as a legend. It may have quite probably originated, as Helfferich suggests, with a waiter in a Berlin café who thought he overheard something of the kind from guests whom he was serving. Lichnowsky, Mühlön, and the Socialist deputies in the Reichstag, merely repeated hearsay. Wangenheim, if we are to believe that Mr. Morgenthau has correctly reported him,

⁴⁴ Morgenthau, p. 88 (summarized).

⁴⁵ Otherwise Bethmann would not have telegraphed to him as he did on July 6. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 15.

⁴⁶ Lichnowsky, p. 323.

⁴⁷ In Switzerland. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 74; Tirpitz, *Erinnerungen*, pp. 208 ff., 227.

⁴⁸ Jagow, *Ursachen*, p. 97. The first document from his hand is of July 8. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 18, note 2.

⁴⁹ Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, p. 136; Jagow, *Ursachen*, p. 102. Helfferich, *Vorgeschichte*, pp. 178-182, states that from his close touch with the Foreign Office he knew of Berchtold's memorandum and consequently began to take financial precautions. He also says he investigated the rumor that Austrian military officials saw the Kaiser on July 5, and found that the rumor was without foundation. Neither Sir Horace Rumbold, who was in charge of the British embassy in Berlin during the early days of July, nor any of his diplomatic colleagues, though they placed no confidence in German statements, had any inkling of a conference; Sir Horace was inclined to believe that the newspapers had found a mare's nest. Oman, p. 16 ff.

must have been so puffed up with pride at the German victories and at his own personal success in bringing Turkey into alliance with the Central Powers, that he delighted boastfully to magnify to a credulous auditor the share which he himself had in Germany's destiny.

However, though no such general conference took place on July 5 at which a European war was plotted, the date is momentous, for it does mark the moment at which Berlin gave Berchtold a free hand against Serbia. Until July 5 Berchtold had not dared to take energetic action against Serbia; partly because he knew that his colleague Tisza, the Hungarian premier, was strongly opposed to a sudden and unprovoked attack on Serbia;⁵⁰ and partly because he did not feel sure of German support. Germany had hitherto been taking a reserved and moderating attitude in regard to Austrian adventures in the Balkans.⁵¹ Even before the Serajevo crime Berchtold had tried in vain "to open Tschirschky's eyes to the danger that Austria was in".⁵² Two days after Serajevo, when even serious people in Vienna "were expressing frequently the hope that Austria had now the excuse for coming to a final reckoning with the Serbs", Tschirschky still

used every opportunity to warn calmly but very energetically and earnestly against any over hasty steps. He pointed out above all else that Austria must be clear as to exactly what she wanted, and remember that she did not stand alone in the world, that she must consider her allies and the European situation, and especially the attitude which Italy and Rumania would take in regard to Serbia.⁵³

Up to July 5, Tschirschky accurately represented the moderating views of the Berlin Foreign Office, for on July 4 Szögyény tele-

⁵⁰ Cf. Tisza's letter to Francis Joseph, July 1. *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 1.

⁵¹ Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, p. 137 ff. Cf. also Jagow's illuminating private letter to Lichnowsky, July 18. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 72.

⁵² Hoyos at Vienna to Pallavicini at Constantinople, June 26: "Unterdessen wird ein langes Memorandum für Berlin ausgearbeitet, das demnächst abgehen soll, und der Minister (Graf Berchtold) tut sein Mögliches, Tschirschky die Augen zu öffnen. . . ."

⁵³ Tschirschky to Bethmann, June 30, *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 7. Highly significant of Emperor William's eagerness to have Austria act quickly and vigorously against Serbia are his marginal comments on this despatch. He underlined both the passages placed in quotations above; beside the first he wrote "Now or never", and beside the second, in condemnation of Tschirschky's restraining attitude of moderation: "Who authorized him to this? That is very stupid! It's none of his business, for it is purely Austria's affair to consider what to do in this matter, for it will be said afterwards, if things go wrong, that Germany was not willing!! Tschirschky will please drop this nonsense! Matters must be cleared up with the Serbs, and that soon. That's all self-evident and as clear as daylight."

graphed to Berchtold, "Zimmermann recommends the greatest precaution and advises that no humiliating demands be made upon Serbia."⁵⁴ But after July 5 his attitude changed.⁵⁵ Henceforth Tschirschky appears to have urged Berchtold to the speedy and energetic action against Serbia desired by Emperor William.⁵⁶ This was in accord with the tenor of telegrams from Szögyény, who reflected prevailing German militarist opinion as well as the views of the Berlin Foreign Office.⁵⁷

Accordingly, on Tuesday morning, July 7, Berchtold, now confident of German support, called a ministerial council at Vienna at which the leading ministers and the chiefs of the army and navy were present. He raised

the question whether the time had not come to make Serbia harmless once for all through the use of force. Such a decisive blow could not be struck without diplomatic preparations. So he had got in touch with the German government. The discussions in Berlin had led to a very satisfactory result. Emperor William, as well as Bethmann-Hollweg, had given emphatic assurance of unconditional support in case of a war-like complication with Serbia. Italy and Rumania must still be reckoned with. And here he was in accord with the Berlin Cabinet that it was better to act first without consulting them, and then await any possible demands for compensation.⁵⁸ It was possible that a passage of arms with Serbia might result in a war with Russia. But Russia was at present following a policy that, looking to the future, was aiming at a combination of the Balkan states, including Rumania, for the purpose of using them against the Monarchy when the time seemed opportune. He was of the opinion that Austria must take into account the fact that her situation in the face of such a policy was bound to become increasingly worse, especially as passive toleration would be interpreted by her South Slavs and Rumanians as a sign of weakness, and would lend force to the drawing power of the two border states.

⁵⁴ *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 5.

⁵⁵ He may have received, as Lichnowsky asserts, a reprimand from the Kaiser for his moderating attitude. No such reprimand, however, appears in any of the documents, but this may be easily explained by the fact that the Kautsky documents only pretend to reproduce the messages which passed through the Berlin Foreign Office, together with a few others, such as the letters between the crowned heads, and Tschirschky may have received his reprimand direct from the Kaiser. There are indications that Tschirschky was in direct communication with the Kaiser during July, 1914. He was one of the Kaiser's personal favorites and had often accompanied him on the northern cruises.

⁵⁶ *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 10, 44; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 35, 40, 41, 49, 94.

⁵⁷ *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 6, 7, 13, 15, 23, 41.

⁵⁸ If this was really Bethmann's view at first (*cf. Red Book*, vol. I., no. 7), the chancellor soon changed his mind. For on July 15 (*Kautsky Docs.*, no. 46) Jagow tried to persuade Berchtold to come to a timely understanding beforehand with Italy by offering such "a fat morsel" as the Trentino. This was the first of a whole series of telegrams which advised Vienna to satisfy Italy and safeguard the integrity of the Triple Alliance—advice which Berchtold obstinately disregarded until it was too late.

All agreed with Berchtold except Tisza. He was unwilling to countenance the surprise attack on Serbia without preliminary diplomatic action, which Berchtold contemplated and which Hoyos had unfortunately talked of at Berlin; it would make a bad impression on European public opinion, and involve the probable hostility of all the Balkan states except Bulgaria, which was so weak that it could afford little assistance. He favored formulating demands on Serbia and only presenting an ultimatum in case Serbia did not yield to them. These demands must be hard, but not impossible of fulfillment. If Serbia accepted them, it would be a striking diplomatic success and increase Austrian prestige in the Balkans. If the demands were refused, he also would favor military action, but was emphatic that such action should aim at the diminution, but not at the complete destruction, of Serbia, because on the one hand, Russia would never allow the latter without a life-and-death struggle, and on the other, because he, as premier of Hungary, would never be able to agree to the annexation of a part of Serbia by the Dual Monarchy. He did not believe it was necessary to make war at once, but rather hoped that the diplomatic situation in the Balkans would improve. After a long discussion in which the other ministers expressed their views at length, and possible military measures had been discussed, Tisza's opinion so far prevailed that it was agreed that mobilization should not take place until concrete demands had been presented to Serbia and rejected.

All except Tisza, however, also agreed that a purely diplomatic victory, even if it ended with a striking humiliation of Serbia, would be worthless, and that consequently such far-reaching demands must be presented to Serbia as to make their rejection foreseen, so that the way to a radical solution through a military attack would be prepared.⁵⁹

As result of this council, Berchtold decided to give up for the present his first idea of negotiations for alliance with Bulgaria, and to concentrate his attention on direct action against Serbia.⁶⁰ The next day he tried to influence Tisza to adopt the views of the other ministers, by writing him that Tschirschky "has just had a telegram from Berlin in which his imperial master had directed him to declare here most emphatically that Berlin expects Austria to act against Serbia, and that it would not be understood in Germany if we let

⁵⁹ Minutes of the ministerial council, July 7, in *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 8; also translated in *N. Y. Times Current History*, December, 1919, pp. 455-460; cf. also Tschirschky's report in *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 19.

⁶⁰ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 19, 21, 22.

this given opportunity go by without striking a blow".⁶¹ But Tisza had already set forth his more moderate views more fully in a memoir to Francis Joseph,⁶² in which he suggested a number of demands which might properly be made upon Serbia, insisting at the same time that Austria should disavow any intentions to annex territory, and finally that if Serbia yielded to the demands, Austria must accept this solution *bona fide*. On Thursday, July 9, Berchtold had an audience with Francis Joseph at Ischl and reported the views of the majority of the council and of Tisza.⁶³

During the first two weeks after the murder of Franz Ferdinand, all action proposed against Serbia, both in Berlin and in Vienna, was based on the supposition expressed in Francis Joseph's letter to the Kaiser "that the crime was the result of a well-organized plot the threads of which reach to Belgrade". To get the proof of this, if possible, Wiesner had been sent by Berchtold to Serajevo to investigate on the spot. He reported on July 13: "There is nothing to prove or even to cause suspicion of Serbian government's cognizance of steps leading to crime or of its preparing it or of its supplying the weapons. On the contrary, there are indications that this is to be regarded as out of the question."⁶⁴ Thus, on July 13, Berchtold knew there were no grounds for charging the Serbian government with complicity, and that the supposition on which he had been proceeding was false. Therefore, he deliberately suppressed all knowledge of the Wiesner report, both from Tisza and from his own emperor, and from the German government. He proceeded instead to the formulation of demands which were to be so framed that Serbia could not possibly accept them. This also explains why Austria did not give the powers any opportunity to examine the *dossier* of charges cobbled together against Serbia in Vienna, until after Europe had been faced with the *fait accompli* of war between Austria and Serbia. It was this refusal to present the evidence against Serbia seasonably which, with justice, greatly embittered and roused the Russian foreign minister Sazonov.⁶⁵ It explains why Berchtold, as we

⁶¹ July 8, *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 10. The Kautsky documents do not contain any such telegram. Perhaps it was another of the telegrams sent direct from the Kaiser to Tschirschky and not from the Berlin Foreign Office. The objection might be raised that Berchtold speaks of a telegram "from Berlin", whereas the Kaiser was not at Berlin, but on his northern trip. However, "from Berlin" here may mean no more than "from the German authorities", or "*via* Berlin".

⁶² *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 12.

⁶³ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 29.

⁶⁴ *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 17; Goričar, p. 296.

⁶⁵ *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 16-19; vol. III., no. 16; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 120,

shall see, was determined to prevent any interference or investigation by the powers looking toward a peaceful settlement of the dispute. He knew that his charges would not bear the light. It explains why all Sir Edward Grey's proposals were deceitfully blocked at Vienna until "overtaken by events" and so rendered useless.

Concealing the Wiesner report, Berchtold called a second ministerial council the next day, July 14, at which an agreement was reached on the main points to be demanded. Tisza was persuaded to give up his opposition to the short time-limit of forty-eight hours, on condition that before the ultimatum was presented, a full ministerial council should adopt the formal resolution that "Austria, aside from slight regulations of boundary, seeks no acquisition of territory as a result of the war with Serbia". It was also decided that the ultimatum should not be presented until it was certain that Poincaré had left Russia; for otherwise it was feared that it might be regarded in Petrograd as an affront. Then Russia, under the influence of the "champagne mood" of the Franco-Russian toasts and the chauvinism of Poincaré, Izvolski, and the Grand-duke Nicholas, would be more likely to intervene with military action.⁶⁶ After the date had been changed several times, it was finally decided that if the note were not presented until after five P.M. Thursday, July 23, the news could not reach Petrograd until after Poincaré was safely out of touch with the Russian authorities.⁶⁷ After the council Berchtold informed Tschirschky that the exact text of the ultimatum had not been fixed. But he promised that as soon as the precise wording had been finally adopted at a third ministerial council on Sunday, July 19, he (Tschirschky) would be shown a copy in great confidence, even before it had been submitted to Francis Joseph for approval.⁶⁸ Berchtold, however, did not keep this promise. The precise terms of the note were fixed as planned on July 19,⁶⁹ and its text despatched on the 20th by courier to the Austrian ambassador at Belgrade for presentation to the Serbian government on Thursday, the 23d.⁷⁰ On the 21st, Berchtold went to Ischl, for an audience with Francis Joseph. He telegraphed to his subordinate in

⁶⁶ Minutes of the ministerial council, July 14. *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 19; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 49, 50.

⁶⁷ For the high importance of waiting until Russia had recovered from the "champagne mood" and Poincaré's influence, see *Red Book*, vol. I., nos. 19, 21; *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 50, 65, 69, 80, 93, 96, 108, 112, 127.

⁶⁸ *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 50.

⁶⁹ *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 26; Gooss, p. 101.

⁷⁰ *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 27. It was sent also under the seal of secrecy to Szögyény on the 20th, as well as to the Austrian ambassadors in Rome, Paris, Petrograd, London, and Constantinople. *Ibid.*, no. 29.

Vienna, Macchio, that His Majesty had approved the note without change; "inform Tschirschky that he cannot be given the note until tomorrow, because there are some corrections to be made in it".⁷¹ Berchtold probably feared that even the Berlin Foreign Office would disapprove the extreme and intransigent tone of the note, and might at the last moment stretch out a restraining hand. Therefore Berlin must not know the text until it was too late to do anything.

But meanwhile Berlin had been sending pressing telegrams to know the text of the note as soon as possible, "as it was of vital interest to the German government to know where the Austrian path was leading to".⁷² Under this pressure from Berlin, and in ignorance of Berchtold's order to Macchio, Count Forgách, on the evening of July 21, handed the text of the note in strictest confidence to Tschirschky for transmission to Berlin. Tschirschky sent it by mail instead of by telegraph, either because it was so long and the wires were overcrowded, or because he feared that its later publication might endanger the secrecy of the German cipher. It did not reach Berlin until the evening of July 22. It was then practically too late for Bethmann and Jagow to modify it.⁷³ That, however, they actually would have modified it, if they had had the opportunity, is not to be assumed. They were still adhering to the policy adopted on July 5, that the Serbian question was "beyond the competence of Germany" and was to be "localized". Thus it was essentially true, as they soon asserted to the world, that they did not know of the text of the note before it was sent to Serbia, and they had not shared in drawing it up.⁷⁴

⁷¹ *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 46.

⁷² Private letter of Szögyény to Berchtold, July 21, Gooss, p. 110, note 2. Cf. his telegram on same day: "Unconditionally necessary to inform German government before other Powers at first in a strictly confidential manner." *Red Book*, vol. I., no. 39. Cf. also telegrams of Jagow to Tschirschky urgently requesting (July 19) "essential points of the note", and again (July 21) "to be precisely informed beforehand not only as to the contents of the note, but also as to the day and hour of its publication". *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 77, 83.

⁷³ *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 103, 106. Bethmann, *Betrachtungen*, p. 138 ff., says the text was shown to Jagow late in the evening of July 22; Jagow had just received a copy of it from Szögyény, to whom it had been sent on July 20. Jagow declared it was "too sharp" and reproached the Austrian ambassador for thus communicating it only at the eleventh hour. Jagow, *Ursachen*, p. 109 ff., confirms this. As a commentary on Jagow's veracity, however, it may be noted that on the day after he had read the note and pronounced it too sharp, he telegraphed both to Lichnowsky and to the German ambassador in Sweden, "Austria's demands at Belgrade are unknown to us". *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 123, 126.

⁷⁴ Tschirschky, however, of course had been kept informed in a general way of its progress through the ministerial councils of July 7, 14, and 19. *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 19, 29, 65, 87, 88, 103, 106.

Berchtold's further acts rendering war inevitable may be briefly noted. On July 25, upon the advice of the Austrian chief-of-staff and without waiting to examine the nature of the Serbian reply, Austria mobilized her army against Serbia, to be ready to cross the frontier on the 28th.⁷⁵ On July 27, Berchtold decided to declare war very soon, "primarily in order to cut the ground from every attempt at intervention".⁷⁶

Meanwhile Grey's first proposal for mediation at Petrograd and Vienna by the four less directly interested powers (Germany, Italy, France, and England) was being rejected by Germany on the alleged ground that she could not bring her ally before a court of arbitration.⁷⁷ But when Sir Edward Grey made a second proposal on July 27 that Germany should urge Vienna to refrain from military action and regard the Serbian answer as sufficient or as a basis for further negotiation, Bethmann at last wavered in his optimism about "localization" and tried to recover control over the situation which he had abandoned on July 5.⁷⁸ He notified Berchtold that after rejecting Grey's first proposal, he could not reject the second;

If we should refuse all mediatory action we should be held responsible by the world as the instigators of the war. This would make our own position at home in Germany impossible, where we must appear to be forced into war. Our situation is all the more difficult as Serbia has apparently made very wide concessions. We cannot therefore reject the role of mediator . . . request Berchtold's opinion on the English proposal and also on Sazonov's wish for direct negotiations with Vienna.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Gooss, p. 172.

⁷⁶ Tschirschky to Berlin, July 27, 3:30 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 257.

⁷⁷ *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 17, 18, 38, 40.

⁷⁸ It is noteworthy that Berchtold delayed sending to Berlin the text of Serbia's reply for several days. He evidently feared that its conciliatory and yielding tone might lead Germany, as it did all the other powers of Europe, to feel that Austria's demands were sufficiently satisfied and that grounds for an attack on Serbia were now no longer justifiable. It was not until Berlin requested urgently that the Serbian reply be forwarded, that it was sent and then only in a form in which it was interlarded with arguments drawn up in Vienna. Before it had reached Berlin, the Serbian ambassador had already brought it to the Foreign Office, and the Kaiser noted upon it: "A brilliant result for a time-limit of only 48 hours. That is more than one might have expected! A great moral victory for Vienna; but with it every ground for war disappears, and Giesl ought to have remained quiet in Belgrade. In such circumstances I should never have ordered mobilization!" *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 246, 271, 280; cf. also no. 293; *Dipl. Corresp.*, p. 41.

⁷⁹ Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 27, 11:50 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 279; Gooss, p. 177 ff. This was followed by another telegram on the 28th, warning Berchtold almost in threatening tone to come to some understanding with Russia through the direct negotiations which Germany had proposed in Petrograd. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 323.

Bethmann also had the Kaiser send his first appeal to the tsar: "I am exerting my utmost influence to induce the Austrians to deal straightly to arrive to [*sic*] a satisfactory understanding with you. I confidently hope you will help me in my efforts to smoothe over difficulties that may still arise. Your very sincere and devoted friend and cousin, Willy."⁸⁰ Whether Bethmann's chief anxiety at this moment was really to avoid war, or to make sure that when war came, the blame for it should not seem to rest on Germany and Austria but on Russia, cannot here be discussed. At any rate Berchtold destroyed the possibility of reaching a peaceful solution. Instead of replying to Bethmann, he declared war on Serbia at noon on the 28th. For more than two whole days Bethmann could get no answer from him, in spite of several urgent telegrams. Bethmann was really "pressing the button" hard at Vienna, as he declared to Sir Edward Grey, but Berchtold was deaf.⁸¹ It was not until the morning of July 30 that he was finally informed by Berchtold that "to his sorrow" he could not act on Grey's proposal, because, war having begun with Serbia, the proposal was "outstripped by events".⁸² Meanwhile, owing to the suspicions caused by the rejection of all the English and Russian proposals for a peaceful settlement and owing to the increasing rumors in every country of military preparations, the control was passing at Berlin and Petrograd from the hands of the diplomats to those of the military authorities. Steps, which cannot here be described, were being taken, as a result of Berchtold's uncompromising attitude, which rendered a European war virtually inevitable.

Thus, though we may reject many of the views maintained by Gooss, we may conclude that his interpretation of the responsibility for the war up to July 29 is much nearer the truth than Kautsky's or than that set forth at Versailles by the Allied Commission of which Mr. Lansing was a member. On July 5 Bethmann agreed with the Kaiser that Austria should be given a free hand for a speedy but undetermined action against Serbia. Neither thought it probable that

⁸⁰ July 28, 10:45 P.M. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 325.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 323, 361, 377, 380, 384, 385, 395; *Dipl. Corresp.*, pp. 56-65. Cf. for instance, Bethmann to Tschirschky, July 29, 8 P.M.: After complaining sharply of Austria's uncompromising and contradictory declarations in Petrograd, London, and Rome, Bethmann says he is forced to conclude that Austria has new intentions of partitioning Serbia contrary to her former assurances that she did not intend to seize Serbian territory; and that Austria is concealing her intentions from Germany for fear Germany would not support them. *Kautsky Docs.*, no. 361.

⁸² *Kautsky Docs.*, nos. 388, 400, 432.

the action would involve a European war. By adopting the policy that the Serbian question was a purely Austrian affair, "beyond the competence" of Germany, and by promising loyal support as an ally, they believed with a wholly unwarranted optimism that the Austro-Serbian conflict could be "localized". Berchtold, being given a free hand and sure of the support of his ally, then went recklessly ahead, disregarding German advice and failing to keep the German Foreign Office precisely informed "where the Austrian path was leading to". He thereby created a situation in which the Central Powers became so involved and in which so many steps toward mobilization were taken, that "localization" was no longer possible. When at last Bethmann made an effort to restrain Austria it was too late. Though Tschirschky, holding militarist views himself and representing the attitude of the Kaiser rather than of Bethmann and the German Foreign Office, cast his influence for energetic action against Serbia, he did not push on a hesitating Berchtold. Berchtold needed no pushing. He was eager to be free from German restraint and sure of German support; and it was precisely these things which he was so foolishly promised on July 5.⁸³

SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY.

⁸³ After correcting the proof of the foregoing article I received a copy of the proceedings of the Reichstag Investigating Committee of last March (*Beilagen zu den Stenographischen Berichten über die Oeffentlichen Verhandlungen des Untersuchungsausschusses: Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, Nr. 1). These depositions of some forty personages confirm the conclusions which I had already reached. They tend to exonerate Tschirschky more than I have done. They also show that Falkenhayn, Prussian minister of war, with a couple of subordinates, Plessen and Lyncker, conferred for a few minutes with the Kaiser at Potsdam on the afternoon of July 5, but with no one else, and no military measures were then taken indicative of any expectation that Germany would be involved in war.

GERMAN HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS, 1914-1920¹

It is not surprising that in Germany, as in most of the belligerent countries, historical productivity has been diminished by the war. Some historians, indeed, have continued their work, but many, no longer having the freedom of mind necessary for dealing with subjects remote from the preoccupations of the present, have turned their attention to subjects nearer at hand, or more related to the events of the time. As a result, fields of history which formerly were favorites with German writers—antiquity, for example, the Middle Ages, or the Renaissance—have been neglected in favor of more recent periods or more immediate problems. Contemporary history has thus attracted special attention, with all its related questions—the colonial question, that of imperialism, that of *Mitteleuropa*. Naturally, these works have not always been free from *Tendenz*. Professor Moriz Ritter explains it thus, in his recent book, *Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft*:

In the fateful hour upon which our people have entered, all their forces, not only the economic but even more those which are directed toward the ideal aims of humanity, should be joined if we wish to rise again to a higher existence. And for the intellectual work which goes on in the field of science, historical studies must always serve as guide.

Ever since the second half of the nineteenth century the advancement of national education has always been the more or less avowed goal of German historians. But during the war, more than ever, historical forces have been mobilized toward political or national ends. I shall not review all the books produced, many of which lack scientific character, but shall confine myself to the most important and significant. Neither have I cared to discuss them in the order of their publication; I have thought it more convenient to group them according to periods and subjects treated.

¹ [During the years since the outbreak of war in 1914 our reviewing of important German historical works has inevitably fallen into arrears, and even now not all such books are procurable for the purpose. Seeking the best means of placing our readers more *au courant* of this literature, we have been so fortunate as to obtain the following survey (in which, however, books on the origin and history of the Great War are not included) from the competent hands of Professor Antoine Guiland, professor of history in the École Polytechnique Fédérale at Zurich. His book entitled, in its English translation, *Modern Germany and her Historians*, has been made known to the readers of this journal by review in a previous volume, XXII. 151-153. ED.]

In the field of ancient history, the first which presents itself is the *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*² by Professor Rudolf Kittel. This is not precisely a recent work. Its first edition, which appeared from 1888 to 1892, bore the title *Geschichte der Hebräer*, but the author has since then so thoroughly revised his work, utilizing new discoveries, that one may say he has almost written a new book. Hardly a page, he says, has remained unchanged.

Professor Kittel's book is a political history, but it is also a history of civilization. "If one excludes the cultural life of Israel", he says, "its history reduces itself to a mere history of wars". Naturally he gives chief prominence to that which constitutes the greatness of Israel for the world—religion. "In this respect", he says, "humanity owes more to Judaea than to Greece and to Rome". He studies also what Israel owes to her Asiatic neighbors and even to the Occident, apprehending Jewish history from the point of view of universal history. "Whoever wishes", he says, "to have an idea of the development, internal and external, of the Hebrew people, must place their history in the stream of world-history". The work of Professor Kittel is not only a book of solid erudition; it is also a book of general ideas and suggestive insight.

In the same field, Professor Bertholet has published a *Kulturgeschichte Israels*.³ Leaving political history at one side, he has applied himself solely to giving a picture of Judaic civilization. He exhibits by concrete facts the family life of the Hebrews, the furnishing of their houses, the occupations they followed, their social, political, and intellectual life, their art, and their literature. This picture of Hebrew life, which rests on a profound knowledge of the sacred books, of archaeological discoveries, and of recent excavations, is extraordinarily vivid. Dr. Bertholet's book is at once profitable and engaging.

A history of antiquity conceived in an entirely different spirit forms the first part of a *Weltgeschichte*⁴ undertaken by Professor Ludo Moritz Hartmann with several collaborators. These his-

² Rudolf Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel: Palästina in der Urzeit, das Werden des Volkes, Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Tode Josuas; Das Volk in Kanaan, Quellenkunde und Geschichte der Zeit bis zum Babylonischen Exil*, third ed., much revised and enlarged (Gotha, Perthes, 1917).

³ Alfred Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920).

⁴ *Weltgeschichte: Einleitung und Geschichte des Alten Orients*, von E. Hanslik, E. Kohn, und E. G. Klauber; *Griechische Geschichte*, von Ettore Ciccotti; *Römische Geschichte*, von L. M. Hartmann und J. Kromayer (Gotha, Perthes, 1919).

torians are less concerned with the exposition of facts than with the determination of great historic currents; they take more account of social and economic than of political life. Their work is a sort of panoramic view of the history of humanity taken at its decisive moments. Such works tend necessarily to superficiality, if they are not edited by specialists thoroughly masters of their subjects. Dr. Hartmann has chosen his collaborators well: for prehistoric times and the history of the ancient Orient, he has called upon scholars of the first order, Professors Hanslik, Kohn, and Klauber. For Greek history he could not find a historian of more competent knowledge than Professor Ciccotti. He himself has treated Roman history from the earliest times to the union of the city with Italy. Next Professor Kromayer has studied the history of the end of the Republic, and the Empire to Diocletian. Hartmann takes up the end of the Empire, Roman decadence to the beginning of the Middle Ages, the barbarian invasions, the foundation of the Byzantine Empire and the Mussulman conquest.

With *Caesars Monarchie und das Prinzipat des Pompejus*,⁵ Professor Eduard Meyer leads us again into purely political history. It is a book of most excellent workmanship and without doubt the most important German historical work published during the war. Its origin was not entirely unaffected by the preoccupations of the moment. Professor Meyer tells us that he found it impossible at the end of 1914 to continue his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, of which he was beginning the sixth volume. He felt an inexorable necessity of occupying himself with an historical question more related, he says, "to the furious (*tobend*) struggle for its existence which the German nation was sustaining". He turned his attention to the troubled period of Roman history which led to the fall of the Republic and the establishment of the Empire. Here he encountered a redoubtable rival, Mommsen; but this was far from checking him. Mommsen's partiality is well known. He transfers to Rome the hatreds of a liberal of 1848, against the Roman aristocrats whom he confounds with the Junkers and against the plebeians whom he identifies with the radical democrats of Germany. Professor Meyer brings no partizanship into the elucidation of this great political problem. Without anger and without hate, he has but one aim—to see clearly and speak the truth. His picture, if it has not the brilliance of Mommsen's, is more exact; his portraits, shaded with infinite precision, are speaking likenesses. Far from seeing in Caesar

⁵ Eduard Meyer, *Caesars Monarchie und das Prinzipat des Pompejus: Innere Geschichte Roms von 66 bis 44 v. Chr.* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918).

a sort of god, a "savior of society", he shows everywhere the man of ambition, without scruple, who, more adroit than his rival Pompey, more intelligent and stronger, finally triumphs over him. Dr. Meyer, furthermore, does not, like Mommsen, see in the struggle of the two men merely a struggle between two candidates, but a contest of ideas. Pompey himself is nearer the truth, that is to say, more in accordance with the Roman tradition, and it is his system which triumphs when, after the assassination of Caesar, Augustus comes into power. "The principate of Augustus", he says, "is only the realization of the policy of Pompey."

Such is the fundamental idea of Professor Meyer's narrative. It must be read to appreciate with what learning, what a wealth of cogent arguments, the idea is sustained. I know no picture of Roman life during this capital crisis which equals that which he has drawn. Rehabilitating Cicero, whom Mommsen makes a prating coward, he shows him as, in spite of his failings, the most veracious witness of his time. The work is written with warmth; behind the scholar one discerns an artist and a writer.

Continuing the work which he undertook in the collection *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, Professor Ludo M. Hartmann brings out a new volume of his *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*,⁶ treating of the rule of the Ottos. The work is remarkable for its rich documentation, the skillful grouping of the material, and the clear and exact narrative. Following his natural tendency, Dr. Hartmann gives more importance to economic and social than to political life. He takes up, nevertheless, the political problem which has occupied the majority of the German historians who have touched upon this history, the question, that is, whether domination in Italy was profitable to the Empire. Nationalist historians, Sybel, von Below,⁷ answer the question in the negative. Hartmann, judging from the higher standpoint of civilization, finds that this penetration of the rude, barbarous German mind by the fine and highly cultured Italian spirit could not fail to have favorable effects.

The history of Serbia, which has been written in German several times (Engel in 1807 and Ranke in 1829), is the subject of a new work appearing in the same collection.⁸ Its author, Professor Constantine Jireček, published in 1911 the first volume, which ends at

⁶ L. M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, Band IV., 1 Hälfte, *Die Ottonische Herrschaft* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915).

⁷ G. von Below has touched upon the question in *Der Deutsche Staat des Mittelalters* (1914), reviewed in *American Historical Review*, XX. 137.

⁸ C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben* (Gotha, Perthes, 2 vols., 1911, 1918).

1371, the year in which the Serbs fought at the Maritza their first battle against the Turks. The second volume, which appeared in 1918, treats of the history of Serbia from 1371 to 1537. In this work we at last possess a history of Serbia written from the sources and according to good methods of historical criticism. The author was a Slavist of note who resided for a long time in Balkan countries and knew thoroughly the peoples who inhabit them. Drawing inspiration from Ranke, he has wished simply "to recount things as they really were". His sober narrative is at once a political history of the Serbs and a history of their civilization, for a large place is given to the social, economic, religious, intellectual, literary, and artistic life of the people. This history leaves but one regret—that Professor Jireček died before finishing it. We must hope that some student of this learned professor of the University of Vienna will continue the work of his teacher, inspired by the same spirit.

In the same collection Dr. E. Zivier, resuming after a rather long interruption the *History of Poland* begun by Richard Roepell in 1840 and continued since 1888 by Jacob Caro, gives us a first volume of a *Neuere Geschichte Polens*,⁹ relating the history of Poland under the last two Jagiellos. After having experienced under the first Jagiello a period of prosperity before unknown, Poland, which had become one of the great states of Europe, loses her power little by little, from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Her frontiers threatened, a prey to internal dissensions and religious quarrels, she loses the ascendancy which she had acquired. Such is the subject-matter of Dr. Zivier's narrative, which would have been improved by some condensation. Eight hundred pages devoted to the history of sixty-six years is a little excessive. The author does not sufficiently distinguish between essential facts and lesser ones. He seems to have been overwhelmed by the documents he has discovered in the archives. He has made the mistake of giving all; a selection would have been better. His work is none the less important, for it makes known a period of Polish history little explored by scholars. The best part is that which treats of the Reformation in Poland.

The field of Professor Friedrich von Bezold, of the University of Bonn, is, as is well known, the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Humanist as well as historian, interested in literature and art as well as in history, he has written several essays, first published in the reviews, especially the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and these he has now brought together in a volume under the title *Aus Mittel-*

⁹ E. Zivier, *Neuere Geschichte Polens*, vol. I., *Die Zwei Letzten Jagellonen*, 1506-1572 (Gotha, Perthes, 1915).

alter und Renaissance.¹⁰ The most diverse subjects are here treated, for example: the Poor and German Literature at the end of the Middle Ages; the Humanist Conrad Celtes; the Astrological Construction of History in the Middle Ages; On the Beginnings of Autobiography; Bodin considered as Occultist and his *Démonomanie*; and many others. By his naturalness, his good-nature, and his penetration, Professor von Bezold often recalls Jacob Burckhardt, whose taste for the history of civilization he shares.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation has given rise in Germany and in German Switzerland to a great number of works, some of which have value. I will only mention the volume of Professor G. von Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation* (1917), since it has already been reviewed in this journal.¹¹ Important also is the work of Gustav Wolf, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Reformationsgeschichte*,¹² the first extensive book on the sources for the history of the German Reformation. He has studied the movement itself, almost exclusively, leaving aside or treating summarily the related questions such as that of the sects of Anabaptists, etc. He has neglected also the polemics of Luther's Catholic adversaries, or at least only mentions them when the Reformation is directly concerned. In his first volume, devoted to the *Vorreformation* and to the general history of the reform, he discusses the councils, mysticism, Wycliffe, Huss, humanism, and the acts and documents relative to the German Reformation. In his second volume he studies Protestant religious life, and devotes a chapter to each of the great reformers, Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin. Some errors and omissions are discoverable, inevitably in a work of such dimensions. On the other hand, praise is due to the author's patience and self-denial. He has rendered an immense service to all who henceforth shall occupy themselves with the history of the Reformation in general.

The work of Reimann, *Deutsche Geschichte der Reformation, 1500 bis 1648*,¹³ is a good popular book which has the merit of grouping and co-ordinating the new researches and placing the results within the grasp of the general public.

Of an entirely different value is the great work of Professor

¹⁰ F. von Bezold, *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1918).

¹¹ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 468.

¹² Band I., *Vorreformation und Allgemeine Reformationsgeschichte*; Band II., Teil I, *Kirchliche Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915, 1916).

¹³ Berlin, G. Reimer, 1917.

Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther*.¹⁴ It is not a complete history of the reformer; up to the present time, at least, the learned professor of the University of Tübingen has recounted the life of Luther only to his leaving the monastery and breaking with the Church. How many obscurities this period, disfigured by legend, still presents, is well known. Dr. Scheel does not claim to have solved all the problems, but at least he disposes of many calumnies diffused by Catholic historians. His work, at once critical and narrative, exhibits for the first time in a scientific manner the history of Luther's childhood and youth, of his studies and his novitiate, of his sojourn in the monastery and his journey to Rome. Utilizing the researches of the Catholic historians—Janssen, Denifle, Grisar—too much neglected by Protestant writers, Professor Scheel studies the relations of Luther's faith with the Catholicism of the end of the Middle Ages. A strong desire to be impartial animates the work. We shall be delighted to see the continuation which the historian promises.

On the occasion of the Zwingli celebration in 1919 the German-Swiss Reformed churches published several works, one of which, at least, deserves to be mentioned, a folio volume, *Ulrich Zwingli*, put forth by the canton and city of Zurich, with the co-operation of the university, the archives, the central library, and several learned societies, and richly illustrated; but it has already been reviewed in this journal.¹⁵ Attention has also been called in these pages to the able and original work lately published by another Swiss historian, Professor Eduard Fueter, on general European politics at the beginning of the modern period.¹⁶

From the sixteenth century we are obliged to skip abruptly to the beginning of the nineteenth century. For, except for the volumes of Eugen Guglia on *Maria Theresia* (1917), which have been spoken of in these pages,¹⁷ no important work has appeared on the seventeenth or eighteenth century. On the Napoleonic epoch Therese Ebbinghaus produces a rather interesting contribution in her study *Napoleon, England, und die Presse, 1800-1803*.¹⁸ Up to the present, historians who have paid any attention to the press under Napoleon

¹⁴ O. Scheel, *Martin Luther, von Katholizismus zur Reformation*, Band I., *Auf der Schule und Universität*; Band II., *Im Kloster* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1916, 1917).

¹⁵ *Ulrich Zwingli: Zum Gedächtnis der Zürcher Reformation, 1519-1919* (Zurich, Berichthaus, 1919). See p. 316, above.

¹⁶ Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559* (Zurich, Munich, and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1919). See p. 709, below.

¹⁷ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 674.

¹⁸ Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1914.

have seen especially the negative side, the censorship. Madame Ebbinghaus studies the positive side, setting forth the use which Napoleon knew how to make of the press, often inspiring it in the interest of his policy. The press so inspired played an important part during the years between the signing and the breaking of the peace of Amiens. Her work, based upon documents in the archives and on the reading of all the newspapers of the period, comes to this conclusion: "When one considers the French press throughout this crisis, one comes to agree with those who see in Napoleon not the aggressor but the attacked."

Another work on the Napoleonic period, H. Ulmann's *Geschichte der Befreiungskriege*,¹⁹ has already been reviewed in this journal.

Other anniversaries have been the occasion of important publications. Thus, the annexation of the Rhine provinces to Prussia has given rise to no less than three works: *Die Rheinprovinz, 1815-1915*; *Preussen und Rheinland von 1815 bis 1915*; *Die Stadt Cöln im Ersten Jahrhundert unter Preussischer Herrschaft*.²⁰ The first, published under the direction of Joseph Hansen, brings together a number of collaborators, Rhenish historians, each of whom has treated a particular subject—politics, administration, economic life, schools, religion, art, and literature. The second, a briefer work, by Dr. Hansen himself, is of a more popular character, and seeks to prove that "union with Prussia has been for the greater material, intellectual, and moral good of the country". Such is also the intention of the city of Cologne in the large work which it has published. At the beginning of the Prussian domination it seemed that the city might have lost its importance, since the supreme tribunal of the Rhenish province had been removed to Coblenz, since Düsseldorf had become the seat of the provincial Landtag, and since the old university had been transferred to Bonn. But from 1840 on, under the spur of the economic development of Germany, the position of primacy returned to the former Hanse town of the Middle Ages; its commerce and its industry have made it one of the greatest cities of Germany. Here also was found the centre of the Rhenish

¹⁹ H. Ulmann, *Geschichte der Befreiungskriege* (2 vols., 1914). See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 853, XXI. 148.

²⁰ *Die Rheinprovinz, 1815-1915: Hundert Jahre Preussischer Herrschaft am Rhein* (2 vols., Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1917). *Preussen und Rheinland von 1815 bis 1915: Hundert Jahre Politischen Lebens am Rhein* (Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1918). *Die Stadt Cöln im Ersten Jahrhundert unter Preussischer Herrschaft, 1815-1915*, herausgegeben von der Stadt Cöln (2 vols., Cöln, Neubner, 1915, 1916).

liberalism of 1848, of which Hansemann, Camphausen, and Merissen were the chiefs.

Memories of the revolution of 1848 revived by the German revolution of 1918 have been evoked by Professor Veit Valentin in a volume on *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung*.²¹ That congress, "too much neglected up to the present by the historians", says Professor Valentin, nevertheless deserves study, for it laid the foundation of all German constitutional life. Discredited by Prussian national historians, it was none the less "rich in intelligence", avowedly inspired by the liberal ideas of France, of England, and of America. The author presents the work of the assembly and draws the portraits of its best-known members. His book rests upon a profound knowledge of the subject, and is one of the good historical works of recent years.

A question much discussed at that time was that of *Mittleuropa*, not in the sense in which Friedrich Naumann used the term—a great political empire in the centre of Europe—but in the sense of a confederation of peoples based on the principle of free trade. One of the protagonists of that idea was Baron Bruck, minister of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, of whom the Austrian historian Richard Charmatz has just recounted the life and achievements, using important documents found in the Austrian archives.²² Rising from very modest circumstances, this Rhenish Prussian who entered the service of Austria mounted to the highest positions of state. He founded the Austrian Lloyd and promoted all the economic reforms which contributed to the prosperity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the middle of the nineteenth century. Seeing the greatness of a country only in its peaceful industry, he disapproved of the war of 1859, yet fell a victim to it, for, being at that time head of the empire's administration, he was held responsible for the defeat; the emperor demanded his resignation, and von Bruck in despair took his own life. Dr. Charmatz rehabilitates this worthy man, a convinced philanthropist and advocate of free trade.

German political life since 1859 has been the subject of several works. Dr. Hermann Wendorf has studied the origin of the Catholic party of the Centre,²³ seeking to relieve that party of the reproach

²¹ Veit Valentin, *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung: eine Geschichtliche Studie über die Frankfurter Paulskirche* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1918).

²² R. Charmatz, *Minister Freiherr von Bruck, der Vorkämpfer Mitteleuropas: sein Lebensgang und seine Denkschriften* (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1916).

²³ H. Wendorf, *Die Fraktion des Zentrums im Preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus, 1859-1867* (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1916).

of having held "particularist tendencies or even of having been hostile to Prussia". What may be conceded to Dr. Wendorf is that the Rhenish Catholics, who had tasted liberty under French domination, were for the most part more liberal than the majority of Prussian liberals, who after the victories of 1864 and 1866 became admirers of Bismarck's policies.

Two works devoted to this evolution of the German Liberal party are Otto Westphal's *Welt- und Staatsauffassung des Deutschen Liberalismus* and Hildegard Katsch's *Heinrich von Treitschke und die Preussisch-Deutsche Frage von 1860-1866*.²⁴ Herr Westphal is concerned particularly with the rôle played in this evolution by the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, which at first, with Freytag's *Grenzboten*, was the organ of the German liberals. After 1864 this review ceased to combat Bismarck's policy and during the summer of 1866, when Treitschke became its director, it became frankly reactionary.

Treitschke played the principal part in this transformation of the party, and from this point of view the last volume of his correspondence, which appeared in two parts in 1917 and 1920,²⁵ is an important historic document. In 1866, as is well known, the historian was a professor in the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau. As soon as war was declared he took refuge at Berlin, where he became the director of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. The war ended, Bismarck would have liked to attach him to his service, but Treitschke, wishing to preserve his independence, refused. Professor at Kiel, then at Heidelberg, then at Berlin, he was also a deputy to the Reichstag, where at first he defended the National-Liberal policies; then, turning away from his former friends, he enrolled himself in the Conservative ranks. His correspondence gives us interesting information on the political life of the time. He at first welcomed the accession of William II., but when the young sovereign broke with Bismarck, he became an enemy of the "new course". He expected no good to come of "this feverish ardor" and often uttered prophetic warnings. In 1895 he writes in one of his letters: "For the immediate future, I can only hope for peace; for, since every war is political, I do not see how such a government could ever be victorious (*sollte jemals siegen*)."²⁶ The older he grew the more pessimistic Treitschke became; he was saddened by the thought that his days were numbered and that yet he had "so many more things to say to the Germans".

²⁴ Both volumes published by R. Oldenbourg, Munich, 1919.

²⁵ *Heinrich von Treitschkes Briefe*, herausgegeben von Max Cornicelius, Band III., 1866-1896 (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1920).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 638-639.

The history of the formation of the German Empire, which Treitschke had intended to write "in a short volume", to crown his *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, has been recounted concisely by Erich Brandenburg in his work, *Die Reichsgründung*,²⁷ written before the war but not published until 1916. Erich Brandenburg is not a philosophical historian; he contents himself with telling the facts, and his narrative is always sober, I should even say a little too bald. There are no portraits nor pictures, no reflections that reveal imagination; his book is a dry exposition of a situation logically unfolding. Thus the best portions of this history are not those which demand psychological insight, but those in which political questions are discussed, for example the relations between Bismarck and Napoleon III., the origins of the war of 1866, the candidacy of the Hohenzollern prince for the throne of Spain. On the other hand, Brandenburg has failed completely in his exposition of the sentiments of the liberals of 1848. What a cold picture he has given us! One regrets while reading it that Treitschke was not able to write the sixth volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte*, in which he intended to tell the story of that revolution. What color and life he would have given it!

Erich Marcks, who has just written a new biography of Bismarck,²⁸ is a better psychologist than Erich Brandenburg. It is a brief study which he felt compelled to write before continuing the larger work which he had begun on the same subject, the first volume of which appeared in 1909. He states his aim in these words: "I have desired to acquaint Germans now struggling for their existence with the deeds of a great German whose heroic figure embodies strength and confidence, courage and faith." He says too that the work was written "almost without books", and very rapidly. This circumstance, which to any one else would have been a disadvantage, has on the contrary helped Professor Marcks. Such a master of his subject is he, that he can treat it with the greatest facility. I should even say that, unembarrassed by the weight of too much erudition and dealing directly with essentials, he has written a masterpiece. At all events I do not hesitate to say that, to my mind, *Otto von Bismarck* is his best work.

With Bismarck we come to the great political problems of our own time, which have been abundantly dealt with during the war:

²⁷ E. Brandenburg, *Die Reichsgründung* (2 vols., Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1916).

²⁸ E. Marcks, *Otto von Bismarck: ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1918).

the problem of nationality, the problem of *Mitteleuropa*, the colonial problem, the problem of imperialism.

At the time of Italy's entrance into the war Ludo M. Hartmann wrote a little book, *Hundert Jahre Italienischer Geschichte*,²⁹ which is a clear and lively exposition of the making of united Italy. Professor Hartmann, who has devoted his life to the study of the history of the Italian people, has evidently suffered at seeing that people join with the enemies of Germany. But he utters no recriminations. He gives to his work the motto: "Ich lasse dich nicht, Du segnest mich doch."³⁰ And indeed he shows, throughout, as much sympathy for the Italian people as objectivity in his account of their struggles for national autonomy.

Feeling of the same sort inspires the work of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der Politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen, 1795-1914*.³¹ The author, a native of Poland, for some time during the war directed the Polish press bureau in Berlin. Thoroughly versed in his country's history, he undertook, at the time when Polish independence was recognized by the Central Powers, to explain to the German-speaking public the history of the aspirations of his people toward liberty and national independence. Although written under the influence of present realities, his well-documented book is a work of serious value, which sets forth for the first time the whole of the Polish problem as it stood during the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Ukrainian and Egyptian problems have been treated in two works, the first by Professor Hruschewskij (Grushevski), *Geschichte der Ukraine* (1916), the other by Adolf Hasenclever, *Geschichte Aegyptens im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1917); but as these books have been reviewed in this journal,³² I shall content myself with mentioning them.

Neither shall I speak of the famous book of Friedrich Naumann, *Mitteleuropa* (1916), which is not at all the work of an historian; but as the ideas there expressed have been the subject of discussion by true historians, I shall say a few words about the book by Professor Hermann Oncken, *Das Alte und das Neue Mitteleuropa*,³³

²⁹ L. M. Hartmann, *Hundert Jahre Italienischer Geschichte: die Grundlagen des Modernen Italiens, 1815 bis 1915* (Munich, G. Müller, 1916).

³⁰ ["I will not let thee go, except thou bless me." Genesis xxxii. 26. Ed.]

³¹ Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1917.

³² *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 666, XXV. 114.

³³ Sub-title: *Historisch-politische Betrachtungen über Deutsche Bündnispolitik im Zeitalter Bismarcks und im Zeitalter des Weltkrieges* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917).

which deserves some attention. A realist of Bismarck's school, Oncken criticizes with penetration Naumann's "work of political mysticism", declaring his programme to be one of "impracticable and undesirable centralization". Oncken believes that the time of great centralized empires is ended and that we are advancing rather to the idea of the federation of states. "One thing is certain", he says, "that things will never go back to the condition in which they were before the war." He remarks also that the Prussian state lacked flexibility in its treatment of alien populations incorporated into the empire, or attached to it—Poles, Alsatians, Danes. "Force is good", he says, "in its place; but justice must not be forgotten." It is interesting also to find Oncken undertaking the defense of small nationalities and recognizing that the Pan-Germanists "did an irreparable wrong to Germany by flaunting the spectre of world-hegemony".

On the colonial problem the work of Professor Veit Valentin, *Kolonialgeschichte der Neuzeit*,³⁴ may be cited, a good résumé of all the colonial enterprises of modern peoples, written for the purpose of orienting his compatriots with respect to "a subject too much neglected in Germany". The work is a comparative study of what each nation has done in the field of colonization; Professor Valentin seeks to show that the German nation has something to learn from each, especially from the English, whose experience seems to him decisive.

It is England again which Professor Felix Salomon proposes as an example to his people in his book, *Der Britische Imperialismus*.³⁵ After showing that the word imperialism, first coming into use after 1878 to designate a movement toward outward expansion, is closely connected with colonial policy, he gives the history of the most important of such movements—British imperialism. He says that, though writing in the midst of the war, he was able "to stifle his patriotic feeling and speak of the subject without anger". "I have no wish", he adds, "but to further the political culture of the German people." His discussion is in fact objective, and is besides well done. "I have wished", he says, "to write a book which shall be read rather than studied."

There is no chapter of English colonial history in respect to

³⁴ Veit Valentin, *Kolonialgeschichte der Neuzeit: ein Abriss* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1915).

³⁵ F. Salomon, *Der Britische Imperialismus: ein Geschichtlicher Ueberblick über den Wendegang des Britischen Reiches vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916).

which Germans have entertained more prejudices than in the case of India. It is to combat these prejudices that Professor Sten Konow has written *Indien unter der Englischen Herrschaft*.³⁶ After describing the country and the people, explaining the conditions existing when the Europeans came, and sketching briefly the first attempts at colonization by the Portuguese, the French, and the Dutch, he studies searchingly the admirable work of the English, who succeeded best in adapting themselves practically to the customs of the country and the minds of the inhabitants. Reviewing their accomplishments in administration, finance, transportation, agriculture, industry, commerce, intellectual and moral improvement, he refutes the assertion that British power in India rests on frail foundations. The majority of the Hindus are happy under English rule, and these splendid results, Professor Konow adds, are due less "to armed force or even to the economic prosperity of the country, than to the admirable activities of the government and to the devotion with which the officials perform their duties".

Among the innumerable historical lectures, pamphlets, and essays which have appeared in Germany during the war, several may be mentioned which have survived the occasion that called them forth. One such is the pamphlet of Professor Eduard Meyer, *Das Britische Weltreich*,³⁷ a good exposition of the historical development of British power. Another is the short study of Professor Georg von Below, *Deutschland und die Hohenzollern*,³⁸ which is beyond doubt an apology for the Prussian ruling family but which sums up their work well. In the collection of *Vorlesungen der Gehestiftung in Dresden*, I note three monographs which deserve to be signalized: the very fine piece of work by Professor Fritz Fleiner entitled *Die Staatsauffassung der Franzosen*,³⁹ and two essays on English politics, one by Ernst Schultze, *Die Politische Bildung in England*, the other by Professor Julius Hatschek, *Die Staatsauffassung der Engländer*.⁴⁰

Volumes of collected essays have been relatively numerous. I mention in passing those of Professor Alfred Stern, *Reden, Vorträge und Abhandlungen* (1914), and those of Professor Hermann Oncken, *Historisch-Politische Aufsätze und Reden* (1914), which have been reviewed in these pages.⁴¹ Another volume which ap-

³⁶ Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1915.

³⁷ Berlin, Heymann, 1918.

³⁸ Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1915.

³⁹ Leipzig, Teubner, 1915.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1914, 1917.

⁴¹ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 199, XX. 407.

peared later is the *Historische Aufsätze* of Professor Heinrich Friedjung,⁴² dealing especially with Austrian history. These essays, for the most part written before the war, have not been influenced by events. In his preface however, dated March, 1919, the author discusses the question of the future of the Hapsburg monarchy. "A state is not incapable of living because it has been vanquished." He believes in the possibility of resurrection, not of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but of a Danubian Confederation, bound together by economic interests. He indicates also the tasks awaiting the Austrian historians of to-morrow (preface, p. xv).

Professor Friedrich Meinecke also has a volume of collected essays written in recent years on Prussia and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴³ It contains studies of the period of the Wars of Liberation, of the reign of Frederick William IV. and the rise of Bismarck, of several German historians, among others Ranke, Treitschke, and Dove, and considerations of several questions relative to the war (*Kultur, Machtpolitik, Militarismus und die Deutsche Freiheit*). Meinecke, who is a moderate spirit, more akin to Ranke than to Treitschke,⁴⁴ recognizes that in the national movement, prepared by the patriots of 1813, strengthened by the liberals of 1848, and realized in the Prussian state with the co-operation of cultivated Germans, errors were committed. Even before the defeat of 1917, he wrote in his preface: "After the war we shall have to submit all the steps of that movement to the tribunal of the national conscience (*eine nationale Selbstprüfung*)."

This self-examination Professor Meinecke undertakes in a little book written after the war and entitled *Nach der Revolution*.⁴⁵ The chapters are as follows: the Eve of the Revolution, the Causes of the German Revolution, the National Idea in Old and New Germany, Parallels of our Situation from World History, a Conversation in the Autumn of 1919. With "the historical love for all that is alive", Professor Meinecke does not give himself up to sterile regrets; he examines calmly what is past. The essential thing, to him, is "to derive the lesson from events". "A misfortune understood", he says, "will restore to us clearness of aim and firmness of action." He recognizes the errors of the past, "aggressive and brutal nation-

⁴² Stuttgart and Berlin, Cotta, 1919.

⁴³ F. Meinecke, *Preussen und Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Historische und Politische Aufsätze* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1918). See above, p. 266.

⁴⁴ See his eulogy of Ranke, *ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴⁵ *Nach der Revolution: Geschichtliche Betrachtungen über unsere Tage* (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1920).

alism", "the intoxication of power". He would have the nation forsake its errors and face seriously the duties of the future. "A misfortune", he says, "is more fitted to instruct the people than a happy victory." "We deny nothing of the past", he says, also, "but we do not shut ourselves up in it, and we look forward!" Urging his people to forget the past of Bismarck, which is gone forever, he would have them devote all their efforts to the organization of the democracy, and he does not even shrink from a reasonable socialism. "If the Germans", he says, "succeed in organizing in their country a rational socialism, they will exert an influence, by attraction, in other nations." But above all Professor Meinecke preaches a return to the liberal traditions of the great Germans of the past. "The most important task to-day", he says, "is to realize at last the aspirations of the German idealists and Prussian reformers of a hundred years ago, and to cause even the lowest strata of the people to be permeated by that civil virtue (*Staatsethos*) which flows from the moral liberty of the individual."

During the war there were many polemics between historians favoring force and liberal historians leaning to moderate measures and conciliation. This controversy crystallized for a time about two names, those of Dietrich Schäfer, the fiery nationalist historian, and Hans Delbrück, editor of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, who opposed with all his might the Pan-German doctrines. Another historian, Professor Gustav Wolf, wishing to set forth in historical fashion the origin of this conflict has written a book on the subject, *Dietrich Schäfer und Hans Delbrück*.⁴⁶ It is a kind of history of the historical movement called *kleindeutsch*, of which Treitschke is the most authoritative representative. The work, it is true, has nothing new to teach, but it has a documentary value in that it reveals the mentality of most of the German historians during the war.

We prefer the purely scientific work which Professor Moriz Ritter has devoted to *Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft an den führenden Werken betrachtet*.⁴⁷ As a matter of fact all the great historians do not find a place; Ritter has chosen especially those who have contributed something new, or who have had a system, or at least general ideas. So, to speak only of the most important, he has devoted chapters to Thucydides, Aristotle and his *Politics*, Polybius, St. Augustine and his *City of God*, Machiavelli,

⁴⁶ G. Wolf, *Dietrich Schäfer und Hans Delbrück: Nationale Ziele der Deutschen Geschichtschreibung seit der Französischen Revolution* (Gotha, Perthes, 1918).

⁴⁷ Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1919.

some historians of the Renaissance and of the seventeenth century, then Montesquieu, Voltaire, Adam Smith, Gibbon, Niebuhr, Ranke, Burckhardt, and Lamprecht. The idea which inspired Dr. Ritter's work is easily seen from these names. He gives the preference to synthetic historians rather than to narrators. That being the case, one asks why his gallery does not contain Guizot, Tocqueville, and Fustel de Coulanges. We cannot think that Dr. Ritter is prejudiced against French historical science of the nineteenth century, although he makes the statement that if in the preceding centuries Italy, England, and France held the primacy in history, that primacy to-day belongs to Germany. This is not the opinion of Professor F. M. Fling, who said in 1905 at a meeting of the American Historical Association: "The French have displaced the Germans in the historical world and now hold the primacy."⁴⁸

Such was also the opinion of Jacob Burckhardt, who, although he owed his historical education to Germany, recognized as masters the great French and English historians, especially Gibbon. "In history", he was wont to say, "only essentials should be emphasized, and the essential can often be said in a few pages." He proved it himself, by his historical works, which are all short and rich in substance. He proved it especially by his essays and lectures, the most remarkable of which were collected on the occasion of his centenary in 1918.⁴⁹ The most diverse subjects are there treated: the Country of the Phaeacians in Homer, the Services rendered to Science by the Greeks, the Culinary Art of the Greeks, Pythagoras, Dion Chrysostom, Rome under Gregory the Great, Byzantium in the Tenth Century, Demetrius, Rembrandt, Dutch Genre Painting, Van Dyck, the Letters of Madame de Sévigné, Napoleon according to the most Recent Sources, etc. Each of these essays is a marvellous piece of history, admirably concise as only Jacob Burckhardt could make it, with his sound erudition, his sagacity, and his great historical insight. I may add that on the occasion of this anniversary two professors of the University of Basel, Karl Joël and Emil Dürr, published two studies of their teacher, the first *Jacob Burckhardt als Geschichtsphilosoph*,⁵⁰ in which the attempt is made to reveal the guiding thoughts of his work, the second *Freiheit und Macht bei Jacob Burckhardt*,⁵¹ in which we are shown how foreign to the mind

⁴⁸ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI. 507 (1906).

⁴⁹ *Jacob Burckhardts Vorträge, 1844-1887*, im Auftrage der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel herausgegeben von Emil Dürr (Basel, Bruno Schwabe, 1918).

⁵⁰ Basel, Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1918.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1918.

of this individualist, educated in a little republic of liberal spirit and solid culture, was the concept of the *Obrigkeitsstaat* held by the majority of German historians. Jacob Burckhardt indeed maintained that liberty was intimately bound up with the existence of small states or states grouped in a federation.

I have reserved for the end of this study the publications of a general historical character or those forming parts of collections. In the first category I shall simply mention the ninth volume of Theodor Lindner's *Weltgeschichte* and the seventh volume of Professor Alfred Stern's *Geschichte Europas*, both of which have been the object of reviews in this journal.⁵² The same is true of the fifth and last volume of Johannes Dierauer's *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft*,⁵³ which forms a part of the collection *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*. This general history of Switzerland, the most complete and scientific that we have, has met with deserved success. The first two volumes have been reprinted for the third time, and the author, before his death, was able to revise and improve this new edition. In the same collection Professor Blok has added to his *Geschichte der Niederlande* a volume which extends to 1795.⁵⁴

In the collection of *Deutsche Landesgeschichten*, edited by Arnim Tille, two new volumes have appeared, *Geschichte von Mecklenburg*, by Otto Vineuse, and *Neuere Geschichte der Freien Hansestadt Hamburg*, by Adolf Wohlwill.⁵⁵ These two monographs are written by local scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of the history of their native districts, and their work is complete and richly documented. Herr Vineuse traverses the history of the duchies of Mecklenburg from the earliest times to the revolution of 1918. His work is a corrective to the richly colored but partial picture of Treitschke, *Altständisches Stilleben in Norddeutschland*. Adolph Wohlwill's work on Hamburg treats in detail only the history of the revolutionary epoch and the occupation of the city by Napoleon. Having made a profound study of this period by researches carried on since 1875 in the archives of the Hanseatic towns, of Berlin, of Copenhagen, of Stockholm, of the Hague, and of Paris, he draws a

⁵² T. Lindner, *Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung*, IX. (1916); A. Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871*, VII. (1916). See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV. 103, XXIV. 680.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XXIV. 683.

⁵⁴ *Geschichte der Niederlande*, Band IV. (Gotha, Perthes, 1919).

⁵⁵ *Deutsche Landesgeschichten: Geschichte von Mecklenburg* (Gotha, Perthes, 1920); *Neuere Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, insbesondere von 1789 bis 1815* (*ibid.*, 1914).

picture at once complete and vivid of the great maritime city, of its political, social, economic, intellectual, literary, and artistic life, during the troubled times of the revolutionary wars and the Continental blockade. An introduction of eighty pages sketches for us the life of Hamburg up to 1789, and a final chapter summarizes the history of the city from 1815 to the present time.

The collection of manuals entitled *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* has been enriched by a new volume, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, by Fritz Hartung;⁵⁶ it is an excellent summary of the history of the political institutions of Germany from the end of the Middle Ages to the foundation of the Hohenzollern empire. It supplements happily other manuals of the same collection, for example that of Claudius von Schwerin, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, a second edition of which, considerably enlarged, appeared in 1915. Finally, Heinrich Sieveking has published a second edition, revised and enlarged, of his *Grundzüge der Neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*,⁵⁷ which presents in its larger outlines the history of modern economic theories: mercantilism, free trade, the development of capitalism, and the evolution of European socialism from Saint-Simon to the present day.

An interesting collection, begun since the war, is that of Perthes, *Kleine Völker- und Länderkunde*, which, however, does not embrace small countries alone, since China is included. The publisher's design is to give an acquaintance with the countries not classed among the great world-powers and therefore less known. Up to the present time seven monographs have appeared: *Ireland*, by Julius Pokorny, *Rumania*, by Baron Otto von Dungern, *Sweden*, by Dr. Fritz Arnheim, *Poland*, by Dr. E. Zivier, *Turkey*, by Dr. Achmed Emin, *Bulgaria*, by Dr. G. F. Kunzer, and *China*, by Dr. Eduard Erkes.⁵⁸ These studies are at once geographical, historical, political, social, and economic. For each of them the house of Perthes has called upon a specialist, living in the country if possible and thoroughly acquainted with it.

This rapid sketch will be sufficient, I think, to give an idea of German historical activity during the war and in the year which has followed it. As I said at the beginning of this article, historical productivity in Germany has been retarded by the world-cataclysm; it is none the less important. In intellectual fields Germany remains

⁵⁶ Leipzig, Teubner, 1914.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1915.

⁵⁸ Gotha, Perthes, 1916-1919.

still a great productive country. Admirably equipped, thanks to her universities, models of organization, and to her multitudes of workers in all fields of thought, thanks to her seminaries, her great libraries, her laboratories, her scientific institutions which, like that of Lamprecht at Leipzig, for history, are unrivalled, thanks to her book industry, to her great encyclopaedic scientific collections, Germany offers immense resources. In the domain of history she may perhaps no longer boast of uncontested primacy, but at least her position is still very high. German historical science, which has so often taken the lead in new paths and which has been able to combine boldness of hypotheses with improved methods, exact control of sources, and the ingenious application of ideas, has too often strayed, before and during the war, toward a jealous and aggressive nationalism, which deprived history of its true nature and turned it aside from its scientific aim, making of it an instrument of political and national propaganda. History's function as teacher of nations and of life can nowise be questioned; *historia magister vitae*, said the Latin historian, and one cannot dissent from Professor Meinecke, for example, when he says that in his country it must work toward national recovery. But there are more ways than one to work toward that recovery, and any method which claims to make science serve utilitarian and egoistic ends is a bad method. Science should serve only the most irreproachable ends. It must not be employed to swell the pride of a people or to sustain extravagant pretensions to power and dominance in the world. This hypertrophy of national feeling, this madness of the "will to power" have worked only too much harm to German historical science. It is time for it to be set free from them and to return to the pure, idealistic traditions which formerly gave it its strength and its greatness. By such courses it will be assured of power to create work of permanent worth, the *τῆμα εἰς ἀεί* celebrated by the Greek historian.

ANTOINE GUILLAND.

LA REPÚBLICA DE RÍO GRANDE¹

ONE of the political traits of the Spanish is a distinct centrifugal tendency. Havelock Ellis mentions it as a "clannish preference for small social groups", and Peninsular history illustrates the principle. From Spain it passed over the sea to Mexico. Before her separation from the mother-country the provinces, each ruled by its intendant, knew little about one another, and cared even less. Not long after the transient empire of Itúrbide vanished (1823) and before a republican system was established, they began to claim full individual sovereignty, and the nation soon found itself on the point of breaking up. In later years secessionist plans continued to be entertained; and even during the war between Mexico and this country, not only did Yucatan hold aloof and many in Vera Cruz and neighboring states plot for withdrawal, but the formidable "Coalition of Lagos", embracing nearly all the centre of the republic, became almost a national organization.²

For a number of reasons this tendency was peculiarly strong at the north. Remoteness from the capital, greatly emphasized by the wretched means of communication, had a marked influence. The political divisions of that region formed a natural group, and had interests more or less common but not the same as those of the central group, in which the city of Mexico lay; and Santa Anna, long the dominant factor in the nation's affairs, promoted the latter at the expense of the former. In March, 1845, the minister of war admitted publicly that the northern departments had been "abandoned and more than abandoned" by the general government. Business enterprises had to suffer much from official caprice, tyranny, corruption, and exactions. In California, aside from gross neglect, national troops, instead of protecting the hard-pressed settlements against the savages, harassed the citizens with insults and outrages.

¹ The words "State Dept.", "War Dept.", "Navy Dept." refer to the archives of the United States State, War, and Navy Departments; "F.O." to the archives of the British Foreign Office preserved at the Public Record Office, London; the abbreviations "Relaciones arch.", "Gobernación arch.", and "Guerra arch." indicate respectively the archives of the Secretaría de Relaciones, the Secretaría de Gobernación, and the Secretaría de Guerra, in the city of Mexico.

² Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain* (1908), p. 51; J. H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (1919), I. 36, II. 87, 204; Marcy to Scott, April 30, 1847, War Dept.; New York *Sun*, May 24, 1847.

New Mexico received a little more attention, for a man who gave his note for \$3000 had to pay eight dollars for stamped paper; but she experienced similar abuse. In all the northern sections taxes were levied unfairly and unequally; and, as a rule, what power the general government exerted was potent, not for protection and assistance, but only for injury. The establishment of a centralized régime in 1835, which transformed states into mere departments and greatly limited the control of their own affairs that had been enjoyed by the people under the federal system, and the cruel treatment inflicted upon Zacatecas for opposing the change, caused a profound resentment; and the presence of many Spaniards, refugees from two edicts of expulsion, gave a special bitterness to this feeling.³

California fell, therefore, into a chronic state of revolt, and in 1844 the British consular agent at Monterey stated that "but one universal sentiment of unqualified aversion to the continuance of Mexican Authority" existed there. Indeed the people drove out the national troops in 1845, and set up a government of their own. New Mexico rebelled in 1837; and, although her feeble effort accomplished nothing, embers of revolt continued to live. In 1829 Richard Pakenham, who then represented Great Britain at Mexico, discovered that Jalisco had invited four other members of the confederation to form a league with her; and he believed this combination would be made with secession as one of its aims. Three years later he reported that, should the civil war then raging continue, Jalisco, Durango, Zacatecas, and other states of the north would come together as an independent nation; and the American minister predicted that nine states would unite in forming a new republic. A little later the French representative mentioned a separatist movement in Chihuahua. In 1836 the New Orleans *Bee* published a letter written at Zacatecas in July, which declared that all northern Mexico appeared to favor some plan of withdrawal. Serious revolts occurred in San Luis Potosí and Sonora during 1837, and in various quarters the following year. 1839 found eight northern states insubordinate, and the revolutionary temper showed itself more than once. In 1841 the New Orleans *Courier* and the *Commercial Bulletin* of that city announced that all the northern parts of Mexico seemed

³ Smith, *War with Mexico*, I. 16, 39, 42, 47, 284-285, 319-322, 375, 522-523, II. 510; Charles Bankhead, British minister to Mexico, F.O., nos. 89, 148, June 29, October 6, 1846; I. Mora y Villamil, April 23, 1846, Guerra arch.; *Defensor de Tamaulipas*, April 29, 1847; H. de Mesa to Zachary Taylor, September 30, 1846, War Dept.; [Poinsett in] *De Bow's Review*, July, 1846; J. H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas* (1911), pp. 46-48; G. T. M. Davis, *Autobiography* (1891), p. 107; A. J. Yates to Marcy, January 25, 1846, War Dept.

likely to rebel; and, as time went on, sentiments of this color merely deepened in tone. About the first of January, 1846, an influential newspaper of the capital, *La Voz del Pueblo*, confessed that many influential citizens at the north, made desperate by misrule and Indian ravages, were for secession, and evidently the editor did not blame them.⁴

It was the northeastern section of the country, however, that exhibited the most signal manifestations of this tendency; and in January, 1846, a secret agent of the Mexican government, writing from the capital of Tamaulipas, pronounced the idea of separation "as old as it is deeply fixed among these people". Not long after the fall of Itúrbide, indeed, a movement aiming at independence disclosed itself in Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Nuevo León, and these provinces formed a *junta* or committee at Monterey to promote the design. In 1832 a plan existed in that quarter to unite in declaring at least a provisional independence. When the Mexican troops retired from Texas in 1836, their demoralization and misery led to unusual excesses, and they became, said the *Monitor Republicano*, "the terrible scourge" of the districts near the Rio Grande. Many officers remained at the gaming tables day and night, and the soldiers gave themselves up to robbery without restraint. This conduct and attacks upon the personal liberty of influential citizens led to a movement for the restoration of federalism. The loss of chiefs, however, and the predominance of Santa Anna, who preferred centralism, weakened and disheartened the federalists. The hopes of reviving that system faded; and in 1838 the intense dissatisfaction became articulate in the proclamation of a North Mexican Republic. The following year this name gave place to "República de Río Grande". For a time success appeared to be in sight. The chief leader was General Antonio Canales, and early in 1840 he caused the new state to be formally organized.⁵

⁴ Smith, *War with Mexico*, I. 284-285, 319-322, 522-523; *id.*, *Annexation*, pp. 46-48; F. M. Dimond, Vera Cruz, to State Dept., no. 341, May 24, 1846, State Dept.; Zacatecas assembly to national congress, July 7, 1846, Gobernación arch.; Anthony Butler, August 1, 1832, State Dept.; Paris, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corresp. pol., Mexique, VIII. 300, XVIII. 52, XXII. 16; *Voz del Pueblo* in New Orleans *Picayune*, January 11, 1846.

⁵ Smith, *Annexation*, pp. 37, 46-47; Taylor to adjutant general, no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.; Mesa to Taylor, undated, enclosed in Taylor's no. 79; Montiel to Parrodi, Victoria, January 9, 1846 (*res.*), Guerra arch.; secret agent, January 9, 1846, *ibid.*; Francisco Mejía, February 4, July 19, 1846, *ibid.*; *Monitor Republicano*, June 14, 1846; Smith, *War with Mexico*, II. 1; Antonio Soto, Linares, July 4, 1846, Guerra arch.; H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (1883, 1889), II. 327-332; H. Yoakum, *History of Texas* (1855), II. 274-280, 288-297.

Naturally the existence of neighbors on the other side of the Río Grande was not forgotten by these unhappy Mexicans. From an early date smuggling and ordinary mercantile operations were carried on with the Texans. Even while national troops, relieved from active service by the battle of San Jacinto, occupied Matamoros, this lucrative tariff flourished; and by August, 1844, it was estimated that about 16,500 Mexicans were more or less directly concerned in it. Political affiliations readily sprang up. As early as 1832 union with Texas was proposed. In 1839 the malcontents begged Texas to espouse their cause, and the following year a French writer, named Frédéric Leclerc, who had recently visited that quarter, stated that a large part of the people in five departments were disposed to unite with Texas or—what would have meant the same—organize a government of their own under her protection. General Mariano Arista, the chief military man of northeastern Mexico and one of the leading citizens, was deeply interested in the project, and the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune* stated positively that Arista, though officially he stood for the government, exerted himself privately to carry some such plan into effect. Indeed Sam Houston, the president of Texas, entertained seriously the idea of acquiring the discontented provinces. "This he could have done", wrote A. J. Donelson, the American representative in Texas at the time.⁶

Attraction toward the United States also was felt. The plan of 1832 contemplated American protection as a possibility, and that idea persisted. One A. J. Yates, who visited Monclova in 1835, discovered that a strong feeling of admiration for our institutions and citizens was entertained by almost all the intelligent people of that section. Not only the reports of Texans and a few American visitors or settlers, but the finer influence of Presbyterian missionaries, helped to give favorable impressions regarding us. No doubt respect and admiration were qualified with strains of jealousy and fear, yet they were genuine sentiments; and the abiding thought of perhaps obtaining substantial aid from us reinforced them. Many in the northern provinces, wrote our minister, John Slidell, in December, 1845, admired our national character and institutions, and would gladly have placed themselves under our protection. Early in 1846 Delphy Carlin informed President Polk that he had travelled as a

⁶ Montiel to Parrodi, as in note 5; *Mon. Repub.* as in note 5; (16,500) Galveston *Civilian*, August 31, 1844; Mora, as in note 3; G. Meade, *Life and Letters of G. G. Meade* (1913), I. 61; Smith, *Annexation*, pp. 36, 47, 99-100; *id.*, *War*, I. 82, 149, 226; Bancroft, *loc. cit.*; Yoakum, *loc. cit.* In 1839 Texan volunteers joined the Mexicans, but the Texan government was then hoping to gain Mexican recognition and would not act.

trader more than thirty thousand miles in northern Mexico, and believed that most of the people had the true American spirit.⁷

The approach of war between the two countries had a crystallizing effect on all the political thinking of the people. Arista was believed to be at work, and others undoubtedly were. While General Taylor's army lay at Corpus Christi, Texas, in the autumn of 1845, Mexicans furnished it supplies, and received liberal compensation in money and good treatment. A confidential agent sent by Taylor to Matamoros in September, 1845, reported that, should war be declared, Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León would probably pronounce for independence, and establish friendly relations with us. That same month an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* said that northern Mexico was looking hopefully to the United States. A little later our consul at Vera Cruz expressed the opinion that, should a conflict begin, the people of that section would "cast off their moorings and ask protection from the United States". Some of the plotting Mexicans believed that an outbreak of hostilities would favor their plans, while others feared that by drawing national troops to the frontier it would impede them; and still others proposed to act without waiting for an actual breach of the peace.⁸

During the first week of February, 1846, an officer of Canales named José M. J. Carvajal—who had been educated in the United States and was regarded as above the average of his fellow-citizens in character and intelligence—visited Taylor at Corpus Christi, and presented as credentials a letter from Canales to the American general. This, besides accrediting the agent, announced an intention "to destroy the degenerate and immoral Army so long the scourge of the Nation . . . and establish a constitution based upon the just rights of man", or—should this be impossible, as Canales almost certainly knew it would—to secede; and it invited the United States to obtain an adjustment of our difficulties with Mexico by co-operating in this plan, rather than alarm all Mexicans and deluge the earth with blood by pursuing a violent policy.⁹

⁷ Montiel to Parrodi, as in note 5; Yates to Marcy, as in note 3; Mejía, July 19, 1846, Guerra arch.; *Annual Report*, Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, 1841, p. 8; 1842, p. 10; Smith, *War*, I. 102; Slidell, no. 3, December 17, 1845, State Dept.; Carlin, March 3, 1846, War Dept.

⁸ Meade, G. G. Meade, I. 61; W. S. Parrott, October 4, 1845, State Dept.; (agent) *House Ex. Doc.* 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 105; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15, 1845, p. 1027; Consul Dimond, as in note 4; W. J. Worth to Taylor, April 16, 1846, War Dept.; Mejía, July 9, 1846 (*res.*), Guerra arch.; New Orleans *Picayune*, August 11, 1846 [Kendall]; W. S. Henry, *Campaign Sketches* (1847), p. 49.

⁹ *Picayune*, *loc. cit.*; Canales to Taylor, January 29, 1846, War Dept.; Carvajal to Taylor, February 6, 1846, *ibid.*

At the request of General Taylor Carvajal submitted a written memorandum. I have full power from Canales, he wrote, "to enter into any Provisional Agreement with General Taylor, or the United States if they think proper, with a view to prevent in the future the possibility of an interruption of the friendly relations that have hitherto happily existed between the two countries", so that, should the Mexican army attack the American army, its acts may not be considered those of the people or nation. To this end, he continued, the United States must aid us to arm and support, say, three thousand men, and even loan us, perhaps, one or two thousand volunteers, until the forces of Paredes, the usurping president of Mexico, are put down; in return for which Canales will do all in his power to support the American claims regarding Texas, and will repay all advances by custom-house arrangements or an adjustment of the boundary. At the same time Carvajal urged Taylor not to advance from Corpus Christi, arguing that the two peoples ought not to come into contact until the Mexicans of that region should become better acquainted with American laws and government.¹⁰

In his usual non-committal way, offering no opinion as to the character and position of Canales, Taylor forwarded these documents to Washington; and on March 2, 1846, William L. Marcy, the secretary of war, replied. "In case of war between this country and Mexico", he wrote, "we should be ready to avail ourselves of all the advantages which could be fairly derived from Mexicans disaffected to their rulers—and considering the manner in which these rulers have risen to power, it would not be a matter of surprise if this disaffection should be extensive and of a character to embarrass the Mexican Government in carrying on hostilities with the United States", but the administration is not authorized to provide arms or money for Mexicans wishing to resist Paredes.¹¹

Meanwhile, probably relying on the strength of his arguments, Canales proceeded with his plans for a new republic. February 25 or March 1, 1846, seems to have been the date fixed for the declaration of independence, and both a proclamation and an exposition (*acta*) were drawn up. Indeed the first, at least, of these documents seems to have been printed. But General Francisco Mejía, now in command at Matamoros, learned of Carvajal's visit at Corpus Christi, and to save himself Canales, whose ruffianly character was

¹⁰ Taylor, February 7, 1846, War Dept.; Carvajal to Taylor, February 6, 1846, *ibid.*; *id.*, memorandum, February 6, 1846, *ibid.*; Mejía, as in note 8; E. A. Hitchcock, Diary, March 26, 1846, Library of Congress; *Picayune, loc. cit.*

¹¹ Taylor, as in note 10; Military Book, XXVI. 195, War Dept.

brightened with a sort of animal cunning, alleged that his agent, really sent to play the part of a spy, had endeavored to act and speak in such a way as to draw from Taylor information regarding his plans. We are most anxious to hear something definite from the United States, Carvajal notified the American general, and for the present must "wear a mask".¹²

Then came the military operations of the Rio Grande campaign, including the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca de la Palma, in which Canales had to march—but avoided fighting—under the banner of Mexico; and on May 18 General Taylor's troops, practically all of them regulars, occupied Matamoros. The clash of arms then ceased. Quiet soon returned. The field was open for diplomacy; and there seemed to be a fairer chance than ever to get the Republic of Rio Grande started, for the plotters believed they would have nothing to fear, should the Mexican army be destroyed, and the battles of May 8 and 9 led them to hope for such a result.¹³

On the first day of June, 1846, a newspaper called *República de Rio Grande y Amigo del Pueblo* and printed in both Spanish and English, appeared at Matamoros, and exhorted the citizens of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Chihuahua to

Abandon the Mexican vulture, that preys upon your vitals—the fitting symbol of a government, that has no deeper commiseration for your sufferings, than the voracious bird upon her crest feels for the serpent that writhes in his beak; assemble your delegates within the American lines, organize your provisional government at once, and declare your independence to the Sierra Madre;

for otherwise, although the United States does not wish to make conquests, she will have to annex this territory in order to obtain a defensible boundary. "*Rise then and shout for the Republic of Rio Grande!*" The second issue of the paper dwelt upon the oppressive Mexican tariff, which multiplied the prices of manufactured articles, the advantage of enjoying a free market in the United States for all productions, and the desirability of an escape from smuggling and

¹² José de Alva, ed. of *Corpus Christi Gazette*, to Taylor, March 11, 1846, War Dept.; Carvajal to Taylor, March 4, 1846, *ibid.*; Mejía, February 4, 24, July 9, 1846, Guerra arch.; Alva to U. S. Consul Schatzel at Matamoros, February 17, 1846 (intercepted), papers of Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga; Mejía to Garza y Flores, February 28, 1846, *ibid.* According to a Mexican spy in Taylor's camp, Carvajal visited Taylor on March 24 or 25 also, bringing letters from Arista and Canales.

¹³ Smith, *War*, I. 166, 174, 178; Mesa to Taylor, with Taylor's no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.

perjury; and on June 24 the Matamoros *Diana* printed an unsigned address of the same tenor as these editorials.¹⁴

The people seemed ready to act. The militia regiments of the important places on or near the Río Grande would not join the Mexican army. June 13 a number of *alcaldes* met at Azúcar, and with a cautious regard for appearances agreed that Coahuila, Tamaulipas, and Nuevo León should take united action for the defense of their interests without reference to the central government—a step justly described by Mejía as “the preliminary of revolution”. At almost the same time, with a view to revolt, the partizans of independence at Tampico made a movement intended to bring the American blockaders to their aid. Canales assumed a threatening tone. The city of Reynosa opened a correspondence with Taylor. Camargo, it was reported, issued a *pronunciamiento*. Letters from Monterey to Canales indicated the existence of a strong sentiment for independence there. The governor of Nuevo León was denounced as a traitor by loyal supporters of the national government, and the governor of Tamaulipas was at least intimidated. July 5 trouble began at Victoria, the capital of the latter state, and although it lasted openly but a week, it then merely subsided. Two days later the assembly of Zacatecas took an official step resembling the action of the conclave at Azúcar. Unless you send adequate forces and come promptly in person, wrote Mejía to President Paredes, these departments will be lost. “A new Star is shining out amid the ragged clouds of war”—the Republic of Río Grande, announced a correspondent of the New York *Sun*.¹⁵

¹⁴ *La República de Río Grande*, etc., was edited by H. McLeod and published by I. N. Fleeson. *Amigo del Pueblo* means “Friend of the People”. A copy of the first issue may be found with Bankhead’s no. 89, June 29, 1846, F.O. The editor stated that no schools were maintained, and that in consequence of misgovernment the annual mineral production of these states had fallen from \$28,000,000, to less than \$800,000. No. 2 and *La Diana* may be found in the archives of Tampico. *Diana* means “Reveille”. A later number of *La República* complained that Mexicans were driven to battle like felons to punishment.

¹⁵ [Poinsett] in *De Bow’s Review*, July, 1846; Mejía, June 20 (“They will call the new nation *La República de Río Grande*”), July 9 (*res.*), 19, 1846, Guerra arch.; *Mon. Repub.*, June 30, 1846; Martín Garza, undated, with Mejía’s July 9; J. N. Seguín to Mejía, July 2, 1846, Guerra arch.; Soto to Mejía, July 4, 1846, *ibid.*; Acta of the Azúcar meeting, *ibid.*; comandante general of Tamaulipas, July 22, 1846, *ibid.*; Manuel Leal to Mejía, July 7, 1846, *ibid.*; Canales to Mejía, June 16, 1846, *ibid.*; Matamoros *Diana*, June 24, 1846 (see note 13); gov. of Tamaulipas to Paredes, June 30, 1846, Paredes papers; Mejía to Paredes, July 20, 1846, *ibid.*; Parrodi, Tampico, to Paredes, June 10, 1846, *ibid.*; Zacatecas assembly, as in note 3; (*Sun*) *Southern Advocate*, Huntsville, Ala., July 17, 1846; *House Ex. Doc.* 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 337.

Among our own people, so far as they knew what was taking place, there existed much sentiment in favor of American co-operation. Some were disposed on general principles to hail the birth of another republic—especially one that represented emancipation from oppression; and some felt, like T. S. Jesup, the quartermaster-general, that it would facilitate our military operations and reduce our expenses to have semi-independent governments organized successively, as our arms advanced. On the other hand it was pointed out that, if we intended—as we did—to let Mexican nationality survive, it was desirable for both commercial and political reasons that she should prosper, and a group of petty, quarreling commonwealths would be, not only hard to deal with, but poor and weak. Whether Polk and his cabinet maturely weighed and balanced such opinions cannot be stated; but at all events Taylor was instructed on July 9 to encourage departments wishing to become neutral or independent in alliance with us, and to promise protection during the war, so far as giving it would not interfere with his military operations. In the reasonable opinion of the Mexican leaders this was not sufficient. They had to reflect where they would stand on the conclusion of peace, and they felt that our government failed to take them seriously enough. Consequently their ardor was chilled.¹⁶

These considerations, of course, were not made public except as their influence became felt, but others had an open effect on both leaders and people. Against the argument that annexation to the United States would put an end to the oppressive tariff was placed the axiom that government, and therefore taxes, would still be necessary. The superiority of our institutions and the prosperity of our citizens were admitted, but these very facts alarmed the thoughtful. They tell you prices would be lower, argued one official, but do not tell you that you would soon be unable to pay even those prices, for your arts and industries could not compete with theirs. In Louisiana and Texas the Mexicans had been so humiliated and trampled upon by the masterful Americans, it was asserted, that flight had been their only resource. "Make no mistake", exclaimed a loyalist, "Foreigners in your own country, you would have to hide your shame elsewhere". Religious antagonism and racial sentiment

¹⁶ (*Sun*) as in note 15; Mrs. J. M. Storms, July 23, 1846, George Bancroft papers; *Picayune*, *loc. cit.*; (Jesup) Albert Gallatin, *War Expenses* (1848); N. Y. *Herald*, July 11, 1846; *House Ex. Doc.* 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 333; Bancroft to Conner, July 7, 1846 (confid.), Navy Dept.; *De Bow's Review*, *loc. cit.*; Mesa to Taylor, undated, with Taylor's no. 79, August 26, 1846, War Dept.; N. Y. *Sun*, May 24, 1847.

played their parts. We suffer, urged some, but that is better than to be saved by alien rule. Of course independence did not mean alien rule; but, demanded a high official, "Where is our population, who are our statesmen, what is our power, to maintain the rank of an independent people?" Secession would therefore signify an American protectorate, and that would be likely, not a few believed, to end in absorption and extinction.¹⁷

Nor were such the only objections. No miracles announced the birth of Messiah Taylor, *El Aguila del Norte* had remarked some time since, and the facts appeared to justify it. Taylor had now been on the ground a long while, and no American army lay yet between these provinces and Mexico City. Perhaps they were needed instead of loved. Perhaps the game was not to save, but to use them, as Cortez had used the Tlaxcalans, hinted *La Gaceta* of Victoria. "It is impossible", protested *La Esperanza* of Tampico, "that a sensible man would at the invitation of his enemies declare himself the enemy of his brethren for the benefit of the former"; and soon the managers of *República de Río Grande y Amigo del Pueblo*, finding their transparent disguise ineffective, changed the name of their paper to *The American Flag*. The worst grievance of the northern states had been the destruction of the federal system, and on August 4, 1846, a revolution aiming to restore that régime was launched successfully at the capital. This fact had a powerful influence.¹⁸

But nothing else produced so deep an effect on the sentiment regarding American protection and rule as events that occurred about this time at Matamoros. In June and July, 1846, large numbers of undisciplined volunteers, enlisted for the war, joined our army. Mostly they were not bad men, but many of them were now off their balance. In their minds the one duty was to fight, and Mexicans were the enemy. In too frequent instances no rules of conduct, human or divine, existed any longer except the law of courage. They had left the civil virtues behind, and had not yet been taught the military virtues; and they had lost in bodies the sense of

¹⁷ *Diario*, Mexico, July 17, September 9, 1846; *National Intelligencer*, September 10, 1846; *Niles' Register*, September 26, 1846, p. 58; November 21, p. 180; gov. of Nuevo León, proclamation, June 18, 1846, Gobernación arch.; J. F. Ramírez, *México durante su Guerra con los Estados Unidos* (1905), p. 225; Mesa to Taylor, September 30, 1846, War Dept.; J. M. García, San Fernando, to Parrodi, June 20, 1846, Guerra arch.

¹⁸ *El Aguila del Norte*, March 4, 1846; *La Esperanza*, July 30, 1846; *La Gaceta de Ciudad Victoria*, July 19, 1846; *London Times*, August 13, 1846; *División del Norte* (news), July 8, 1846, Guerra arch.; Mesa to Taylor, September 30, 1846, War Dept.; (revolution) Smith, *War*, I. 217.

personal responsibility. "They have destroyed the property, insulted the women, and maltreated the men of the country", said an American officer, "and converted Matamoros into a theatre of drunkenness and brawls". "They rob and steal the cattle and corn of the poor farmers, and in fact act more like a body of hostile Indians than of civilized whites", wrote George G. Meade; and they "inspired the Mexicans with a perfect horror of them".¹⁹

Of course the Mexican loyalists delighted in spreading the reports of such conduct, and based fresh arguments upon them. "People near Matamoros, previously inclined to favor the Americans", proclaimed the comandante general of Nuevo León, "have written these weighty words: 'The domination of the Grand Turk is kinder than that of the Americans. Their motto is deceit. Their love is like the robber's. Their goodness is usurpation; and their boasted liberty is the grossest despotism, iniquity and insolence, disguised under the most consummate hypocrisy.'" The influence of such facts and such arguments upon the people of all degrees was extremely unfortunate. The idea of annexation to the United States or accepting an American protectorate appeared no longer to possess any practical value.²⁰

The longing to escape from Mexican rule, however, and the plan of declaring independence with American support continued to exist; and the leaders were stimulated about the end of August, 1846, by news that all the authorities of the region were to be changed. This, when accomplished, was sure to weaken the cause, and in the meantime was equally sure to excite the people; and for both reasons immediate action seemed in order. Besides, instructions were issued to place Arista, Canales, and others under arrest; and General Pedro de Ampudia, who took command in the northeast at this time, inaugurated a vigorous and harsh campaign against disloyalty. Dr. Hilario de Mesa, another of the leading conspirators, therefore visited Taylor at Camargo, and submitted a new programme. This contemplated a union of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Chihuahua, and San Luis Potosí as the "República de Río Grande", or, should such a plan seem at this time too large, a declaration of Tamaulipas for neutrality. The outrages perpetrated at Matamoros, he admitted, had chilled sympathy with the Americans; his fellow-

¹⁹ Smith, *War*, II. 211-213; *Nat. Intelligencer*, September 10, 1846; Meade, *G. G. Meade*, I. 108-110, 147; *House Ex. Doc.* 60, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 336.

²⁰ *Diario*, August 8, 1846; Smith, *War*, II. 211, 216. *Niles' Reg.*, November 21, 1846, p. 180; comandante gen., Nuevo León, August 12, 1846, *Guerra arch.*; Mesa to Taylor, undated, with Taylor's no. 79, August 26, 1846, *War Dept.*

citizens were determined to remain Mexicans; and only secret aid from this country was desired. A loan for the purchase of arms, however, and a pledge of military protection both during and after the war he earnestly solicited.²¹

But the general could promise neither. "I cannot but take the liveliest interest in any attempts of the Northern States", he replied, "to throw off the yoke of the central government which has so long borne heavily upon them. So long as the state of war shall subsist between that government and my own, I will take pleasure in extending the protection of the American Army to any such movement, and my instructions from the United States government warrant me in so doing. But I am not, at this time, authorized to give any assurance that such protection would extend beyond the conclusion of a treaty of peace", though some such provision would naturally be included in that instrument. After a deeper penetration into the country, more would be possible, he intimated; but in view of the actual situation he advised against declaring independence before its partisans felt strong enough to maintain it. His letter was faint encouragement, he admitted; and he expected that nothing would be done.²²

Zachary Taylor was by no means a sentimentalist or enthusiast. Shrewd common-sense was the usual basis of his thinking; and, besides, he felt but the smallest confidence in Mexicans of any stripe. His manner was no doubt even cooler than the language quoted above, and in all probability Mesa and Carvajal regarded him as personally an obstacle. But they knew there were other American officers, and, as even Ampudia realized, the yearning for independence lay deep in the hearts of the people. Taylor's attitude, therefore, did not entirely discourage them. In September, 1846, they laid the matter before General James Shields, an ardent Irish volunteer officer then at a camp near Matamoros. Apparently Shields considered it a new proposition, and took it up with zeal. September 18 his aide was busily copying despatches to Polk and members of the cabinet, which "embodied a proposal made by a number of distinguished and leading Mexicans" for the secession of "the three Oriental provinces"; and these were to be sent off at once by an express. But suddenly Shields received orders to join General John E. Wool, then at San Antonio, Texas, preparing for a march to

²¹ Taylor to adjutant-general, no. 79, as in note 20; Mesa to Taylor, undated, *ibid.*; Taylor to Mesa, August 25, 1846, War Dept.; Mesa, plan, with Taylor's no. 79, *ibid.*; Smith, *War*, I. 234; Secretaría de Guerra to Ampudia, August 28, 1846, Guerra arch.; Ampudia, September 9, 1846, *ibid.*

²² Taylor to adjutant-general and to Mesa, as in note 21.

Chihuahua. This nipped in the bud his ingenuous enterprise, as the aide regretfully said, and the carefully drawn despatches were laid aside.²³

However, their fruitless but cordial experience with him probably emboldened the Mexican leaders, and in November, 1846, Mesa appeared at Washington, bearing a letter of introduction from John Slidell to Buchanan, the secretary of state, and papers showing his character, influence, and representative standing in Tamaulipas. On the twenty-third he addressed a letter to Polk, stating that the northern provinces would revolt, if the United States would grant them protection during the war and refrain from annexing them. Buchanan drafted a reply, and in substance offered these guaranties. Polk, however, would not concur. "Though I did not at this time contemplate such annexation, I desired to keep this an open question", he recorded in his diary; and he suspected that the Secretary of State (wishing to satisfy the northern opposition to any enlargement of the slave area) was trying to commit him on that issue. He therefore proposed to have Mesa courteously informed that, as he brought no credentials, no answer to his proposition would be made. Both the President and the Secretary of State suggested that the other should talk with the envoy, but neither of them felt willing to do so; and finally it was decided that Nicholas P. Trist, chief clerk of the State Department, should make verbally such a reply as Polk had outlined. About five weeks afterwards Buchanan expressed his wish to hold California and New Mexico but encourage and aid the other northern provinces of Mexico to establish an independent government, and the rest of the cabinet appeared to agree with him; but Polk said nothing on this point and the matter was dropped. Two days later Marcy informed Taylor that some hope was still entertained that northern Mexico would set up a new republic. All proper assistance was to be given a movement of that kind, the general was instructed, but no pledge to guarantee in the treaty of peace the existence of such a state.²⁴

By this time, although the old cordiality toward the Americans had not recovered from the chill caused by the early excesses of our volunteers, their later good behavior under the severe discipline of

²³ Smith, *War*, I. 267, 270, 504, 509; Ampudia, as in note 21; undated paper sent by F. de Garay, Guerra arch.; Davis, *Autobiography*, p. 99.

²⁴ G. T. Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan* (1883), I. 601-602; Polk, *Diary*, November 28, 1846, January 2, 1847; J. T. Taylor to Winfield Scott, February 12, 1847, Library of Congress; N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*, December 9, 1846; *House Ex. Doc. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 391. It will be noted that Polk exhibited no eagerness to get hold of what many considered possible slave territory.

Scott and other generals had been recognized. At the end of February, 1847, Santa Anna made his grand stroke in the Buena Vista campaign and failed. Soon the authorities were indifferent and the people apathetic, if nothing worse, toward Mexico. Mesa still felt anxious to set a movement going. In April a *junta* met at Cadereita, and it was proposed that Nuevo León should declare itself independent for a limited time and observe the developments; and at about the same date the *ayuntamiento* (city council) of Linares addressed the other *ayuntamientos* of the state with a similar end in view. But the people now felt much depressed. They had witnessed large military operations, and had been made to realize their insignificance and helplessness; and incomes, both public and private, had suffered grievously from war conditions. There was neither money nor spirit for bold and venturesome enterprises; and suspicions regarding the intentions of the invaders were still urged against taking any step under American protection. So the movement evaporated.²⁵

Mesa had left Washington with a due sense of Polk's cautious disposition, and understood quite distinctly that he and his associates did not possess the confidence of the American government; but he found in the President's annual message of December 7, 1847, a remark that "civil as well as military officers" would be needed in Mexico. He therefore offered at the end of that month to serve the United States in the former capacity, either as president of a new republic or as a high official of this country. He would then be able, he suggested, to remove the existing prejudices against us, eliminate loyalist Mexican authorities, point out what citizens could afford to pay military contributions, and facilitate the annexation of the region, should such be Polk's wish. Fundamentally, of course, his professed aim was to benefit his unfortunate fellow-countrymen. Canales, the governor of Tamaulipas, and other advocates of independence, overawed by Santa Anna, had for some time laid aside that policy, but, as he was now out of power, were bestirring themselves again in the old cause, added Mesa. Nothing, however, resulted from this throw, and the war soon ended.²⁶

Yet even the treaty of peace did not extinguish the cherished

²⁵ Smith, *War*, vol. I., chs. XIX., XX.; II. 213, 215, 220. Mora, April 19, 28, May 5, 1847, Guerra arch.; *El Eco*, Tampico, November 7, 1846; Mesa to Taylor, February 2, 1847, War Dept.; José Urrea to Mora, April 21, 1847, Guerra arch.; Mesa to Taylor, December 24, 1847, N. P. Trist papers, Library of Congress.

²⁶ J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV. 542; Mesa to Taylor and to N. P. Trist, December 24, 1847, Trist papers; *id.* to Taylor, December 30, 1847, *ibid.*; *Picayune*, August 11, 1846.

project. Tampico, the chief city of Tamaulipas, had often been restive or rebellious under the central government, and its commercial relations with New Orleans had created and fostered pro-American sentiments there. With these feelings the inland towns sympathized, and the state in general had got on quite comfortably with the invaders. It was therefore proposed, early in 1848, to declare Tamaulipas independent, and to draw Coahuila and Nuevo León, at least, into the plan. Canales and Mesa were actively for the scheme, and it was to be made effective with the assistance of American ex-officers and ex-soldiers. Indeed, General Shields and Colonel L. G. De Russey of Louisiana were talked of as the chief military leaders. For months the project—which seems to have contemplated eventual annexation to the United States, yet was supported by the *alcalde*, the priest, and the press—quietly simmered; but in the night of September 29–30, 1848, an insurrection, supposed to grow out of it, expelled the Mexican troops from Tampico. Nothing else of importance was accomplished, but the British consul in that city believed that only a lack of funds caused its collapse.²⁷

In certain respects, then, the movement for independence in northeastern Mexico had the promise of success. The central government had provided sufficient grounds for rebellion; the sentiment of the people favored the idea; the example of Texas was inspiring; the prosperity and probable sympathy of the United States afforded encouragement; and eventually the presence of our troops appeared to offer a large measure of assurance. But there was a lack of qualified and trustworthy leaders. Arista's chief hope seems to have been a union with Texas, which was in fact the most sensible plan; when we annexed that republic, he lost heart; and after he failed so conspicuously in the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca, he lacked confidence and prestige. Canales was only a border ruffian of unusual energy and cunning. Carvajal could merely have been a lieutenant; and Mesa was only a schemer. The people were in general quiet, uneducated, and unenterprising, far better able to long and plot for an improvement in their condition than to work and strike for it; the long series of fruitless Mexican revolutions had left at the bottom of almost every heart a paralyzing scepticism;

²⁷ Smith, *War*, I. 102; II. 166, 214; *id.*, *Annexation*, p. 46; Secretaría de Relaciones to gov. of Vera Cruz, October 2, 1848 (*res.*), Vera Cruz state arch.; *jefe* of Tampico de Vera Cruz to gov. of Vera Cruz, August 30 (*res.*), October 5, 1848, *ibid.*; gov. of Vera Cruz to *jefe* of Tampico de Vera Cruz, October 9, 1848, *ibid.*; *id.* to *jefe* of Papantla, November 30, 1848, *ibid.*; Canales to Wool, January 30, 1848, War Dept.; Taylor to Jefferson Davis, February 16, 1848, in private hands; Consul J. W. Glass, July 8, 1848, F.O.

and resources of all kinds were lacking. Finally, there were natural prejudices against the United States; the policy of our government was cool and prudent; and the conduct of many Americans on the ground excited bitter resentment. What actually occurred answered perfectly to these conditions. "La República de Río Grande" was an interesting idea but not a practical possibility.²⁸

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

²⁸ (Arista) *Picayune*, August 11, 1846; Smith, *War*, I. 177-178; (Canales) Smith, *War*, I. 158; (people) Mora, April 23, 1846, Guerra arch.; Mejía, July 19, 1846, *ibid.*; (scepticism) Canales to Wool, as in note 27; Smith, *War*, II. 81; (resources) Urrea to Mora, April 21, 1848, Guerra arch.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

AN UNRECOGNIZED FATHER MARQUETTE LETTER

THE Latin letter printed below is from the Duke of Portland's manuscripts at Welbeck Abbey and was printed in translation in 1893 by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.¹ The present transcript has been made by the librarian at Welbeck Abbey, who writes: "The document is in a perfectly clear handwriting. The endorsement is in another hand which is also clear."² There is, therefore, no doubt about the reading of the letter, the signature, of which a tracing was made, being unmistakable.

In cujuscunque manus hae literae venerint
Salutem in Domino

Cum miserâ obedientia nullus fuerim, quae rebam alios qualescunque ad Christum Salvatorem nostrum adducere, forte accedit quod, ut captus ex Spiritualium impetu, hos barbaros quorum familiarem esse credo cum Europaeis consuetudinem, offenderem: Verum cum ab ipsis nihil intelligerem, gratissimum mihi fuerit, si qui sitis, quae urbis vestrae latitudo, et longitudo, qui sint hi barbari, me feceritis certiore; Interim hoc a me accipite, ad Societatem Jesu vocavit me Dominus, vultque ut in Canadensi regione propter barbaros (quos sanguinè suo redemit) vitam peragam, unde certum est mihi, si immaculata virgo, Dei mater, mihi adfuerit in hisce locis, licet miserimis, vitae spiritum reddere, cum pro nobis Xtus tanta tulerit tormenta, non sane voluit ut ei quam nobis conservat parceremus, qua dum fruimur, Deum Oremus ut (si nunquam in terris) in coelo nos conjungat.

Dat. ad Fluvium Convectionis ad altitudinem Poli 35 ^d ad Longitud. forte 275 ^d 4th August 1675.	Servus in christo jesu et immacu- lata Virgine JACOBUS MACPUT, Societ. jesu
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[Endorsed:]

Copy of latin letter receiv'd by Coll. Bird in Virginia in the winter 1675 from a Jesuit dated 4th August 1675 in latitude 35 degr. longitude 275 abo^t 1200 mile West 2 degr. Southw^{ds} from Virginia.³

¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Thirteenth Report*, app., pt. II., p. 36. My attention was first called to this letter by my colleague, Dr. Theodore C. Pease.

² Richard W. Goulding to B. F. Stevens and Brown, Welbeck Abbey, February 15, 1920. He adds: "Whoever may have added it [the endorsement] paid no attention to the word *forte* which appears after *Longitud.* in the text".

³ The translation as published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission is as follows, slightly corrected:

"JAMES MACPUT of the Society of Jesus to ——. 1675, August 4. 'Ad Fluvium Convectionis.'—I who by obedience am nobody, was trying to bring

In the following discussion it must be first kept in mind that we have here not the original but a copy made supposedly by "Colonel" William Byrd. There is nothing in either the form or the character of the letter to arouse a suspicion of forgery. Had some Virginian desired to excite the government by fear of French aggression to an energetic promotion of western discoveries, a more specific account of the explorations of the rivals would have been devised.

If the above is a copy of a genuine letter, who was the writer? The answer seems evident, provided a reasonable allowance is made for the errors committed by the first or some later transcriber. The name Jacobus Macput is easily read Jacobus Marquette, for nothing would be easier than to mistake the "rque" for the "cpu"; and there would be no doubt of the correction, were it not for the date, August 4, 1675; Marquette died on May 18 of that year.⁴ In this case, however, the transcriber's error is intelligible to anyone who has attempted to determine whether a figure in a manuscript is a 3 or a 5. The correct date is undoubtedly August 4, 1673. The transcriber made also a mistake in the name of the place where the letter was written; it should be "Ad Fluvium Conceptionis" instead of "Convectionis". In passing it may be noticed that in August, 1673, Marquette was the only man in the world calling the Mississippi River by the name "Conception"; also significant is the reference in the letter to the "immaculate Virgin".

If these so reasonable emendations give to the letter a time and place that correspond to the movements of Marquette himself, there can be little doubt about the identity of the writer. In his famous

others to Christ our Saviour, and it chanced that being seized by the force of the Spirit I fell in with these barbarians who I believe are accustomed to have intercourse with Europeans. As however I can get no information from them, I should be most grateful if you, whoever you are, and whatever may be your latitude and longitude, would inform me what these barbarians are [more properly, "if you would inform me who you are, what the latitude and longitude of your town, and who these barbarians are"]. In the meantime, receive thus much from me. The Lord called me to the Society of Jesus, and it is his will that I should spend my life in the Canadian territory for the sake of these barbarians whom he redeemed with his blood. Wherefore I am certain that if the immaculate Virgin the mother of God were present to me in these wretched lands, she would not wish us [since Christ bore for us so great torments] to spare the breath of life which she [he] preserves for us. Which whilst we enjoy, let us pray God that if we may not meet on earth we may be joined in heaven. *Latin.*

"Copy. *Endorsed:* 'Copy of a Latin letter received by Colonel Bird in Virginia in the winter 1675, from a Jesuit, dated 4th August 1675, in latitude 35 degrees, longitude 275. About 1200 miles west, two degrees south-west [southwards] from Virginia.'"

⁴ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LIX. 315, note 46.

voyage down the Mississippi with Louis Jolliet, Father Marquette reached latitude $33^{\circ} 40'$ and on July 17, 1673, started from that point the return journey.⁵ As did many travellers in succeeding years, Jolliet and his companion found that the ascent of the Mississippi was laborious. The period was summer, when the waters were confined to the river bed and therefore made the work of propulsion harder. Unfortunately Marquette's account of the voyage is sketchy and Jolliet's journal, which must have contained daily entries, has been lost, so that their progress cannot be followed; but taking into consideration the current, the sinuosity of the river, and the experience of other travellers, it is very probable that they were on August 4 at about the thirty-fifth parallel, where the letter was written. This point lies a few miles south of Memphis.

At this place on their voyage down they had visited a village of Indians strange to them. Marquette's narrative of the experience is as follows:

While drifting down with The current, in this condition, we perceived on land some savages armed with guns, who awaited us. I at once offered them my plumed calumet, while our frenchmen prepared for defense, but delayed firing, that The savages might be the first to discharge their guns. I spoke to them in huron, but they answered me by a word which seemed to me a declaration of war against us. However, they were as frightened as we were; and what we took for a signal for battle was an Invitation that they gave us to draw near, that they might give us food. We therefore landed, and entered their Cabins, where they offered us meat from wild cattle and bear's grease, with white plums, which are very good. They have guns, hatchets, hoes, Knives, beads, and flasks of double glass, in which they put Their powder. They wear Their hair long, and tattoo their bodies after the hiroquois fashion. The women wear head-dresses and garments like those of the huron women. They assured us that we were no more than ten days' journey from The sea; that they bought cloth and all other goods from the Europeans who lived to The east; that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played upon Instruments; that some of them looked Like me, and had been received by these savages kindly. Nevertheless, I saw none who seemed to have received any instruction in the faith; I gave Them as much as I could, with some medals.⁶

The Quapaw gave the explorers some further information about these unknown: "They also told us", writes Marquette, "that the savages with guns whom we had met were Their Enemies who barred Their way to the sea, and prevented Them from becoming acquainted with the Europeans, and from carrying on any trade with them."⁷

⁵ Marquette's journal, Thwaites, LIX. 159, 161.

⁶ *Ibid.*, LIX. 147, 149.

⁷ *Ibid.*, LIX. 155.

The identification of these Indians is made more complicated by the various maps that resulted from Jolliet's discovery of the Mississippi. Those derived from Marquette's account place at this site and at a position farther south a tribe called "Monsoupehia", which the *Handbook of American Indians* describes as "a problematic tribe first noted on Marquette's map".⁸ Jolliet's map gives the situation of the tribe on the east bank south of the mouth of the Arkansas River. The scattered references of later date to this "problematic" tribe may have all been derived from this original source and need not be given much weight in the identification of the Indians met by the original explorers.

According to the account the Indians were occupying "cabins", their habitat extended along the eastern bank of the lower Mississippi, and they spoke a language unfamiliar to Father Marquette who knew six Indian languages, Algonquian and Iroquoian. Their habitat was thus identical with that of the Chickasaw, and if they did not belong to that tribe, they were undoubtedly members of some one of the Muskhogean group.

When Father Marquette landed at a village of these same Indians on this return voyage, on August 4, 1673, he evidently gave into their hands this Latin letter in which he begs the white strangers to tell him "who these barbarians are", since he has been able to "learn nothing from them". His expectation was that the Indians would carry the letter to the Spaniards with whom they traded.

Unquestionably the Indians had bought their guns and other utensils from the Spaniards in Florida. That the letter did not reach that settlement but found its destination two and a half years later in the hands of William Byrd of Virginia is an interesting historical fact needing some explanation. In 1673, the year of Jolliet's success, Colonel Abraham Wood had through his agent, James Needham, extended his trading relations with the western Indians beyond the mountains, and Needham actually visited the Cherokee.⁹ From that time the Virginia traders appear to have followed up this trade, except when prevented by war, either by sending pack trains to the westward or by selling to Indians who visited the settlements. It was probably from some western visitor that Byrd, a well-known Indian

⁸ See Jolliet's map, *ibid.*, LIX. 87, and the maps derived from Marquette's information in Kellogg, "Marquette's Authentic Map possibly Identified", *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, pp. 183 ff.; *Handbook of American Indians*, art. "Monsopelia".

⁹ Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, p. 79 ff.

trader, received this letter two years after the explorations of James Needham.

The endorsement, which is in a handwriting different from the body of the letter, was not made in 1675, for William Byrd was at that time only captain; he is called colonel for the first time in 1680.¹⁰ A guess as to the manner of the entry of this letter into the manuscripts of the Duke of Portland may be hazarded. William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, a diligent collector of information about western America, was correspondent of Robert Harley, a member of the family whose manuscripts are preserved at Welbeck Abbey. Colonel Byrd probably sent a copy to William Penn who passed it on to his correspondent.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD.

AMERICAN MIDDLE TEMPLARS

THE claim that "the Society of the Middle Temple took a leading part in the birth of the American nation"¹ through the number of members who were concerned in the settlement of Virginia has received general recognition. Toward the end of the seventeenth century began a reciprocal movement of young Americans returning to study at the Middle Temple. It has been estimated that "Probably from twenty-five to fifty American-born lawyers had been educated in England prior to 1760";² and it has been stated that 115 Americans were admitted to the Inns from 1760 to the close of the Revolution. Before the year 1760 the description of the parentage of seventy students upon the books of the Middle Temple shows that they had come across the seas. Although the Middle Templars formed the majority of those who entered at the Inns, the names of a few Americans may be found at the other Inns of Court. One hundred and fifty joined the Middle Temple and the stream of Americans reached its height in the middle of the eighteenth century. Of that period there is an admirable record in a volume known as *Master Worsley's Book*³ prepared under the direction of the treasurer, "the principal and supreme officer", of that name. The

¹⁰ Bassett, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr.*, p. xix. Captain in 1677, *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1659-1693, p. 84.

¹ C. E. A. Bedwell, *Brief History of the Middle Temple*, pp. 32-50, where some of the evidence in support is collected.

² C. Warren, *History of the American Bar*, p. 188, referring to C. J. Stillé, *Life and Times of John Dickinson*.

³ *Master Worsley's Book on the History and Constitution of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple*, ed. A. R. Ingpen (London, 1910).

description of the internal management of the Inn may be supplemented by Sir William Blackstone's account of the course of study at the same period.⁴ Although the American students may not have gained that kind of legal knowledge which is considered essential at the present day on both sides of the Atlantic as a training for the practice of the law, they acquired an understanding of men and of principles which were of inestimable value in their after lives. It is sufficient to glance down the following list of names to note how many afterwards attained positions of eminence in laying the foundations of constitutional government and sound administration of justice. It includes five signatories of the Declaration of Independence. There are the four representatives of South Carolina, Edward Rutledge, afterwards governor, Thomas Lynch, jr., Thomas Heyward, jr., afterwards a judge, and Arthur Middleton who declined the post of governor, and one of the Delaware representatives, Thomas McKean, afterwards chief justice and governor of Pennsylvania. An examination of two other important constitutional documents—the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution itself—signed by representatives of the states, furnishes an equally interesting result.

Joseph Reed was one of the representatives of Pennsylvania, who, when he signed the Articles of Confederation, had lately declined the chief-justiceship of his state and soon after became president of its supreme executive council. Thomas McKean had as one of his colleagues in the representation of Delaware John Dickinson, the "Pennsylvania Farmer", who afterward, as delegate from Pennsylvania, signed also the Constitution. John Banister, and John Mathews, afterward governor of South Carolina and chancellor of its court of equity, signed on behalf, respectively, of Virginia and South Carolina.

Among the Middle Temple signers of the Constitution was the senior representative of New Jersey and first governor of the state, William Livingston. They included also Jared Ingersoll, afterwards twice attorney general of Pennsylvania, and a Philadelphia judge, John Blair, who had been president of the court of appeals of Virginia and became a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and three out of four signatories on behalf of South Carolina. One was John Rutledge, eldest brother of Edward, who had been called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1760. After a brilliant career as an advocate and statesman he had been governor, chancellor, and chief justice of his state, and was nominated by

⁴ *Commentaries*, I. 31-32.

Washington to be second chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. The other two were Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, the most distinguished member of a family noted in the history of the state, who was afterwards United States minister to France, and Charles Pinckney, United States minister to Spain and four times governor of his state.

There is hardly a name in the list which might not be accompanied by a note of interest, but space precludes a further examination of it in detail. It may well be that one day a little volume may be compiled of Notable American Middle Templars, in which it would be necessary to include those Americans who in recent years, either *honoris causa* or as ordinary students, have become members of the Inn, including the late Mr. Joseph Choate and the present ambassador at the court of St. James.

The date at the beginning of each entry extracted from the records of the society is that of the young American's admission thereto; in case he was called to the bar the date of that vote is also given.

C. E. A. BEDWELL.⁵

- 1681 June 22. William Wharton, son and heir of Richard W. of Boston, New England, esq., called 14 May, 1686.
- 1692 Oct. 18. Benjamin Lynde, third son of Simon L. of Boston, New England, merchant, called 22 Nov., 1695.
- 1697 Oct. 18. Benjamin Harrison, son and heir of Benjamin H. of Virginia in America, merchant.
- 1705-6 Feb. 11. William Dudley, second son of Joseph D. of New England, America, esq.
- 1706 Nov. 7. Robert Livingstone, third son of Robert L. of New York, America, merchant.
- 1713 Apr. 30. John Carter, son and heir of Robert C. of Virginia, in America, esq., called 27 May, 1720.
- 1717 Nov. 26. Robert Johnston [afterwards took the name of Ketelbey] second son of Gideon J., S.T.D., Commisary of Carolina, decd, called 15 May, 1724.
- 1717-18 Jan. 24. James Trent, son and heir of William T. of Philadelphia, Pensilvania, merchant.
- 1719 May 13. Richard Lee, son and heir of Philip L. of the colony of Maryland, merchant.
- Nov. 5. Robert Beverly, only son of Harry B. of Urbanna [Urbanna], Virginia, esq.
- 1719-20 Mar. 15. Antony Palmer, second son of Antony P. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, merchant, called 11 Feb., 1726.
- 1720 Aug. 24. William Allen, second son of William A. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, merchant.
- 1721 June 23. Wilson Cary, son and heir of Miles C. of York River, in the county of Warwick, Virginia, gent., decd.

⁵ [Keeper of the Middle Temple Library. Ed.]

- 1722 Sep. 8. Beverley Whiting, son and heir of Henry W. of the colony of Virginia, esq.
 " 8. Henry Fitzhugh, only son of William F. of Stafford, colony of Virginia, esq., decd.
- 1725 May 12. Joseph Murray, of New York, America, esq., son of Thomas M. of Queen's County, Ireland, gent., decd.
- 1727 May 16. Christopher Robinson, son and heir of Christopher R. of Middlesex county in Virginia, esq., decd.
- 1729 Sep. 6. Andrew Hamilton, second son of Andrew H. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, esq., called 24 Nov. 1732.
- 1729-30 Mar. 14. Jonathan Belcher, esq., second son of the Hon. John [Jonathan] B., Governor of New England [Massachusetts and New Hampshire] in America, called 24 May, 1734.
- 1731 May 3. John Chambers, son of — C. of New York, America, gent.
- 1732-3 Feb. 2. Joseph Jekyll, third son of John J. of New England, America, esq., decd., called 1 June, 1739.
- 1733 Jul. 5. George Carter, youngest son of Robert C. of Virginia in America, esq., called 4 Nov., 1738.
 Nov. 27. Thomas Elde, only son of Thomas E. of New York, America, gent., decd.
- 1739 Oct. 13. Peyton Randolph, second son of John R. of Virginia, America, knight, called 10 Feb., 1744.
- 1741-2 Mar. 16. Daniel Dulany, son and heir of Daniel D. of Maryland, America, esq., called 13 June, 1746.
- 1742 Oct. 29. William Burnett, youngest son of William B., esq., decd., of New York, America, Governor.
- 1742 Oct. 29. William Livingstone, son of Colonel Philip L. of New York, America, esq.
- 1743 Oct. 27. Benjamin Chew, son and heir of Samuel C. of Pennsylvania, North America, esq.
- 1744 Nov. 2. Edward Shippen, only son of Edward S. of Philadelphia, America, merchant, called 9 Feb., 1750.
- 1744 Dec. 15. Thomas Bordley, fourth son of Thomas B. of Maryland, America, esq., decd.
- 1745 Apr. 8. John Randolph, third son of John R. of the island of Virginia, America, knight, decd., called 9 Feb., 1750.
- 1746 Apr. 22. Thomas Child, esq., Attorney General to H.M. King George II. in North Carolina, America, youngest son of Richard C. of Lavenham, Suffolk, doctor of medicine, called 30 May, 1746.

Minute of Parliament,⁶ 30 May, 1746.

Thomas Child Esquire admitted of this Society the 22nd of April last was propos'd to their Masterships the last Parliament in Easter Term by Sir John Strange for the calling him to the Barr at this Parliament, he being appointed Attorney General of North Carolina. Whereupon his Majesties command under his Royal Sign Manual to the Governour of the said Province was read bearing date the twenty eighth day of February one thousand seven hundred and forty five six, constituting and appointing the said Thomas Child his

⁶ Meetings of the benchers, the governing body of the Middle Temple, were called parliaments.

- Attorney General of his Province of North Carolina in America which being taken into consideration by their Masterships and that Mr. Childs residence and practice would be abroad. It is ordered that the said Mr. Child be called to the Degree of the Utter Barr.
- 1746-7 Jan. 6. William Byrd, son and heir of William B. of Virginia Island, America, esq., decd.
- 1750 June 29. Phileman Hemsley, son and heir of William H. of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, esq., decd.
Oct. 6. William Drayton, eldest son of Thomas D. of South Carolina, esq., called 13 June, 1755.
- 1750 Oct. 9. Henry Churchill, third son of Armstead C. of Virginia, America, esq., called 24 May, 1754.
- 1750-51 Feb. 11. William Franklin, son and heir of Benjamin F. of Philadelphia, America, called 10 Nov., 1758.
- 1751 May 2. Joseph Jones, son and heir of James J. of Virginia, gent., decd., called 21 June, 1751.
Aug. 14. Thomson Mason, third son of George M. of Virginia in America, esq., called 22 Nov., 1754.
Oct. 19. Charles Carroll, eldest son of Charles C. of Anapolis, Maryland, America, M.D., called 22 Nov., 1754.
- 1752 Dec. 2. Ryland Randolph, third son of Richard R. of Virginia, America, esq.
" 2. Robert Goldsborough, eldest son of Charles G. of Dorset, Maryland, esq., called 8 Feb., 1757.
- 1753 Jan. 2. John Wilcox, eldest son of John W. of Urbanna, Middlesex, in Virginia, gent.
Feb. 17. John Hammond, second son of Philip H. of Severnhead, Anne Arundel, Maryland, America, esq., called 9 Feb., 1760.
May 25. David Graeme, of South Carolina, second son of William G., M.D.
June 2. John Blair, eldest son of John B. of York, Virginia, America, esq., called 20 May, 1757.
" 18. William Hicks, eldest son of Edward H. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
July 9. James Michie, eldest son of John M. of South Carolina, esq.
- 1753 Sep. 27. John Banister, eldest son of John B. of Dinwiddie, Virginia, America, esq.
Nov. 6. Robert Mackenzie, only son of Kenneth M. of Surrey, Virginia, America, esq.
Dec. 21. John Dickinson, second son of Samuel D. of Delaware, Kent, Pennsylvania, America, called 8 Feb., 1757.
- 1754 Jan. 1. Carter Henry Harrison, second son of Benjamin H. of Berkley, Charles City, Virginia, America, esq.
May 28. Cornelius Low, second son of Cornelius L. of New Jersey, America, merchant.
Oct. 11. John Rutledge, son and heir of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 9 Feb., 1760.
Nov. 20. John Mackenzie, son and heir of William M. of South Carolina, esq., called 29 June, 1759.
" 21. John Ambler, second son of Richard A. of Virginia, esq., called 28 Jan., 1757.

- Dec. 3. James Hollyday, eldest son of the Hon. James H. of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, esq., decd.
- " 25. John Morris, eldest son of Samuel M. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- 1755 Dec. 31. Robert Bolling, sixth son of John B. of Cobbs, Chesterfield, Virginia, America, esq.
- 1756 Jan. 17. Ralph Peters, of Platbridge, near Wigan, Lancashire, eldest son of William P. of Philadelphia, America, esq., called 25 Nov., 1757.
- Feb. 11. Gawen Corbin, eldest son of Richard C. of Kings and Queen's County, Virginia, America, esq., called 23 Jan., 1761.
- 1756 Feb. 24. Philip Thomas Lee, son of Richard L. of Charles County, Maryland, America, esq., called 10 Feb., 1764.
- 1757 Jan. 5. Robert Beverley, only son of William B. of Blandfield, Essex, Virginia, America, esq., decd., called 6 Feb., 1761.
- Apr. 14. Arthur Middleton, eldest son of Henry M. of South Carolina, America, esq.
- Nov. 11. John Brice, eldest son of John B. of Annapolis, Maryland, America, esq.
- 1758 May 9. Thomas McKean, son of William McK. of Chester, Pennsylvania, America.
- 1759 July 12. Joshua Ward, second son of John W. of Charlestown, South Carolina, gent., decd.
- Aug. 6. Andrew Allen, second son of William A. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, esq.
- " 6. James Allen, third son of William A. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, esq.
- Nov. 30. Edmund Key, sixth son of Philip K. of St. Mary's County, Maryland, America, esq.
- Dec. 18. Alexander Lawson, only son of Alexander L. of Baltimore County, Maryland, America, esq.
- 1760 Sep. 25. William Fauntleroy, eldest son of William F. of Essex County, Virginia, America, esq.
- 1761 Jan. 9. Walter Livingston, second son of Robert L. of New York, North America.
- " 9. Robert Livingston, third son of Robert L. of New York, North America, esq.
- 1761 Oct. 14. Lloyd Dulany, fourth son of Daniel D. of Anne Arundel, Maryland, America, esq., decd.
- 1762 Aug. 3. Jasper Yates, second son of Jasper Y. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, America, esq.
- 1763 May 14. Gabriel Cathcart, only son of William C. of Roanoke, North Carolina, esq.
- Dec. 16. Nicholas Waln, second son of Nicholas W. of Philadelphia, America, gent., decd.
- " 16. Joseph Reed, eldest son of Andrew R. of Trenton, Hunterdon, New Jersey, America, esq.
- 1764 Jan. 23. William Hamilton, second son of Andrew H. of Philadelphia, America, esq., decd.
- " 24. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, eldest son of Charles P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, esq., decd., called 27 Jan., 1769.
- Oct. 27. John Matthews, only son of John M. of South Carolina, America, esq., decd.

- 1765 Jan. 10. Thomas Hayward [Heyward], eldest son of Daniel H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 25 May, 1770.
- June 19. James Wright, second son of James W. esq. of Georgia, governor, called 27 Nov., 1772.
- " 28. Hugh Rutledge, son of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, esq., decd.
- July 2. Alexander Harvey, eldest son of William H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1766 Feb. 6. Henry Yonge, eldest son of Henry Y. of Georgia, America, esq.
- 1767 Jan. 12. Edward Rutledge, fifth son of John R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd., called 3 July, 1772.
- Feb. 17. Paul Trapier, only son of Paul T. of George Town, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Mar. 6. Thomas Lynch, only son of Thomas L. of Charles Town, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Nov. 17. Gustavus Scott, eldest son of the Rev. James S. of Prince William's County, Virginia, America, clergyman, called 27 Nov., 1772.
- 1768 Sep. 29. Alexander Moultrie, youngest son of John M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Oct. 4. Richard Shubrick, eldest son of James S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, arm.
- " 6. Philip Neyle, only son of Samson N. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 26 Nov., 1773.
- Dec. 16. Thomas Pinckney, second son of Charles P. of South Carolina, America, esq., decd., called 25 Nov., 1774.
- " 23. James Peronneau, fourth son of Henry P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1769 Jan. 2. William Oliphant, eldest son of David O. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- " 7. John Fashreud [Faucheraud] Grimke, son and heir of John Paul G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- " 18. Henry Lee Ball, eldest son of William B. of Lancaster County, Province of Virginia, America, arm.
- 1769 July 15. Richard Tilghman, second son of James T. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- 1770 Nov. 8. Daniel Dulany, son and heir of Walter D. of Maryland, America, esq.
- 1771 Apr. 15. Phineas Bond, only son of Phineas B. of Philadelphia, America, doctor of Medicine, called 18 June, 1779.
- Minute of Parliament 5 May, 1797.

A letter having been read by the Under Treasurer which he lately received from Phineas Bond, Esquire, a barrister of this Society and His Britannic Majesty's Consul at Philadelphia (in answer to one which the Under Treasurer some time since sent to Mr. Bond as surety for Mr. Rawle and Mr. Chew) stating that upon conversing with those gentlemen who resided at Philadelphia he found they never had any intention of being called to the bar in England nor would that measure have been practicable as they could not in the state of alienage in which they stood have taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown and that they were merely admitted of the So-

ciety for the purpose of deriving that benefit from an intercourse with professional men to which an induction into an Inn of Court naturally introduced them, and that when they left England they presumed they ceased to be members and all duties were at an end. That having the most implicit reliance in the candor and equity of the Benchers they would be completely governed by their decision. Ordered that Mr. Bond be informed that according to the usage of the Society their arrears should be paid and that their accounts shall be suspended upon their paying duties up to the present time and that their bonds will be cancelled upon their signifying it to be their wish in writing.

- 1771 May 3. Walter Aitchison, son and heir of William A. of Virginia, America, merchant.
 " 31. Cyrus Griffin, sixth son of Le Roy G. of Virginia, America, esq., decd.
- 1772 May 25. William Ward Burrows, son and heir of William B. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 June 10. William Heyward, third son of Daniel H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 " 24. Edward Tilghman, eldest son of Edward T. of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, America, esq.
- 1772 Sep. 16. John Laurens, son and heir of Henry L. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1773 Jan. 13. Henry Lee, eldest son of Henry L. of Lee-Sylvania, [Prince] William County, Virginia, America, esq.
 May 1. Richard Beresford, eldest son of Richard B. of South Carolina, America, decd., esq.
 " 4. Charles Pinckney, eldest son of Charles P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, esq.
 " 14. Nicholas Maccubbin, eldest son of Nicholas M. of Annapolis, Maryland, America, esq.
 June 28. Thomas Shubrick, second son of Thomas S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 July 16. Jared Ingersoll, only son of Jared I. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
 " 31. Henry Nicholes, second son of Isaac N. of St. Paul's Parish, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
 " 31. John Pringle, eldest son of Robert P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 Sep. 29. Joseph Ball Downman, eldest son of Rawleigh D. of Virginia, America, esq.
 Nov. 15. Arthur Lee (admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 1 March 1770) youngest son of the Hon. Thomas L. of Virginia, America, esq., called 5 May, 1775.
- 1774 Jan. 28. Moses Franks, second son of David F. of Philadelphia, America, esq., called 23 Nov., 1781.
 Mar. 30. Benjamin Smith, son of Thomas S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1774 May 12. William Smith, eldest son of Benjamin S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
 Oct. 25. Robert Milligan, only son of George M. of Cecil County, Maryland, America, esq.

- 1775 May 13. William Simpson, eldest son of James S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 26 May, 1786.
 " 31. John Parker, eldest son of John P. of Goose Creek, South Carolina, America, Esq.
 " 31. Hext McCall, son of John M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1776 Jan. 24. William Dummer Powell, son and heir of John P. of Boston, New England, America, esq., called 6 Feb., 1784.
 Nov. 15. Charles Pryce, only son of Charles P., esq., Attorney General in Georgia, America.
- 1777 Nov. 14. James Simpson, esq., Attorney General, South Carolina, eldest son of William S. of Georgia, America, Chief Justice, called 4 July, 1783.
- 1781 Feb. 15. William Roberts, eldest son of Humphrey R. of Virginia, esq., called 18 May, 1787.
 June 4. James Smith, fourth son of Thomas S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 Aug. 17. William Rawle, only son of Francis R. of Philadelphia, America, merchant, decd.
 Sep. 6. Joseph Manigault, second son of Peter M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1781 Oct. 25. Daniel Horry, eldest son of Daniel H. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1782 June 28. Peter Porcher, second son of Philip P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 July 15. John Gaillard, eldest son of John G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 " 15. Theodore Gaillard, second son of John G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
 " 22. Archibald Young, eldest son of Benjamin Y. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1783 Feb. 10. Thomas Simons, eldest son of Maurice S. of Charlestown, South Carolina, North America, esq.
 June 3. William Mazyck, eldest son of William M. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1784 Jan. 7. Benjamin Chew, only son of Benjamin C. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
 " 13. John Saunders, eldest son of Jonathan S. of Virginia, esq., decd., called 6 Feb., 1789.
 Feb. 2. Philip Key, second son of Francis K. of Maryland, America, esq., decd.
 Apr. 28. William Vans Murray, eldest son of Henry M. of Maryland, America, doctor of medicine.
- 1785 Jan. 12. John Leeds Bozman, only son of John B. of Maryland, America, esq.
 " 14. Robert Alexander, second son of William A. of Richmond, America, esq.
- 1785 Apr. 22. George Boone Roupell, only son of George R. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq., called 4 June, 1790.
 " 29. Henry Gibbes, second son of William G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.

- 1786 May 18. John Gaillard, second son of Theodore G. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Nov. 4. William Allen Deas, second son of John D. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Nov. 9. William Boyd, second son of George Boyd of Lowhayton, Essex, and Portsmouth, near Boston, America.
- 1787 Feb. 1. Miles Brewton Pinckney, third son of Charles P. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- Apr. 27. Roger Pinckney, eldest son of Roger P. of South Carolina, America, esq., decd.
- 1793 Mar. 28. Henry Izard, eldest son of Ralph I. of Charlestown, South Carolina, America, esq.
- 1794 Sep. 16. James Edmund Houstoun, eldest son of James H. of Savannah, Georgia, America, doctor of medicine.
- 1796 July 20. Jonathan Perrie Coffin, esq. (admitted to the Inner Temple 23 May, 1788), fifth son of Nathaniel C. of Boston, America, esq., decd.
- 1804 March 15. Clement Simpson, only son of Jacob S. of Georgia, America, esq., decd.
- 1807 Apr. 23. Samuel Gordon, eldest son of Robert G. of Farrerin, Sligo, Ireland, and of Johnville, Abbeville, South Carolina, esq.
- 1808 Nov. 17. Jacob Shoemaker Waln, youngest son of Nicholas W. of Philadelphia, America, esq.
- 1836 Nov. 17. Alexander Palache, eldest son of Mordecai P. of New York, gent.

THE NATIONAL TICKET OF BROOM AND COATES, 1852

To few specialists in American political history would "Broom and Coates" suggest the names of candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. No mention of them is made in the standard books dealing with presidential elections, such as those of Stanwood and McKee, nor, so far as is known, in the more special works on political parties. The object of this note is to present such information respecting this long-forgotten ticket as was discovered in the course of a somewhat extensive research on the general subject of presidential elections.

On July 5-6, 1852, the Native American party, later more commonly known as the American, or Know-Nothing, party, held a national convention at Trenton, New Jersey, at which thirty-one delegates representing nine states—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia—were present. After adopting resolutions setting forth the principles of Americanism, and after changing the name of the party by dropping the word "native", the convention nominated Daniel Webster of Massachusetts for President, and George C. Washington of Montgomery County, Maryland, for Vice-President. The

permanent president of the convention was Jacob Broom of Philadelphia, and one of its most active members was Dr. Reynell Coates of Camden, New Jersey.¹

On learning of his nomination through the public prints, Washington, who had been a member of Congress for four terms and who was a grand-nephew of General Washington, declined the nomination,² and Dr. Reynell Coates was chosen to fill the vacancy. Webster neither accepted nor declined,³ and his name remained at the head of the ticket until his death on October 24. Three days later the national executive committee of the American party nominated Jacob Broom to take Webster's place.⁴

It is said that brooms and old coats were conspicuous emblems in this campaign of the American party.⁵ If so, the use of brooms must have been limited to the period October 27–November 2—the last date being the day of the election. It is also said that Coates was wont to refer jocularly to the ticket of Webster and Coates as the “kangaroo ticket”—quite properly thinking of himself as its “shorter legs”.⁶ At the election on November 2, the ticket of the American party received 1670 votes in Pennsylvania, 831 votes in New Jersey, and 184 votes in Massachusetts.⁷ If it received any votes in other states, they were so few and scattering that no record was made of them in collections of returns.

Broom belonged to a family of some distinction, as may be seen from Campbell's life of the elder Broom.⁸ After running for the presidency, he served a term in Congress, 1855–1857, having been elected thereto as the candidate of the American party. A speech that he made in the House entitled “Defense of Americanism”, may be found in the *Congressional Globe* for 1856 (app., pp. 1081–1084). He died in Washington, D. C., in November, 1864.

Dr. Reynell Coates, of Philadelphia Quaker stock, is set down in a somewhat fulsome sketch of his life as “surgeon, scientist, statesman, naturalist, pedagogue, poet, lecturer, essayist, and founder of the Patriotic Order Sons of America”.⁸ Possessing considerable

¹ *Weekly True American* (Trenton), July 9, 1852.

² *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), July 14, 1852.

³ F. A. Ogg, *Daniel Webster*, p. 407. See also C. H. Van Tyne, *Letters of Daniel Webster*, pp. 539–540.

⁴ *North American and United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), October 28, 1852.

⁵ W. W. Campbell, *Life and Character of Jacob Broom* [father of the candidate] (1909), p. 30.

⁶ W. P. Steinhæuser, *Biographical Sketch of Dr. Reynell Coates* (1913), p. 10.

⁷ *Whig Almanac for 1853*, pp. 51, 52, 49.

⁸ Steinhæuser, *Biographical Sketch*, p. 1.

versatility, and possibly for this reason failing in his chosen profession—that of medicine—he, like many other men under similar circumstances, adopted a literary mode of life. If one may judge from the large number of his publications, he pursued literature with signal success, although, it is said, with little pecuniary reward. The wide range of his writings may be seen from a few of their titles: *Reminiscences of a Voyage to India, Hope, The Gambler's Wife, First Lines of Physiology, Leaflets of Memory, and Address of the Native Americans to the Native and Naturalized Citizens of the United States*. Dr. Coates died at Camden, New Jersey, in April, 1886.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

DOCUMENTS

1. *Letter of William Wirt, 1819*

THE treaty between the United States and Spain, for the cession of Florida, was signed February 22, 1819, and ratified at once by the United States Senate. Its terms required the King of Spain to ratify it within six months. In October, 1819, it was well known that he had not done this, but instead had indicated his intention to send a new envoy, for further discussion of certain points. During October and November, therefore, there was much public discussion, and much debate in President Monroe's cabinet, as to what course of action the government of the United States should take in the event that no ratification should arrive before the meeting of Congress, when a message from the President upon the matter would be expected. Occupation of Florida was generally advocated. In addition, many Americans continued to demand Texas, and to cast longing glances to the southward, as a field where American diplomacy should assert itself. The latter part of the fourth volume of the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams shows the thoughts, on this subject, of the member of the Cabinet chiefly concerned. Those of another are shown in the letter printed below.

The letter was written by William Wirt, attorney general of the United States 1817-1829, to his friend John Coalter, of Richmond, Virginia, and of "Chatham" in Stafford County, on the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburg. John Coalter (1771-1838), who had been a judge of the general court of Virginia from 1809 to 1811, was from 1811 to 1831 a judge of the supreme court of appeals. He had married a half-sister of John Randolph of Roanoke, a daughter of Judge St. George Tucker. The original letter is the property of Miss Nina Grinnan, of Madison County, Virginia, a descendant of Judge Coalter. Miss Grinnan gave permission to President Charles William Dabney, of the University of Cincinnati, to copy and publish it, and by his kind favor it appears here.

*To Mr. John Coalter of
Richmond, Va.*

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25. 1819

UPON my word this is a bright as well as a bold thought—and were it not for the very near approach of congress,¹ to whom the question of

¹ Congress was to meet December 6.

peace or war properly belongs, I believe it would be quite as well to right ourselves, by the short cut you propose. I believe that Virgil's coat turned loose, at the close of a long winter, into a rich meadow, would not enjoy the luxuriant frolic more than Jackson would, to be turned loose into the Spanish Provinces, Cuba included. What antics, what tantarums, what didos would be cut—stand clear all ye Arbutnotts and Anbristers,² and all ye Seminolean and Spanish chiefs—for the devil is to play among the tailors. Suppose you drop this hint to congress, either through the members whom you know, or through the papers. I think it would be well worth their while to enquire whether the temporary occupation of the Texas, as far as the Colorado, would not be expedient, considering the inability of Spain to hold it, even against intruders, for the purpose of meeting the final decree of the court—and then when we have it (and Florida, for the same reason, viz. it's protection for the right owner) we may, after the example of Spain, go on to negotiate at our ease. But I am against the example of the French republic—no fraternal hugs by force—it does not suit the genius of our government. Justice, forbearance, generosity, moderation and magnanimity are the characteristics with which we ought to seek to cloathe our nation—all these, however, are perfectly compatible with the cool and firm assertion of our rights—and although Spain, from her imbecility, would be an object of pity, if her ludicrous arrogance did not make her one of contempt, yet I think we have humored her childish and wayward caprices long enough—and I would take her play-things from her, 'till she came to her sober senses and to a sense of justice toward us. The truth of the matter is that all these provinces must fall off from Spain, in a very few years, whether we take them or not. The parent trunk is rotten, and can no longer sustain such extensive and ponderous branches. "The date of knock [?] is out" and "off must drop the sympathetic snout" not that the analogy is precise in this case—for it is not by sympathetic decay that the provinces will fall—but by the weight of their luxuriance and by the disposition of Spain to repress and circumscribe their growth and to trim them into a senile subjection to her whims. I believe that every man who observes what is going on, is satisfied that all that tissue of provinces down to the isthmus will be independent in a few years. Now tell me what will be the consequence of their separte independence, each for itself, or their forming themselves into one or several confederations. Would it be better for us, for our peace, that they should hold this separte existence, or that they should be incorporated with us. If in the infant state the stronger powers of Europe shd. make a run at them, supposing them to continue separte, what should be our course? Should we aid them? If we should what would be the consequences—Russia being, as she certainly would, among the ambitious invaders, for she has indicated already a strong hankering after our coast on the Pacific—only observe with what great events this movement of the Spanish colonies is pregnant—pray how far can you see into the womb of time? I think (as at present advised) that it wd. have a good effect on the powers of Europe, to make these provinces a part of ourselves as fast as it can be constitutionally done—for I don't think that either of them (the powers of Europe) would be very forward, to seek a quarrel with *us*, wantonly. I think that less than half

² See J. S. Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, pp. 254-258.

a century will find the U. S. at the Stony Mountains and powerful enough to cope, in a defensive war, with the combined world. How hard is it upon us, that we cannot live to see these things—but we can look from Mount Pisgah, with Moses, upon this promised land. Pray indulge the cabinet with some of your prescience on these subjects, with a sketch of the policy which you think they ought to pursue. Are you satisfied that our title to Texas is clear? If it be, ‘tho’ a nation as well as a man may (*perhaps*) have a right to take it’s own property, whenever and wherever, it can do so, *without a breach of the peace*, can it do so, *per force*, without creating that state of things which is called *war*—and if so, can the Presidt. of the U. S. produce that state of things, without invading the powers of congress?—as these questions stand immediately connected with your present advice, the cabinet would thank you for your opinion. Can the President do more than to recommend your measure to congress? I suppose it will be impossible to mark out, in advance, any general course of policy which it would be certainly proper to pursue in relation to these colonies. Each emergency must be met as it arises, and under it’s own circumstances—which will vary infinitely, and produce a different course, in one case, from what it will be proper to adopt in another—sufficient to the day is the evil thereof, says laziness—what says political prophecy?

Where is my friend Judge Tucker.³ I hope I do not mistake in calling him still my friend, altho’ I confess I have not deserved it, if I am to be judged only by the number of letters I have written him—but if I am so to be judged, I am not worthy of the friendship of any man or woman (except my wife) since there is no one to whom I have not given apparent cause of displeasure on this head. But, indeed and in truth, I have so much writing to do, by force, that I am glad enough to rest when I can and I ask from my friends no other indulgence than I am willing to extend to them—which is the consummation of gospel morality, so far as concerns our earthly relations. Has Mr. Tucker seen Walsh’s new book called “An Appeal from the judgments of G. Britain, respecting the U. S. A.?”⁴ If he has not, I hope he will see it, for if I mistake not he will be much gratified by it. It contains a good deal of curious, antiquarian research into our history; and, with much truth and a good deal of address, “rolls back the torrent of British calumny on it’s source”. I would send the book to him, but that I infer from a late enquirer that it has reached your city. . . .

So then we are not to see you and your new coat, at last—for as you have not come while Henry Tucker⁵ was in congress and furnished you a good excuse, I take it for granted you will not come, now. You are a shabby fellow. But suppose you come on this winter and hear the interesting debate to which our affairs with Spain will no doubt give rise—

³ St. George Tucker (1752–1827), stepfather of John Randolph of Roanoke, and father-in-law of Judge Coalter. He was a judge of the general court of Virginia from 1788 to 1804, and of the supreme court of appeals of that state from 1804 to 1811. From 1813 to 1825 he was judge of the United States district court for the eastern district of Virginia.

⁴ By Robert Walsh (Philadelphia, 1819); see McMaster, *History*, V. 326–337.

⁵ Henry St. George Tucker (1780–1848), son of Judge St. George Tucker, and brother-in-law of Judge Coalter. He had been a member of the House of Representatives from Virginia, 1815–1819.

besides they will stand in need of you to set them to rights—if you come, come on straight to my house where you shall find a bed ready for you and such a welcome as, *mutatis mutandis*, you would give to me—which I own is a *bould word*. Suppose you come on and meet Dabney Carr,⁶ here?—for here he will be *the winter*. I wish I could suggest some motive to bring you on—for I am sure it would contribute to your amusement as well as to our happiness. Mrs. W. and L.⁷ unite with me in love to you and yours.

In life and death your friend

WM. WIRT.

[*Postscript in another hand:*]

Tell Frances⁸ that I want to write to her but am determined that she shall write first.

LAURA.

2. Letter of Daniel Webster, 1833

THE following letter, for which we are indebted to Professor Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth College, presents several points of interest. The tariff bill reported by Verplanck in the House of Representatives on December 27, 1832, in order to avert conflict with South Carolina in view of the ordinance of nullification passed by her state convention on November 24, had been debated at intervals ever since, with varying fortunes. President Jackson had followed his proclamation of December 10 with a message to Congress on January 16, 1833, reviewing the progress of events in South Carolina, and asking for additional legislation to enforce the revenue laws. Three days after the date of this letter, January 21, Senator Wilkins reported his bill to enforce the collection of the revenue, passed February 20.¹

Of particular significance, in view of the later criticism of Webster for his courtesy to the dying Calhoun in the Seventh of March speech of 1850 "On the Constitution and the Union", is the expression of that kindly personal feeling which Webster always preserved

⁶ Dabney Carr the younger (1773-1837), nephew of Jefferson (see Jefferson's letter to him in *Writings*, ed. Ford, X. 15), was one of the chancellors of Virginia from 1811 to 1824, and a judge of the supreme court of appeals from 1824 to 1837. He was Wirt's most intimate friend, to whom many of the letters in Kennedy's biography of Wirt are addressed.

⁷ Laura, Wirt's eldest daughter, born in 1803. In 1826 she married Thomas Randall of Annapolis; she died in 1833.

⁸ Frances Leila Coalter, the judge's eldest daughter, born in 1803, died in 1821.

¹ Supported by Webster. *Writings and Speeches*, "National Edition" (1903), XIV. 152 ff.

toward Calhoun even when most strongly opposed to his political views.²

The letter was written to Webster's intimate friend, Stephen White, merchant and member of the Massachusetts senate.³ He was a nephew of Captain Joseph White, of Salem, whose murderers Webster helped in a famous case to prosecute. The letter was given by White or his family to Mr. Marcus Cormerais, father of Mrs. Alfred E. Wyman, of Newtonville, Massachusetts, who presented it to Dartmouth College.

WASHINGTON Friday Eve'
Jan. 18. '33

My Dear Sir

I have recd your letter of Monday, 14th. and am glad to hear there is a probability of some expression of good sentiments by Massachusetts.⁴ Such a proceeding will help us. Our prospects here grow daily better. I begin to think our friends have got the mastery of the Tariff, in the H. of R. There may be some renewed effort; but at present the *repealers* are heartless and desponding. This effect has been brought about, first, by the vigorous attack made on the Bill, in Debate. Our own Delegation have behaved most manfully, in this respect. No men could do better. Poor Davis⁵ has been sick, it is true, and that is a great drawback; but others have supplied his place. He is getting well, and I hope will be in the House by Monday. The effect has been produced, secondly, by the Presidents Message of the 16.⁶ This has convinced many members that the question with S. Carolina must be *seen thro'*, and that no modification of the Tariff would do any good.

I went into the House, today, after our own adjournment, and several Gentlemen told me they looked on the bill as already a corpse, though they may continue the debate, perhaps, a week longer.

The Message of the 16. has produced a strong sensation. People begin to see, at last, what Nullification is, and what must be done to put it down. It makes them look sober. Mr. Calhoun is highly excited. He acts as if he felt the whole world to be agt. him. I expect that, tomorrow, he will move a set of *instructions* to the Com^{ee} that is charged with

² Mr. Lodge, it may be remembered, speaks of Webster as "never in the habit of saying pleasant things to his opponents in the Senate. . . . But on the 7th of March, he elaborately complimented Calhoun". Lodge, *Webster*, pp. 325-326.

³ Several familiar letters of the same period are in the *Private Correspondence*, I. 519-526.

⁴ The expression took the form of a joint resolution, passed by the Massachusetts senate on January 18 and by the house of representatives on January 23, "instructing the Senators and requesting the Representatives" to use all the means in their power to prevent the passing of a bill reducing the tariff to meet the views of the South Carolina nullifiers. *Sen. Doc. 60, 22 Cong., 2 sess., vol. I.*

⁵ John Davis (1787-1854), representative from Massachusetts 1825-1834, senator 1835-1840, 1845-1853.

⁶ Richardson, *Messages*, II. 610-632.

the message.⁷ I hardly know what they will be, but I suppose they will comprise the S. C. opinions. Looking upon Mr. C. and the whole party here, as completely prostrate, I confess I feel no disposition to treat them with unnecessary harshness, or censure. Mr. C. will certainly not provoke any thing personal, between himself and me, and, as certainly, I shall forbear from any personal unkindness towards him.

It is now three years, My Dear Sir, since I ventured here, in the face of a most fiery opposition, to maintain sentiments, such as are contain'd in the Proclamation, and the Message.⁸ All the rage of party broke out upon me, for so doing, like an overwhelming flood. Mr. C. himself took a very active part agt. me (but not more so than the rest) and, as I believe, wrote very abusive paragraphs, in the Newspaper. Times, and men, have now changed; tho' as [for] Mr. Calhoun, he retains his same opinions, and he sees where they have brought him.

I suppose I shall learn tomorrow who is to be Senator, in my place. One thing I can say with sincerity—I *hope the place will be better filled than it has been.*⁹ Mr. Silsbee¹⁰ has bad news of his brother. I a little fear he will go home.

Yrs D. W.

Pray give my love to the Damsels.¹¹

[P. S.] Fanny Kemble is here, turning every body's head. I went to see and hear her, last Eve',¹² and paid for it by a tremendous cold. I hear that the Venerable *Judges* go constantly.¹³

Judge Story¹⁴ has excellent health.

⁷ Calhoun had taken his seat in the Senate, after resigning the vice-presidency, on January 4. His resolutions of January 23 are in the *Senate Journal* of that date, pp. 121-122.

⁸ The reference, of course, is to the debate on Foot's resolutions ("Reply to Hayne", etc.) in 1830.

⁹ Webster, whose term expired March 4, 1833, was re-elected.

¹⁰ Nathaniel Silsbee, senator from Massachusetts 1826-1835.

¹¹ "The Damsels" were the two younger daughters of Stephen White. The eldest daughter, Harriette (1809-1863), had already married James W. Paige; her journal of a visit to England with Webster and his wife in 1839 has lately been published, *Daniel Webster in England* (Boston, 1917). The younger daughters were Caroline (1811-1886), who afterward married Fletcher Webster, and Ellen (1812-1861).

¹² The play on that evening was *The School for Scandal*. Fanny Kemble played in Washington throughout the week, January 14-19. Her own lively account of it is in her *Journal* (London, 1835), II. 117-143. She heard Webster in the Senate on the 14th; *ibid.*, II. 120.

¹³ "We have had little to do this week in Court. . . . Having some leisure on our hands, the Chief Justice and myself have devoted some of it to attendance upon the theatre to hear Miss Fanny Kemble, who has been in this city the past week." Story to his wife, January 20. *Story, Life of Story*, II. 116.

¹⁴ Justice Story was a brother of Mrs. Stephen White, and uncle of "the damsels".

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Diplomacy and the Study of International Relations. By D. P. HEATLEY, Lecturer in History, University of Edinburgh. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xvi, 292. 7 sh. 6 d.)

THE purpose of this book, as stated by its author, is "to portray diplomacy and the conduct of foreign policy from the stand-point of history, to show how they have been analyzed and appraised by representative writers, and to indicate sources from which the knowledge thus acquired may be supplemented".

The first third of the volume consists of an essay of a general character on Diplomacy and the Conduct of Foreign Policy, written from a British point of view, but without discussing either the fundamental conceptions or the historical development of British policy. A great proportion of this chapter is devoted to citations from various writers and long and numerous explanatory notes, some of them having only a remote relation to the subject.

The entire volume, in fact, appears to consist chiefly of the contents of note-books made in the course of casual reading. So far as either diplomacy or the conduct of foreign affairs is concerned, the treatment is historical only in the sense that an attempt has been made to arrange the citations chronologically under the topics discussed. The reader who expects to find in this volume either a historical or an analytical method applied to the substance of diplomacy, in its operation or its results, will be disappointed. On the other hand, he will find in these pages many interesting comments on the instruments and maxims of diplomacy, ranging in time from Machiavelli to Bismarck, Salisbury, and Balfour.

The remaining two-thirds of this book consist of a general discussion of the Literature of International Relations. Under this heading we have a few pages on the scope of the study of diplomacy, in which Charles de Marten's *Guide Diplomatique* is chiefly drawn upon. There are two pages on general history, in which only a few well-known English works are mentioned; and, with the exception of Lavisse and Rambaud's *Histoire Générale* and *Les Archives de l'Histoire de France*, the extremely rich French literature on diplomatic history is wholly ignored.

Juristic literature receives more serious treatment, but historically is confined to Wheaton, Nys, and Walker. Under the treatises of international law Wheaton's *Elements* comes in for well-deserved high praise, although it was originally written so long ago. Besides this only the

works of Phillimore, Twiss, and Hall among writers in English are commented upon, while none of the Continental writers are mentioned except Vattel and G. F. de Martens. Even for the student for the diplomatic service this is a rather narrow range.

Under controversial literature is inserted a long disquisition on the Sovereignty of the Sea, not indeed without historical interest but without practical importance in the present state of sea-law. The reason for the inclusion of this excursus may perhaps be found in the closing paragraph, quoted from an almost forgotten writer, to the effect that because the "Sovereignty of our Seas" is "the most precious Jewell of his Maiesties Crowne, and . . . the principall meanes of our Wealth and Safetie, all true English hearts and hands are bound by all possible meanes and diligence to preserve and maintaine the same, even with the uttermost hazzard of their lives, their goods, and fortunes" (p. 141).

The bibliography on treaties, maps, and supplementary reading is rather scanty. Room could have been made for a wider view by the omission of long textual quotations from books that are easily accessible. The section on projects of perpetual peace could have been abbreviated by reference to well-known books, and the nearly thirty pages in French on the qualities of a diplomatist could as well have been read in Callières's full text, which can readily be had even in English. The appendix on the effect of telegraphic communications upon the responsibility of diplomatic missions contains the testimony of several important statesmen, and the sections on the treatment of international questions by the parliaments of different countries convey useful and not readily accessible information. A good index adds much to the value of the book as a work of reference.

In his references to the *Federalist*, the author cites and appears to commend Hamilton's comments on the deficiencies of democracies in the conduct of foreign relations. Mr. Heatley has been misled, however, apparently by Oliver, in his book on *Alexander Hamilton* (p. 351), when he says in the preface to this book, referring to Washington's Farewell Address, that it "came from the pen of Hamilton". It was the result of long meditation and a part of its substance had been formulated by Madison many years before the aid of Hamilton was invoked. The precise truth is stated in Horace Binney's *Inquiry into the Formation of Washington's Farewell Address*, in which he proves that "the soul of the address" was Washington's. See also Lodge, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton* (Constitutional edition), VIII. 187, 189. It is misleading, therefore, to say that it "came from the pen of Hamilton". Its wisdom was the wisdom of Washington.

It should be added that, whatever may be the estimate of this volume in other respects, its tone is scholarly and gives evidence of much painstaking in its preparation.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

The Empire of the Amorites. By ALBERT T. CLAY. [Yale Oriental series, Researches, vol. VI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. 192. \$2.50.)

WHEN Sydney Smith was an Edinburgh reviewer he once began a notice with this sentence:

There are two questions to be asked respecting every new publication—Is it worth buying? Is it worth borrowing? and we would advise our readers to weigh diligently the importance of these interrogations, before they take any decided step as to this work of Mr. Edgeworth; the more especially as the name carries with it considerable authority, and seems, in the estimation of the unwary, almost to include the idea of purchase

—and then declined to give a direct answer! With greater boldness and less discretion, there is here to be an answer. This new book by Professor Clay is a sequel to a much smaller volume entitled *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites, a Study showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are not of Babylonian Origin* (Philadelphia, 1909). The earlier book was in some measure vitiated by certain speculative etymologies, after the manner of Hommel, which have died unwept and do not appear in these pages. With these have disappeared also some other suggestions, as for example, the location of Ur, which are frankly withdrawn. It is a pity that other scholars are not always so transparently honest. What remains is a most learned, suggestive, and in many details persuasive account of the early Amorites. Beyond that I do not think that sober judgment is likely to go. Clay argues that there was a "great Empire of the Amorites" in which he gives powers of great magnitude to "mighty Amorite rulers", and builds for them an "imperial city . . . which was powerful enough to rule the land from the Mediterranean to Babylonia". All this and much more is based on fragmentary evidence piled high and ever higher on names of places, names of deities, or fugitive allusions in Babylonian and Assyrian texts all of periods far later than the "third, fourth and fifth milleniums" in which this supposed and subjective empire is presumed to have held sway. One dislikes intensely to say it, but the book presents no objective, positive evidence that there was ever such an "empire". The word empire is quite inexcusable, no kings' names of those who ruled it being known, and no imperial city of theirs ever having been excavated. If then this judgment be not unjust, it may well be asked what useful service Clay has performed in this book. The answer is not slow to be found; it is that the book is crowded with the proofs that Amorites lived and influenced the course of human history and that we must find a place for them larger than most of us had dreamed before Clay began these investigations more than a decade ago. It is his just due to say that he has opened new windows into the dimly seen and darkly understood lands of western Asia as the early kingdoms were founded. He has not demonstrated the existence of an empire, but of an influence.

and that is quite enough. If he had claimed less he would be likely to find a wider receptiveness. He has, for example, in chapter II., the Home of the Semites, attacked the theory, or hypothesis, of the origins of the Semites in Arabia, and at the end of the volume (p. 186) speaks of the "collapse" of the theory. I fancy that most of us are likely to continue to hold it, while we gladly concede that the land of Amurru had its place and its influence upon these same Semites, though we be unwilling to give our assent when Clay says, "It is of course apparent that the trend of what precedes is toward regarding practically everything that is Semitic Babylonian as having its origin in Amurru" (p. 186). But as to the wisdom of buying this book, or of borrowing it if that must be, let there be no doubt. There is instruction in it far beyond the limits of its claims as to an Amorite empire.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome IV. *La Civilisation Carthaginoise.* (Paris: Hachette. 1920. Pp. 515. 25 fr.)

THIS volume of Gsell's history is likely to interest readers even more than its predecessors, because the phases of Carthaginian life with which it deals are those which are at the same time least familiar to us, and yet most important in a study of ancient Mediterranean civilization. In a notice which the *Review* published two years ago (XXIII. 839 ff.) of volumes II. and III., the present reviewer spoke of the quality of Gsell's work and of his method of approaching his subject. Consequently, it may be of most service here to give a brief survey of the volume before us. The main topics which it covers are the economic, intellectual, and religious life of Carthage, and the rôle which she played in history. The material prosperity of Carthage, as everyone knows, depended largely on agriculture and commerce. Her progress in agriculture is illustrated by Mago's twenty-eight books on this subject, which were not only turned into Greek, but also enjoyed the distinction of being translated into Latin by order of the Roman senate, and later still were used by the Arabs. The agricultural produce of Carthage did not include large quantities of wine and oil until rather late, but as early as 203 B. C. the Romans were able to exact from the Carthaginians immense amounts of wheat and barley (*cf.* p. 11, note 1), and in the later period Africa became one of the principal granaries of the Empire. The scientific cultivation of the soil seems to begin during the first Punic war when Carthage lost the contributions of grain which Sicily and Sardinia had previously made (*cf.* p. 10). The loss of other ultra-marine colonies in the second Punic war gave a further stimulus to this industry. Farm-work seems to have been done largely by slaves and natives (*cf.* pp. 11, 47). The cost of their subsistence was small, and they were not liable to military service, so that diversified farming was

possible, and great stretches of country did not become waste-land or pasture-land, as was the case in Italy.

As artisans and artists the Carthaginians showed neither taste, originality, nor skill. In the early period they got their models and technique from Egypt, through the Oriental Phoenicians (*cf.* pp. 66, 86, 107, 198). Later, Greek influence from Sicily made itself felt, but Carthaginian figurines, the remains of their architecture, and the specimens of their work in the metals, in ivory, and in the precious stones, found in tombs, show that they had no skill in imitating their models.

Their primary interest was commerce. They learned foreign languages easily, adopted readily the manner of life of other peoples, were willing to live abroad, and were regarded by their contemporaries as shrewd and unscrupulous (*cf.* p. 112 ff.) The rapid development of their sea-going trade was materially assisted by the state, which opened foreign markets by force or by treaty arrangements. Where it was possible, Carthage forbade other peoples to participate in trade, and protected her colonies and shipping from pirates (*cf.* pp. 113-122). The Punic scarabs found in Etruscan tombs at Corneto show that the Carthaginians traded with Italy as early as the sixth century B.C. (*cf.* p. 148), and their mercantile enterprise survived the loss of their colonies (*cf.* p. 168).

Carthage contributed little of permanent value to civilization. She had no great writers. The books which her people read were written by Greeks (*cf.* p. 214). Even her navigators, for commercial reasons, kept their knowledge of geography to themselves (*cf.* p. 486). Her fondness for luxury did not stimulate art. Her principal contribution to ancient life lay in the fact that she prepared Africa for Roman civilization, and that the monotheistic and spiritual tendencies of her religion made the rapid spread of Christianity in Africa possible.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

History of Religions. By GEORGE FOOT MOORE, Professor of the History of Religion in Harvard University. Volume II. *Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism.* [International Theological Library.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1919. Pp. xvi, 552. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR MOORE limits his work to the religion of civilized peoples, and this second volume deals with "the three branches of monotheistic religion in Western Asia and Europe". Here, as in the first volume (1913), he exhibits a masterly power of condensation without sacrifice of lucid and interesting exposition, and a knowledge of the highest quality. This volume may fairly enough be estimated by the 279 pages devoted to Christianity, for all readers will be eager to see how Christianity appears in the framework of the General History of Religions.

As the preface explains, the purpose is not to furnish a sketch of the history of the Church or a history of Christian doctrine, but an outline history of the religion itself. The opening chapter conforms to this intention. Written with marked "objectivity", without dogmatic bias, almost with the tone of detachment, it gives a penetrating elucidation of the rise of the religion which only a really sympathetic intelligence could achieve. Nevertheless, beyond the period of origins we find hardly more than an extraordinarily skillful compendium of the story of the development of the Church institution, its dogmatic system, its ritual practices, its religious orders, its intellectual history, its relation to civil society; an excellent compression of what the best modern church historians mean to offer, with even less of the history of "the religion itself". The reason is obvious. The scale of the work did not allow Dr. Moore to carry throughout the kind of exposition with which he opened. Great personalities had to become names for the initiation of movements, their spiritual experience being crowded out by the need of chronicling the historical effects of it. St. Francis is a name for the originator of the Franciscan order. The great readjustment of the sixteenth century involves mention of Martin Luther. Just why Brother Martin precipitated such change hardly appears. Possibly restriction of space is not the only hampering factor here, for Luther's notions of justification and of faith are treated as notions of a logician engaged in scholastic argument. The rude genius of religious experience who reinaugurates the Pauline religious attitude and insight and emotion in a form which inevitably emancipated laymen from the sacerdotal dominion, this real Luther is hid from view. The scope of this digest certainly prevented the author from realizing his avowed intention. The compression must excuse a few minor details like the implication (p. 370) that the Unitarians of the Reformation century had not adopted the principle of toleration—but why indeed the statement (p. 361) that the Massachusetts colonists were Presbyterian in polity?

But grant a skill and accuracy void of any defect; add together in one volume or two a series of admirable historical abstracts—have we then a General History of Religion? It is convenient, it is necessary to have these perfect epitomes, but after this we need something more, something suggested by the now disused term "comparative religion". In the preface to the first volume (p. vii ff.), Moore reflected on the unity in diversity of religious evolutions. It is unfortunate that the detailed exposition should not constructively give us more of that comprehension. But even the individualizing account of Christianity itself might exhibit a deeper process. Is there not a series of tensions between the powerful ethical emphasis, due to Jesus and the Hebrew prophets before him, and the ritual sacramental interest developed from Paul and his Greek converts? Does not this explain the ever-repeated lay movements diverging from the sacerdotal form? Is there not tension between a Greek craving for intellectual construction and the fresh

stimulations of a religious consciousness not intellectual in its process? Is there not a tension between the Church accepting a place in the social structure and the passion for remolding society by visions of the reign of God? It is when the story goes deeper than the record of events and exhibits an historical process involving these interior dynamic factors that we arrive at a history "of the religion itself", and it is then that the analogies in other religions come plainly to view and possibly illustrate one common trend of evolutionary movement.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Histoire de l'Internationalisme. Par CHRISTIAN L. LANGE. Tome I., *Jusqu'à la Paix de Westphalie, 1648.* [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvégien, tome IV.] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Christiania: H. Aschehoug. 1919. Pp. xv, 517.)

The League of Nations: the Principle and the Practice. Edited by STEPHEN PIERCE DUGGAN. (Boston: *Atlantic Monthly Press.* 1919. Pp. xvii, 357. \$2.50.)

MODERN internationalism, as Dr. Lange understands it, is based upon nationalism. It recognizes the value to society as a whole of the continued existence of groups formed along national lines. It encourages the federation of these groups. It favors self-determination, democratic movements, and the rights of minorities. It recognizes the importance of the economic factor, and is suspicious of groups that profit from armaments and protective tariffs. Any doubt of the correctness of this characterization would be dispelled by a perusal of the chapters contributed by American scholars to the book edited by Dr. Duggan, where all of these ideas appear, and most of them appear repeatedly.

Dr. Lange has set himself the task of tracing the evolution of this conception in the medieval and modern world. The peace movement, whether it has been critical, arguing from humanitarian, ethical, or utilitarian grounds, or positive, emphasizing the solidarity of the human race, he includes in his study only as it has contributed to the growth of the international idea. Institutions as such he excludes, his aim being the writing of a history of ideas.

What interests him in the ancient world is therefore its contribution of the idea of the fundamental unity of the human race, and the Roman tradition of political unity. What use the empire and the papacy made of the latter he needs little space to indicate. How organized Christianity left to the heretics the doctrine of non-resistance and took for itself the rôle of militancy he also sketches briefly, pointing out the origin of Roosevelt's doctrine of righteous war in the formulas worked out by Augustine and Aquinas. The greater part of the volume is devoted to a careful analysis of the writings of individual thinkers, and the extensive citations from works not easily obtainable are of great value. The author rescues Antonio Marini from undeserved obscurity,

and finds the value of Peter Dubois's contribution not so much in his scheme for arbitration as in his recognition of the necessity of some unifying principle to prevent anarchy among sovereign states. Without discussing in detail the great use made of arbitration in the Middle Ages, he draws attention to the coincidence of its desuetude and the emergence of the great powers.

For the failure of the cosmopolitan humanists to interest themselves in the international problem Dr. Lange finds some compensation in the modern tone of their criticisms of war. He gives due credit to the sects also for keeping alive the pacifist tradition, although with regard to the Anabaptists he places too great confidence in Belfort Bax, and errs in attributing to the Fifth Monarchy men as a whole the pacifism which was championed by some individual members of the sect.

An interesting connection is made between the beginnings of international law and the criticism of war on moral grounds. Attention is called to the enunciation by Gentilis of many of the principles that characterize modern internationalism, and in connection with Grotius the question is raised whether the recognition of the principle of neutrality, and the elaboration of regulations for war, have not hindered rather than helped the development of internationalism. On the other hand Dr. Lange demonstrates how the criticisms of war engendered during the period of religious wars by a realization of the futility of the sacrifices war entails, passed over into schemes for international organization which would make such sacrifices unnecessary. The services of Crucé in pointing out the economic causes of war, his provision for the enforcement of peace, and his proposal of a "moral equivalent of war" in the stimulation of productive activity, entitle him, in Dr. Lange's opinion, to the title of the first genuine internationalist. He points out how unfortunate it was that the school that followed Sully did not emphasize his recognition of the importance of the principle of nationality, instead of following the impracticable views which have helped to discredit internationalism.

This bare outline does scant justice to the wealth of material brought together by the distinguished secretary general of the Interparliamentary Union, whose happy combination of scholarship and knowledge of affairs especially fit him to make this valuable contribution to intellectual history and international thinking. The later volumes of his study will be awaited with eager interest.

Citations made by Dr. Lange from Campanella on the importance of nationality, from Johann Neumayer on the right of nations to free access to the sea, from Sully on freedom of the seas, from Victoria on the problem of backward nations, and from Crucé on equality of trade relations, would make fitting texts for chapters in the co-operative work which Dr. Duggan has edited. It was issued soon after the publication of the covenant of the League of Nations, and admirably fulfills its purpose of providing material for the formation of an intelligent opinion

upon the covenant and upon the advisability of its adoption by the United States. Not the least valuable part is the editor's introductory chapter, in which he shows the inevitability of the war under existing international conditions, and analyzes the more important provisions of the covenant. The political history of twenty-five centuries is brilliantly condensed into thirty-two pages, with attempts at international organization as a guiding thread. There is, however, no adequate sketch of the background of economic history to make more intelligible the economic problems which are ably discussed in other chapters. Notably skillful use has been made, in the chapter on essentials of a league of peace, of the history of failures of nineteenth-century attempts at international organization and control. The account of the history, implications, and possibilities of the Monroe Doctrine is a model of condensed statement, and the difficult problem of freedom of the seas is ably handled. The possibilities as well as the difficulties of international control as a solution of vexed problems are shown by men who had intimate knowledge of the war-time experiments along those lines. Altogether the book should be found invaluable as a clear, untechnical discussion of the problems and possibilities, for America, of a league of nations.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483. Edited from the Original Documents in the Public Record Office by CHARLES LETHBRIDGE KINGSFORD, M.A., F.S.A. In two volumes. [Camden Third Series, vols. XXIX., XXX.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1919. Pp. lvi, 165; 224.)

THE publication of this hitherto unknown collection of letters and papers is a notable historical and literary event. The only closely similar collection in print is that known as the *Paston Letters*, which were published first in 1787 but were not completely known until Gairdner's authoritative edition appeared between 1872 and 1875. Now after nearly half a century we have Mr. Kingsford editing *The Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290-1483*, as a companion collection. The Royal Historical Society is to be congratulated on this publication and on the selection of an editor. Although these two volumes contain only 333 documents, about one-third of the number in the *Paston Letters*, Mr. Kingsford is undoubtedly right in his statement (introd., p. xxxviii): "The *Stonor Letters* are next to the *Paston Letters* by far the most considerable collection of private correspondence of the fifteenth century which has yet come to light."

The first documents in the collection, belonging to the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., show us the Stonor family established as landowners at or near the village of Stonor in Oxfordshire, bordering on Bucks. The first really prominent and important member of the

family seems to have been Sir John de Stonor (*ca.* 1285-1354) who was chief justice of the common pleas for some twenty-five years during the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. Several interesting letters in Norman-French and Latin from exalted personages show him to have been of considerable importance in law and in diplomacy. He seems to have carefully avoided extreme partizanship and was successively in favor with Edward II. and the Despensers, Queen Isabella and Mortimer, and Edward III. Also he appears to have been a shrewd business man, accumulating estates in various counties by royal grants, inheritance, two marriages, and other means. At his death, in 1354, the family were well provided with houses and lands in the south of England and had an established position as wealthy country gentry. The eldest of the chief justice's six sons, John de Stonor the second, died in 1364, and his young son, Edmund de Stonor, became the ward of Isabella, countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III. This member of the Stonor family served later as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berks, as county representative in Parliament, and as a member of various royal commissions. Over thirty of the documents and letters in the collection belong to his time (nos. 6-40). Most of these relate to his duties as sheriff, but among them is an interesting description of a fourteenth-century school (no. 30), a begging letter from an Oxford scholar (no. 31), and an account of household expenses (no. 19).

The second important group of Stonor correspondence has to do with the grandson of Edmund de Stonor, the first Thomas de Stonor, who flourished under Henry V. and Henry VI. There are fifteen important documents and letters dated between 1417 and 1431. Thomas de Stonor was a friend of the Chaucer family, and his career was that of a well-to-do country gentleman. He sat in six parliaments and twice served as sheriff. Also he appears to have acted as a royal commissioner and as a justice. For the first time the private letters are in English instead of Norman-French, though the documents are in Latin. There are receivers' and bailiffs' accounts, leases and indentures, accounts of funeral expenses, inventories, letters in regard to disputes over lands, Thomas de Stonor's interesting will, household accounts of his wife, and an agreement for the maintenance and education of his daughter Isabel. These documents throw valuable light on the social and economic life of the early fifteenth century.

The third portion of the *Stonor Letters* consists of eighty-seven documents, mostly private letters, having to do with Thomas Stonor the second (1424-1474), who flourished under Henry VI. and Edward IV. and was apparently *persona grata* with both Lancastrians and Yorkists. His wife, Joan of Normandy, appears to have been a natural daughter of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, but Thomas Stonor stood well with the Nevilles and later with Edward IV., who commissioned him as sheriff of Oxfordshire and Bucks, and it seems evident that he was careful not to throw in his lot decidedly with any faction. The limits

of this review will not allow any detailed analysis of his correspondence, but it is rich in social, economic, and political materials for the period of the Wars of the Roses and is ably reviewed by Mr. Kingsford in his introduction. The letters and documents reveal the family life and the business and political interests of a prosperous landowner and country gentleman better than any similar material yet published.

The last group of documents in the collection relates to the life and affairs of the most interesting member of the family, Sir William Stonor (1449-1494), between the time of his father's death in 1474 and his own attainder under Richard III. in 1483. There are nearly two hundred letters and documents in this group, which constitutes the most important part of the two volumes. Sir William Stonor appears as an ambitious landowner interested in the wool business, and dabbling, not without serious disaster, in the troubled waters of Yorkist politics. He succeeded in marrying the wealthy widow of a London wool merchant and engaged in the wool-trade himself. At the death of his first wife he married a west-country heiress and after her death secured the hand of the Lady Anne Neville, who brought large estates as her dowry. Into his worries over lands and business it is impossible to enter, but his correspondence furnishes a wealth of information of social, economic, and political value for the later reign of Edward IV. and the early years of Richard III. In an unfortunate moment Sir William broke the traditional policy of his family and sided with the Duke of Buckingham in his abortive rebellion in 1483. He was attainted and had to flee to Brittany, while his estates were forfeited. Probably at this time the muniments of the family were confiscated and deposited in the record-room of the Tower of London as part of the chancery records. Here they seem to have remained, although Sir William recovered his lands under Henry VII. and lived in high favor at court until his death in 1494.

Taken as a whole this remarkable collection must be regarded as an invaluable addition to the source-material for later medieval English history along social and economic lines. The public and domestic life of four generations of country gentlemen is illustrated in detail, with sidelights on national politics. The material on the office of sheriff is worthy of special mention, as is also that relating to fifteenth-century lawsuits. There are interesting references to the university at Oxford, and one letter is a contribution to the history of English medicine. In addition to the introduction, the editor has contributed a map of the Stonor country, a genealogical table of the family, an appendix of additional documents, a glossary, and indexes of names and places. The two volumes are, in fact, models of competent editorship.

N. M. TRENHOLME.

Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559. Von EDUARD FUETER. [Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte, herausgegeben von G. von Below und F. Meinecke. Abteilung II.] (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1919. Pp. xxi, 343.)

THIS is a very noteworthy book. It has no obvious family relationship to the masterly *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, which the author published in 1911; it is not professedly a methodological work, which one might have expected him next to produce; and yet one may conjecture that in writing it he was influenced by the desire to demonstrate how the history of Europe profitably may be—probably must be—rewritten. In choosing the subject for this, his second big piece of work, it is likely that his interest in Swiss-Imperial affairs furnished the guiding thread, for he is a Züricher who wrote his doctor's dissertation, in 1899, on *Der Anteil der Eidgenossenschaft an der Wahl Karls V.* Be that as it may, he has chosen to apply his methods to the most difficult knot of political problems in modern history, and any one whose head has whirled as he has read Ranke's much-praised *Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494-1514*, will be thankful that Fueter made the choice he did.

The broad purpose of the book is to trace and explain the events which, centring in the struggle for the control of Italy, led to the establishment of the short-lived Hapsburg hegemony in Europe. The basic data might conceivably have been worked into the narrative, in the skillful fashion which our best American historians exemplify; but the author, improving immensely on the customary introductions of Continental historians, makes his methodological demonstration more obvious by choosing, so to say, first to present his explanations and then to trace the events.

Part I. (pp. 1-250) is devoted to a systematic examination of the elements of strength and of weakness underlying the military and diplomatic actions sketched in part II. (pp. 250-328). The first part opens with a general exposition of these factors: political *Kampfmittel* (diplomatic organization, "publicity"), military *Kampfmittel* (infantry tactics, recruiting, cavalry, artillery, the state and the navy, sailing vessels *v.* galleys), economic *Kampfmittel* (commercial conflicts, the ensuring of the importation of food, the incidence of cattle-raising *v.* agriculture on the supply of soldier-material), the influence of intrastate relations (of Estates upon financial policy, of ecclesiastical conflicts on the government's freedom of action), and the influence of "spiritual" factors (feeling of nationality, idea of balance of power, feeling of brotherhood of Christian peoples, dogmatic changes).

The bulk of the first part (pp. 51-250) is given over to a systematic examination of the position of each of the states, large and small, in respect to the factors just enumerated. The topics devoted to France

will show how each country's resources are canvassed: land and people; industry *v.* trade; internal political organization; army; navy; foreign policy; organization of foreign service, relations with Spain, with the Hapsburg lands, with England, with the neighboring smaller states, with the other states; political aspirations.

Part II. traces the changes in the European states-system from 1492 to 1559, making steady use of the basic material laid down in part I.

It is impossible, in the limited space vouchsafed to this review, to show how the author has illuminated the history of the critical years 1494-1559, but some illustrations are possible. He makes clear why the possession of Milan, which carried with it the control of Genoa's sea-power, furnished the key to the control of Italy (*e.g.*, pp. 3-4, 208). He shows that Sicily was the essential granary of Spain (*e.g.*, p. 96), and that Venice's "imperialistic" expansion into northern Italy was due to her dire need of a sure supply of food for man and beast (*e.g.*, pp. 158, 173). Similarly Switzerland's great export industry in infantry was due to their skill with the pike and necessary as a source of revenue to buy food for her population (pp. 233 ff.). The Reformation detached the cities from the Swabian League and thus destroyed one of the main supports of Hapsburg power in southern Germany (pp. 134, 136, note), and ultimately paralyzed Switzerland's political influence in foreign affairs (p. 234). The Turks furthered trade (*e.g.*, p. 78). The Hapsburg diplomatic reports were superior to the Venetian relations (pp. 138, 164).

The curious reader will look in vain for any reference to the Great War which was raging when the book was written. Many points will remind him of it. *E.g.*, German merchants smuggled their goods into Switzerland in order to share the special privileges which Swiss goods enjoyed in Milan (p. 210, note); Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Cambrai, surrendered to France by German princes in 1552, were not German in speech (p. 321).

The immediate use which will be made of this book will be the utilization of the wealth of bibliographical reference which it provides (pp. v-xii, and section by section). Books and articles which appeared as late as 1919 are cited, and the older secondary material is substantially superseded.

The reviewer would not be understood as believing that this stimulating book is novel in its method, for certainly some European and American historians have already written history with a similar grasp upon fundamental data, but no large tangled mass of international problems has before been handled with such a mastery of the *real* factors which underlay them.

G. C. SELLERY.

Le Gallicanisme et la Réforme Catholique: Essai Historique sur l'Introduction en France des Décrets du Concile de Trente, 1563-1615. Par VICTOR MARTIN, Docteur en Droit Canonique, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1919. Pp. xxvii, 415. 20 fr.)

THE purpose of this study, as stated by the author, is to discover the causes of the failure of the diplomacy of the Curia to obtain the official acceptance and publication by France of the decrees of the Council of Trent. The work now published is the fruit of long and exhaustive researches among materials found chiefly in the Archives of the Vatican, the Vatican Library, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale. In point of thoroughness it leaves nothing to be desired. The array of citations from original sources stamps it as authoritative. It is likewise happily free from any manifestation of a partizan or controversial spirit.

That the papal demand for the formal reception and promulgation of the Tridentine decrees in France was the occasion of a long and acrimonious struggle is well known to students of ecclesiastical history. But what is either less generally known, or, if known, less generally appreciated as the most significant concomitant and outcome of that struggle, is the gradual transition of the French clergy from an attitude of suspicion, not to say recalcitrance, toward the papacy—an attitude repeatedly manifested during the council, and the first few years thereafter—to an attitude of willing submission to Rome and ardent zeal for the enforcement of the “new discipline”, as exhibited in the assembly of 1615, when, defying the further opposition of the *Parlementaires* and relying upon the indulgence of the crown, the clergy, on their own initiative and without previous royal sanction, declared themselves “obliged by their duty and conscience to receive . . . the said council, and promise to observe it, so far as they can, by their spiritual and pastoral function and authority” (p. 385). In that act the author sees the first clear sign of a breach in the traditional relation of the Gallican clergy to the French crown. Antagonized by the implacable and, as they insinuated, venomous anti-papalism of the *Politiques*, whose “Gallicanism” they abhorred as “schismatic” and but a shade less odious than the heresy of the Huguenots; impelled by an irresistible centripetal instinct to the closest union with the head, as the one and only means of preserving the unity of the body; the clergy of France, consciously or insensibly, had for half a century been gravitating toward Rome, and the Estates-General of 1614 found them completely within the orbit of the Curia. “Sans paradoxe, l'on peut dire qu'en 1614 l'Église gallicane traverse une phase ultramontaine” (p. 346). But the action of the clergy never received royal confirmation, and the decrees of Trent never became a part of the ecclesiastical laws of France. Nor did their acceptance by the bishops, however much it may have meant for the inner

life of the Church, materially alter the relation of the clergy to the crown, still less abate the pretensions of Gallicanism. Twenty-five years later, the orator of the clergy, now become cardinal, menaced the papacy with the threat of a national council and even gave color to the rumor of a French patriarchate. The rock upon which the diplomacy of the austere Pius V., the peremptory Sixtus V., the conciliatory Clement VIII., had successively broken, still held firm; and the Declaration of 1682 attested the vitality of the Gallican tradition. Little effect did it have upon the royal prerogative and the Gallican liberties, whether the bishops accepted the Tridentine decrees or not. So long as the Concordat remained, the church of France was the church of the king. The wail of Fénelon was the acknowledgment of a bitter truth—"Libertés à l'égard du Pape; servitude à l'égard du roi". And the relation endured as long as the old régime. It remained for the Revolution—astounding paradox!—to break the royal yoke and set the clergy free (*cf.* pp. 401 ff., especially comment on Wernz, S.J., late general of the order).

And yet the struggle over the acceptance of Trent had not been fruitless. On the contrary, in the opinion of the author, it had given birth to "one of the most fertile ideas of modern times" (p. xiv), that of the separation of the two powers, the political and the ecclesiastical. In the Declaration of 1615, the clergy of France "for the first time awoke to the truth that the civil power and the religious authority are two distinct things, capable of developing side by side and acting independently of one another" (p. 346). It would be easy to rhapsodize upon the event as a supreme moment in the relations of church and state. It may well have been such a moment; but there is little in the contemporary documents to warrant the belief that the bishops were aware of it, or conscious of taking an historic stand. They were well assured of the acquiescence of the crown in their action, and there was nothing in their language or behavior that indicated a disposition to raise the issue of the respective limits of the two jurisdictions. A declaration pregnant with large possibilities? Yes; but, more's the pity, abortive!

But quite apart from what lay in the minds of the fathers of bygone synods, and whether accepting the author's interpretation or reserving a doubt, no modern spirit can fail to respond in unison to the irenic and optimistic note with which he brings his volume to a close:

One cannot deny that the peaceful and free exercise, side by side, of the civil power and the religious authority, should be one of the aspirations of the modern conscience. It is under this form, one can foresee, that the future will realise the independence envisaged and attempted by the Assembly of 1615; neither subjection nor tutelage, but mutual respect and tolerance and discerning sympathy. This future, let us hope, is not far off!

THEODORE COLLIER.

Seventeenth Century Life in the Country Parish with Special Reference to Local Government. By ELEANOR TROTTER, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1919. Pp. xiv, 242. 10 sh.)

IN most respects the aims of this book—to describe the form and operation of government and the conditions of living in the seventeenth-century English parish—have been successfully achieved. An idea of the scope of the work can best be conveyed by the titles of the various chapters: the Parish as a Unit of Local Government; the Churchwardens; the Anglican Priest and the Church; the Overseers of the Poor; the Petty Constable; the Surveyor; the Labourers and Apprentices; the Rogues and Vagabonds; the Social Life of the Village Community and the Justices of the Peace. Thus we have another valuable special study contributing to an aspect of the period which even Gardiner's monumental torso left practically untouched and which still awaits a comprehensive synthetic treatment, based on the various monographs and publications of records which have appeared. Miss Trotter has a thesis, which, however, she never thrusts upon the reader after stating it in the preface; this thesis is the advantage which England has derived, in the molding of the political character of her people, from their long-standing experience in managing their local concerns, and the danger to be apprehended from undue centralization of the constitution and the administration. Thus, like old James Howell, she looks on the historian "as one who hath conversed with our Forefathers, and observed the carriage and contingencies of matters pass'd, whence he draws instances and cautions for the benefit of the times he lives in". Other lessons from the past might be drawn from her well-documented pages, such as the effect of a fixed standard of wages in preventing "that healthy competition which had some share in the production of skilled workmen", and the results of repressing freedom of speech, a repression not always confined to political and industrial Bourbons. It is interesting to learn, also, that even in those remote times alehouses were restricted in times of scarcity of bread.

While the author has read widely in all sorts of contemporary literature, her presentation is based mainly on north country sources, particularly the *North Riding Quarter Sessions Records*. However, her vividly realistic pictures would seem to be, to a large degree, typical of the local life and activity of the whole country. On the other hand, she is somewhat haphazard in her chronological selection of illustrations, which, together with occasional sudden transitions and bits of ambiguous phrasing, mar in places the clearness of an otherwise excellent exposition. Moreover, Miss Trotter might have been more consistent in her explanation of the meaning of archaic and technical terms; for example, the phrase "of the quorum" is used several times, and is not explained until page 214 is reached. The chapter on the Anglican priest is the least satisfactory, though we are informed that material is scanty on this sub-

ject; yet, curiously enough, Laud's visitations are not mentioned, while the works of Tatham, Overton, and Babington might have offered some leads. In the very full list of references on the justices of the peace, it is strange that Burn's exhaustive treatise is not included. Actual errors are happily few, though, so far as is known to the reviewer, the justices of the peace never tried civil pleas (p. 214), and there is a slight mistake in computing the food allowances of masters and apprentices (pp. 143, 161).

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The French Revolution: a Study in Democracy. By NESTA H. WEBSTER. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. Pp. xv, 519. \$8.00.)

THE subtitle of this volume is misleading; it should read, "A Study in Conspiracies". To Mrs. Webster, the French Revolution was a great conspiracy in which participated the faction of the Duc d'Orleans, a group she calls "the subversives", Prussia, and a group of English radicals with Stanhope and Priestley at their head. The idea was not new; Gustave Bord had written *La Conspiration Révolutionnaire de 1789*, Montjoie, *La Conjuration de Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orléans*, and Prudhomme, *L'Histoire des Crimes commis pendant la Révolution*, but their undertakings were limited in their scope. It remained for Mrs. Webster to envisage the Revolution as one vast European conspiracy against the French monarchy. The idea was certainly grandiose! The book has all the external marks of a scientific work. Four pages are devoted to a discussion of "Authorities consulted", and there is an abundance of foot-notes containing references to the sources. Mrs. Webster believed she had written a scientific work. "Notes and quotation marks", she writes, "have gone out of fashion", but even at the risk of giving the pages of her book "a ponderous appearance", she had "reverted to the old-fashioned system of notes", since her object was "not to weave fanciful word-pictures around the great scenes of the Revolution, but to tell as simply and clearly as possible what really happened". How did she succeed? The English press was, evidently, much impressed by the book, *The Spectator* declaring it "a veritable revelation to those who only knew of the Revolution from Carlyle's brilliant but profoundly misleading pages". It is a revelation even to those who know the Revolution from a first-hand study of the sources. The book does not rise above the level of a reactionary pamphlet. The point of view is that of Marie Antoinette, who looked upon the whole Revolution as a conspiracy, and it might even have been written by her had she but possessed the industry to accomplish the large amount of reading in the sources that Mrs. Webster has accomplished. The method of the book is as unscientific as the conception of the problem. In the first place, apart from such works as those of Bord, Taine, Biré,

Dauban, Wallon, Cassagnac, Mortimer-Ternaux, and others of the same period, largely literary in their training and reactionary in their point of view, Mrs. Webster seems to be almost totally ignorant of the recent literature—books, articles in periodicals, etc.—on the Revolution. Louis Madelin's popular volume she looks upon as "representing the last word in modern French thought on the vexed questions of the Revolution", and yet she might have spoken with less assurance had she read the reviews of the book published in the *American Historical Review* and the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne*. Her use of the sources is as uncritical as her point of view. All sources look alike to her. She does note, in her four pages devoted to "authorities", that as the publication of the *Moniteur* did not begin until November 24, 1789, the "numbers relating to events anterior to that date were written up afterwards", and then, forgetting what she had written or failing to see the bearing of it, she uses the *Moniteur* as a source for the period between May and November, 1789, instead of citing the sources that had been used by the *Moniteur*. She has not the faintest idea of what proof means in historical research. Her conception of it would seem to be, giving "chapter and verse for every controversial statement", and for this purpose one source is as good as another and even secondary books will fill the bill when they supply the information needed. It was a pure waste of time to write such a book, and it is unfortunate that it was ever published, for it is attractively written, has all the earmarks of a scientific work, and may do much harm, if it finds its way into public libraries and into the hands of readers incapable of forming a correct estimate of its value.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Anglo-American Relations, 1861-1865. By BROUGHAM VILLIERS and W. H. CHESSON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1920. Pp. vii, 214. \$2.50.)

THERE is just now somewhat of a rush into the field of British-American history, the works produced usually having the object of cementing good relations. The present work is of this type. Mr. Chesson has contributed a concluding chapter of forty pages, *Voices of the 'Sixties*, in which are brought together terse descriptions of American writers and speakers who influenced English thought during the American Civil War, and of some of the leading Englishmen who were active in the British Union and Emancipation Societies. The bulk of the work however is given to a presentation, on broad lines, of the feeling and understanding (or more often, misunderstanding) of the two peoples under the emotions and conditions of our Civil War. Here Mr. Villiers is very skillful and very just in delineation of national psychology. His work is based largely on the findings of the late Charles Francis Adams, and while indicating clearly various minor influences,

the author correctly ascribes to the question of political democracy the great determining influence on British governmental and public opinion toward the North. Evidence that even during the Civil War men understood this is given in a quotation from an address of welcome by Henry Ward Beecher to Goldwin Smith in 1864. Speaking of his own tour of England Beecher said, "All classes who, at home, were seeking the elevation and political enfranchisement of the common people, were with us. All who studied the preservation of the State in its present unequal distribution of political privileges, sided with that section in America that were doing the same thing."

But while Mr. Villiers's general presentation of national attitudes is excellent and very well worth reading in both countries, the facts of history which are brought into his narrative are unfortunately not so well understood by him. They are even erroneously stated and hence lead to misinterpretations. One may pass over such errors as "Frederickburg" and "forty-three forty or fight", but to omit any mention of "right of search" in the *Trent* affair is to fail in appreciation of what amounted to an American obsession. A more positive error is the confusion of Seward's "Some thoughts for the President's Consideration" with the draft of the instruction to Adams, which Lincoln altered; another confusion on the critical moment in British policy as regards intervention is between the real "Crisis in Downing Street" (as C. F. Adams phrased it) of October–November, 1862, and the Lindsay-Roe-buck fiasco of midsummer, 1863. The two episodes are interwoven by the author as if they were one, and Earl Russell's position wholly misinterpreted. As regards Lincoln's emancipation moves, there is no mention and no understanding of his "border state policy". The blockade was not declared on April 19, 1861—rather a proclamation was issued notifying neutrals of the *intention* to blockade. These are the more striking evidences of a lack of sound historical study and are the more to be regretted as weakening the readable and just generalizations on the attitude of British and American peoples and governments.

E. D. ADAMS.

Die Deutsche Geschichtschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unseren Tagen: Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte. Von GEORG VON BELOW. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1916. Pp. xiii, 184. M. 4.40.)

THIS small volume from the pen of the eminent constitutional historian comprises two separate essays which in some degree traverse the same ground from different points of view. In the first division of the book (pp. 3–123) Below sketches the progress of German historical writing from the Wars of Liberation to the present time; in the second division (pp. 124–180) he discusses the economic interpretation of history for the same period, with special reference to the origins of the

doctrines of Karl Marx. The book is too slight and sketchy to afford more than a general survey of either field. It cannot in any measure fill the place of such manuals as Fueter, Gooch, and Wegele. But it has value as a rather definitely personal reaction to the course of German historiography during the nineteenth century.

The personal point of view emerges most evidently in the first half of the book, obviously written while German arms were still victorious in the Great War. The main thesis here is to show that the "romantic" school of political historians has contributed much to the upbuilding of German power. After concise treatment of Ranke and his times, the author traces the gradual defection of German historical scholarship from the liberal awakening of 1848, and its almost unqualified adherence to the policies of Bismarck and Wilhelm II. In the mind of the author this transfer of allegiance from the democratic liberal movement to the Prussian monarchy was fully justified by the need of a strong, united Germany. In this connection of course we hear of Dahlmann, Giesebrecht, Droysen, Max Duncker, von Sybel, Mommsen, Nietzsche, and lesser men, the goodly company ending with Heinrich von Treitschke.

The second thesis of the first part of the book has to do with the perennial controversy about the nature and scope of *Kulturgeschichte*, a controversy in which Below has borne a notable part. In this matter he seems to the reviewer to stand on more substantial ground. He endeavors to show that the real historians of German culture have not been the men who advertised themselves as such, but rather the workers in constitutional, economic, social, and cultural fields who sought through their special studies to interpret the general history of progress. Manifestly this part of the book is inspired by the polemic against Lamprecht and his school, although his name is studiously avoided.

In the second essay the author undertakes a less hackneyed theme and does some excellent constructive work. He endeavors to show that the economic interpretation of history as set forth by Marx and Engels in the *Manifest* of 1848 was not original with them, but rather derived from their reading of earlier and contemporary writers of the romantic school of historians. On the whole the case is well established, although at times the evidence is slender and not convincing. Below points out two sources for the emphasis on the economic factors in history which shows itself from about the middle of the century: the constitutional historians, and the local and territorial historians; and both of these stood wholly apart from the Socialist propaganda. Both of these groups, as well as the historical school of economists, have their roots in the romantic movement which, in the author's opinion, laid the foundation of German nationality.

The book is never unduly controversial, even when direct and earnest. But had it been written since November, 1918, it might have seen some things in a different perspective.

ARLEY B. SHOW.

Der Neue Kurs: Erinnerungen. Von OTTO HAMMANN. (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing. 1918. Pp. vii, 240.)

Zur Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges: Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1897-1906. Von OTTO HAMMANN. (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. viii, 250.)

THESE two little volumes have already attracted well-deserved attention in Germany. Otto Hammann as chief of the press bureau of the Foreign Office, under Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow, was for many years in a position to know what was going on behind the scenes. He is thus a first-hand witness, and he has written his recollections carefully, temperately, and with little apparent prejudice. What he tells us, especially taken in connection with new information on the same topics in the writings of Eckartstein, Hermann Oncken, and others, merits study and discussion.

The most important parts of Hammann's work, as of Eckartstein's, deal with the relations between Germany and Great Britain in the last years of the nineteenth and the opening of the present century. We now know that in 1887 Prince Bismarck wrote a letter to Lord Salisbury which may be construed as a proposal for an Anglo-German alliance. Salisbury in his reply, while expressing warm approval of the policy, did not take up the suggestion. Both letters (unfortunately only in German translation) are published by Hammann in an appendix to his second volume. He has also given us an inside account of the sending of the famous Kruger telegram in 1894 which provoked such a fierce outburst of anger in England, but though he describes the meeting at which the idea originated and the despatch was drafted, he does not say just how much was due to the emperor and how much to Baron von Marschall.

Notwithstanding the resentment provoked by the incident, four years later the British government, in its turn, suggested the idea of a close understanding between England and Germany. Advances of this kind were renewed several times, in spite of official friction as well as of the popular ill-feeling on both sides provoked by the Boer War. The accession of King Edward VII. made no change in this respect. Contrary to what has been asserted by so many German writers, King Edward, far from assuming at the start an attitude of hostility toward Germany, was ready to make alliance with her. In 1901 the plan was definitely proposed and discussed, and it was owing to opposition, or at least lukewarmness on the German side, that it failed. The government at Berlin, while nominally favorable, balked the issue by insisting that Great Britain, instead of entering into a new and separate Anglo-German alliance, should join the existing Triple Alliance and that negotiations to this effect should be carried on through Vienna. This proposition the British government flatly refused to entertain and regarded it as a subterfuge to avoid giving a direct answer. Berlin was probably moved by a suspicion that it was being asked to draw England's chestnuts out of

the fire for her and by an unwillingness to break too openly with Russia. Even the suggestion of a treaty to stop French advance in Morocco was refused, in spite of a plain intimation that England had had enough of isolation and that if she could not come to terms with Germany she would have to turn towards France and Russia. We must remember that, at that time, owing to the Boer War, an alliance with England would have been highly unpopular in Germany. To-day, Germans are discussing whether the greatest mistake in the history of the empire was not committed in the year 1901.

To the relations between Germany and Russia, Hammann devotes less attention, though what he has to tell us is of value. We note his belief that Bismarck was quite mistaken in thinking that Tsar Alexander III. had confidence in him.

Many of Hammann's descriptions of people are interesting. He gives us a sympathetic picture of Caprivi, not a great man, but a straightforward, deeply conscientious one, overburdened by the heritage of his predecessor and beset by difficulties of every kind, not least among which were the bitter criticisms which Bismarck directed against all his actions. Caprivi's policy of friendship with England and his refusal to renew the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia have been so unpopular in Germany of recent years that public opinion has tended to forget his achievements, such as the passing of the military law of 1893 and the acquisition of Helgoland.

The single person we get most about is Holstein, whose extraordinary influence on German foreign policy and whose curious character are now revealed to a larger public. Hammann's picture of him, though unattractive, is not as disagreeable as Eckartstein's. While Holstein was in power, his name was unknown—in Germany as well as outside—to all but a few. It was in connection with the Morocco dispute, shortly before his fall, that his fame began to be spread abroad, but until recently little has been published about him except an article by Maximilian Harden. We know him now as a man who lived an absolutely retired life, going nowhere, only meeting the few people whom he chose to receive, and even keeping clear of the emperor. Yet, in his bureau, his influence was very great. His long experience, his understanding of difficult situations, his fertility of resource, made him invaluable to his superiors, who let themselves be guided by him far more than the world suspected at the time. On the other hand, his jealousy, his suspicion, his fondness for secretive—not to say underhand—measures, the queer fancies that he sometimes got into his head, must have made him difficult to deal with. "In general the first years of the chancellorship of Prince Hohenlohe were the time when he could have his way most easily."

We shall await with interest the third volume of Hammann which is announced.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The Literary Digest History of the World War, compiled from Original and Contemporary Sources: American, British, French, German, and Others. By FRANCIS WHITING HALSEY. In ten volumes. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1919. Pp. xx, 376; viii, 376; viii, 400; viii, 370; viii, 392; viii, 407; viii, 392; viii, 391; vii, 391. \$12.00, incl. magazine.)

THE sources used in this history are chiefly such comprehensive works as the *London Times History of the War* and Nelson's *History of the War* by John Buchan, supplemented by the voluminous reports and special articles in the daily press. Occasionally there is included a little information gathered from German sources, but not often.

In the introduction the author states that for five years he devoted himself to the task of "rewriting and adjusting the material, with constant substitution, modifications, corrections, and rearrangements in the light of newer information, so that what had often seemed a final revision was again and again superseded by another". Through these means the text has been cast in the author's language, but "in essence, it is more strictly that of others, as condensed, rearranged, rewritten, and, by a sort of melting-pot process, adapted to the purposes of a comprehensive and co-ordinated narrative".

Volumes I. to VI. inclusive are devoted chiefly to the war on the western front. About two-thirds of volume I. deals with the causes of the war in Europe and the circumstances surrounding the various declarations of war by all the countries engaged in it. In volume IV. there is a description of the circumstances which brought the United States into the conflict, with several chapters on America's war preparations. Volume VII. deals with the Russian front and the Russian revolution; volume VIII. with the war in Turkey and the Balkans; volume IX. with the war in Italy, in the colonies, and with the submarine warfare and war-zone decrees. As yet the war on the sea is inadequately treated, and the peace conference and the subsequent peace treaties are not included. Presumably these matters are to be described in the tenth volume, which has not yet been published.

This arrangement of material is perhaps as good as can be made. Almost any arrangement of a history of the World War proves awkward. In this instance it is difficult to keep in mind the tremendous influence which the eastern front had on the fortunes of war in the west so long as the narrative of these events is found in the later volumes. It seems especially awkward to introduce the United States into the conflict by beginning with the peace notes of December, 1916, leaving the submarine controversy previous to that time for treatment in the last volume.

As is natural and justifiable, the narrative of events on the western front overshadows that of the remaining areas of battle. The treatment of the Russian campaigns and the Russian revolution is adequate.

So too, probably, is that for Turkey. The entire Balkan campaigns, however, occupy but 152 pages, while the Bulgarian débâcle in September, 1918, is described in fifteen pages. Surely these events are as worthy of a lengthy treatment as, for instance, the visits of the British, French, and Belgian commissions to the United States, which occupy forty-one pages.

Interspersed here and there in the chronological narrative is a chapter on aircraft fighting or a few paragraphs concerning important personalities. Quotations or digests from special articles by favorite war correspondents are frequently included. Throughout the narrative the dramatic military details are emphasized. Indeed the internal political events in the various countries are nearly altogether neglected, except of course the revolutions in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. In this method of treatment there can be only a feeble attempt to evaluate the significance of the various factors entering into the huge conflict. The account lacks, too, as is natural, the simple direct style of Usher's *Story of the Great War*. Nevertheless it is a comprehensive piece of work well done and extremely well suited to the clientèle to whom it is directed.

The volumes contain a considerable number of the excellent maps familiar to readers of the *Literary Digest*. There are also numerous illustrations showing the nature of the war activities, together with photographs of leading figures in the war.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

Third Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records. (London: Stationery Office. 1919. Pp. v, 46; iv, 131; viii, 111. 12 sh. 9 d.)

IN 1919 Sir Frederick Pollock, Professor Firth, Dr. M. R. James, Sir Frederic Kenyon, Sir Sidney Lee, Mr. H. R. Tedder, and three representatives of Wales were appointed a Royal Commission on Public Records. Aided with great energy and devotion by Mr. Hubert Hall as secretary, the commission has pursued its inquiries with great intelligence in many hearings, and has supplemented these, as thoroughness so often requires, by scores of personal inspections on the part of its members. Their first report, dealing with the Public Record Office, was published in 1912, and briefly noticed in these pages (XVIII. 419). The second, dealing with such records of the courts of justice and papers of public departments as had not yet been transferred to the Public Record Office, was published in 1914 (XX. 455). Both were accompanied by valuable appendixes containing much useful information on archives, specially prepared by expert persons, and each had a further appendix containing the minutes of evidence taken at the hearings. The present report has similar appendixes, one of documents, amplifying the report, the other of minutes of evidence. In all these hearings, it is impossible not to admire the skillful questioning of Sir

Frederick Pollock and his associates, so directed as to elicit full information on all the points that should be covered. Compare it with any of the hearings before one of our senatorial committees, with its inept; casual, unintelligent, unfair, and uncivil questioning, and one cannot fail to be impressed with the superiority of that method of gathering information which consists in entrusting technical inquiries to technical experts.

After the securing of the expert advice, however, there remains, on whichever side of the water, much the same difficulty in getting legislative or executive authorities to make the reforms recommended. Little of the commission's programme of intelligent suggestions for improvement—in respect to the training of archivists, to better advantages for investigators, to the custody and care of departmental records and their systematic transfer to the Public Record Office, or to the appointment of a permanent board for record publications (such as all countries but Great Britain and the United States have instituted)—had been carried into effect when the Great War came. The war naturally put a stop to nearly all progress, and no one can be sure what steps of improvement the nation can now afford. Nevertheless, the members of the commission have courageously gone forward to shape their third report, and Mr. Hall has, mostly without compensation, they tell us, continued his labors of inquiry and completed the volume.

The theme of this third report and volume is the difficult subject of local archives and local records. A committee appointed in 1899 made a useful report on this subject in 1902, but the present commission has taken a broader survey and furnished more comprehensive information. Its report embraces records of local courts, of counties, towns, parishes, diocesan records of bishops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and records of many less familiar local institutions. On the nature and contents of all such varieties of records, their custody, repair, and arrangement, their destruction and dispersion, and their public use, the report is a mine of information. An added section treats of departmental records relating to the war.

"English local government", runs the classical statement, "is a chaos of areas, a chaos of authorities, and a chaos of rates", and English local records reflect the chaos, with a fresh chaos added for each successive century. The situation is therefore most bewildering, and it is a great credit to Mr. Hall that he has kept his head through it all, and has pushed steadily and systematically toward a systematic and practical series of reforms. The commission's recommendations emphasize the necessity of providing for better preservation, better administration, and more convenient public use, by concentrating local records, not in London but in county or regional repositories built for the purpose, and under control or inspection by the Public Record Office. Resistance by Beadledom is to be expected, but the example of Continental countries is too cogent to be ignored. Even from the United States

argument can be drawn, for primitive as is the archive-system (or lack of system) of the federal government, many of our states and a few of our counties and cities have made excellent arrangements. We must wish that this remarkable report, and its predecessors, may receive from the new England emerging from the war a most attentive consideration. The present situation, what with losses and confusion and parochialism, is certainly deplorable. The reforms the commission suggests are rational, urgently needed, moderate, and practical. And every notable step forward in one country helps other countries to methodize their archival systems and to substitute order, security, and historical use for chaos, destruction, and neglect.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities. Part I. *Introductory: The Lithic Industries.* By W. H. HOLMES. [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 60.] (Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1919. Pp. xvii, 380.)

STUDENTS of prehistoric anthropology have looked forward with keen anticipation to the publication of the series upon which Professor William H. Holmes has labored for many years. After perusal of the 380 pages of this volume the reader may safely assume that few students will be disappointed. In scope, in method of treatment, in the amount of material presented, the volume leaves little to be desired. Philosophic in tone, it is on a higher plane than any previous publication relating to the lithic industries. Professor Holmes's style is always above praise, and in this latest masterpiece there is no diminution of the sustained literary quality manifested on each page, from first to last. He begins, very properly, with the general anthropological classification of his former chief (Powell), now accepted everywhere. Under this skeleton outline he marshals his sub-divisions and proceeds with his treatise upon each in orderly fashion.

Holmes was long keenly interested in geology, and under that section devoted to chronology, he permits himself full sway with reference to the occupation of the American continent by man in tertiary, or even pleistocene times.

Chapter IX. relates to cultural areas. Number I., the North Atlantic area, may possibly be again sub-divided, since Maine archaeological studies indicate the presence of an extinct tribe, whose artifacts are quite different from those of peoples occupying the area between Charleston, South Carolina, and the mouth of the Connecticut.

From page 159 to the end of the volume, there is afforded us a very complete and technical study of quarrying and the manufacturing of implements. Much of this is new; yet there is a considerable amount of published material included. These pages evince careful research and study.

While, as stated, a full meed of praise should be accorded Professor Holmes for his masterpiece, yet one should hesitate to accept pages 23 and 24. In these Professor Holmes presents illustrations of a problematical winged form, and compares it with a Scandinavian axe. He also quotes Dr. Gordon in support of the theory that the winged problematical forms symbolize the whale's tail. Recently, a complete tabulation was presented of the distribution of thousands of problematical forms in the United States. That tabulation proves conclusively that the winged problematical forms are not numerous along the coast where the Norse were, but on the contrary are in profusion in the Ohio Valley and Wisconsin. Furthermore, upon the New England coast large plummets portraying whales occur; problematical forms are scarce. In western New York and the Ohio Valley, where there were no whales, these curious stone ornaments persist. Again, in the Red Paint Peoples' graves, the few winged stones found are short and have thin, and not sharp edges. These graves are supposed to be the oldest of the North Atlantic area.

The Baltimore classification of prehistoric artifacts is not referred to in the volume. Probably, when Professor Holmes presents his volume on technology, he will make use of this classification, which may be used in grouping stone objects.

In his summary of the evidence for and against the existence of glacial man in this country, Professor Holmes might have included Jacobs Cavern. In this rock-shelter flints and bones were found in solid breccia at a depth of five feet. It was not claimed by the explorers that this proved existence of man thousands of years ago, but the conditions in the cave were such that most observers thought the accumulation was not of comparatively recent date. The important flint quarries on Little River, Tennessee, from which came the eight thousand Hopewell discs, are not mentioned.

However, these are suggestions rather than criticisms. With the exception of pages 23 and 24, which are not in accordance with the tables and observations, there is practically nothing in the book to which searchers after truth in the field of American archaeology may object. Names of some observers are included who have not carried on as extensive explorations in certain areas as others who are not listed. Obviously, such were not intentionally omitted. The immense field to be covered, the multitude of papers, books, and pamphlets, the magnitude of collections—all these factors must be taken into consideration on the part of critical students.

Professor William H. Holmes is the dean of American archaeology. In his book we see the hand of the master-builder—the architect who is able to reconstruct the past.

WARREN K. MOOREHEAD.

The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York. By DIXON RYAN FOX, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. LXXXVI., whole no. 198.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1919. Pp. xiii, 460. \$3.50.)

IN contradistinction to those authors who have attended principally to the political history of the state of New York, the present writer in his investigation of the period 1800-1840 proposes "to penetrate beneath the laws and party platforms" and to "throw another ray of light upon the evolution of society in the Empire State". His work, accordingly, traces "the fortunes of a class, accustomed by training and tradition to the conduct of affairs, but forced to yield before what seemed to them the great disaster of democracy; it deals with their unpalatable compromises and slow liberalization, and the final welding of a business party appropriate to the conditions of America".

In the development of his theme the author draws from a wide range of sources and portrays vividly leaders, groups, tendencies, and movements. Special attention is directed to the thesis "that the two great parties of our history represent respectively two kinds of property interest, personal and real", a thesis which an investigation of assessments of personal estates in various counties fails to substantiate. There was, however, "an economic line that corresponds with the borders of political opinion". Support of this assertion is offered mainly by a valuable series of election maps of New York City by wards (1810-1840) with accompanying statistics, and by appended tables of "party politics and economic interests" which give data on conditions in Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Rochester, and Troy.

Dr. Fox employs usually a lucid and vivacious style which engages the attention. There are, however, a few lapses into discomfiting awkwardness and ambiguity of expression. Such lapses may be perceived on pages 38, 41, 121, 132, 133, 159, 192, 250, and 292.

There are discernible in places, likewise, certain failures in nicety of historical discrimination. One may perhaps allow the attribution of "tough-mindedness" to William L. Marcy, but must question in the light of the letters of this wary and sagacious politician-statesman the characterization of him as a "bluff New Englander". Concerning the conversion of the Albany *Argus* to Locofocoism, as another instance, Dr. Fox appears to have accepted somewhat too trustfully the enthusiastic pronouncement of Byrdsall and to have overlooked letters of various members of the Regency in regard to the doubtful attitude of Crosswell, the editor, who finally became a Hunker opponent of Locofocoism. Indeed, deep rifts which originated in the Regency in the summer of 1837 seem altogether to have escaped the observation of the author. Of like nature is his failure to detect a trace of a Whig element in the original Locofocos in New York City, and to distinguish between the attitude of Leggett and of Bryant in the conduct of the *Evening Post*.

These minor deficiencies, however, detract little from the general high excellence of the work. The author moves with masterly ease amidst the intricate relationships of business and of politics in New York and fulfills the promise of his introduction. His book abounds in illuminating characterizations, acute observations, useful quotations, and suggestive philosophic conceptions. A few portraits add to the interest. To the special student of the history of New York this contribution affords indispensable information; to the more general student of history a conspectus of the history of the state between 1800 and 1840 on the whole sound and in many portions brilliant; and to all workers in the "social" sciences a valuable historical exposition of the interrelationships of business, society, and politics.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

The American Colonization Society, 1817-1840. By EARLY LEE FOX, Ph.D., Professor of History in Randolph-Macon College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXVII., no. 3.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1919. Pp. 231. \$2.00.)

IN this volume the author represents the colonization movement as essentially a moderate, conservative, border-state movement which had an appeal to men in every walk of life, from every political and religious creed, and from every section of the Union. He divides the history of the American Colonization Society into two distinct divisions: the first, to which this volume is devoted, begins with the organization of the society in 1817 and extends to 1840; the second covers the period since 1840. This volume ends with the reorganization of the society in 1839, after which date the society, under the influence of the North and the East, was more aggressively anti-slavery in its programme and activities. In the first chapter, the author discusses at considerable length the status of the free negro and his relation to the slave and to the white population; in the second, the organization, purpose, and early history of the society; in the third, fourth, and last chapters, the relation of colonization to Garrisonian abolition, to emancipation, and to the African slave-trade respectively.

While the book contains much that is new and interesting, the material is very poorly arranged and there is much repetition in the numerous quotations. Nearly ninety per cent. of the citations are either from the *African Repository* or from the official records of the different departments of colonization societies. The book contains no bibliography and little or nothing to indicate that the numerous studies of colonization, emancipation, and slavery have been consulted. It would have been much more valuable if in this single volume the study had been carried on through the period of the Civil War. The author makes no serious attempt to tabulate the growth in number of members and in

the number of affiliated societies at different intervals, neither is reference made to such tabulations as have been made by other students.

The colonization movement is represented as one of numerous plans for bringing about a satisfactory and practical solution of the negro problem. The various classes that were affiliated with the organization at different times and the motives of each are interestingly described, as well as the relation of the colonization movement to the other movements that had as their chief object the solution of the negro problem. The influence of the American Colonization Society as an agency for shaping public opinion and for accomplishing any one of the things for which the society was created appears to have been overestimated. While the general work of the society was officially approved by numerous state legislatures, by Congress, and by the leading religious and philanthropic organizations, the financial assistance from all sources was always small. The total expenditure of the society up to November, 1838, was only \$379,644.15; and in 1838, the receipts for the year amounted to only \$11,597. The number of slaves actually transported to Africa was very small, numbering during the entire period less than the annual increase of the free negro population. The propaganda of the society, in the form of publications and speeches, was astonishingly small as compared with the Garrisonian abolition organization. The society did have many men of eminence affiliated with it, and, consequently, its influence in centring public attention on the slavery question was considerable.

The author attempts to prove that the average slaveholder in the border states as well as hundreds of those in the Lower South, before 1840, felt that slavery was not only an evil but detrimental to their best interests, and they were earnestly and eagerly looking for a practical solution of the problem. Colonization made a special appeal to this class.

The book contains much valuable information, and it is to be hoped that the author will carry the study on through the period of the Civil War.

ASA E. MARTIN.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1916. Volume II. Correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876. Edited by CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1918. Pp. 383.)

THE Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association has rendered students an excellent service in the publication of this fragment of the correspondence of R. M. T. Hunter, senator from Virginia during the decade immediately preceding the outbreak of civil war. The pity of it is that there are no more letters of Hunter himself, who was certainly a very influential figure in the shaping of the issues that ripened into war. Professor Ambler, who has done his

work well, indicates that we shall probably never find the greater collections of correspondence bearing upon the secession movement. James A. Seddon kept no files. Lewis E. Harvie destroyed his papers in 1865. And we know that Yancey of Alabama and Rhett of South Carolina left no important stores of papers. The Hunter letters, now for the first time published, are but the remnants of General Benjamin F. Butler's destructive work.

Hunter's own part of this correspondence amounts to little, and what we have does not add particularly to what we know of him from other sources. But the letters of James A. Seddon, whom Roger Pryor pronounced to be the master of Virginia in 1860, Lewis E. Harvie, William O. Goode, and others do make clear the rifts and rivalries of Virginia politics during most of the decade of 1850-1860. Virginia was then a great state and one of the arbiters of national politics. In this period the Whig party collapsed and the new American party ran a fitful course. This left the Democratic organization the dominant force in the life of the state, whose boundaries were far-flung.

The more important group of leaders in the Democratic party were Hunter himself, James M. Mason, his colleague in the Senate, and John Letcher, first a representative in Congress and finally, 1860, governor of Virginia. Hunter represented the tide-water counties, Mason the northern part of the state, and Letcher lived at Lexington and had close affiliations with the west. The offices were filled upon the recommendation of these leaders or of their co-workers, Harvie and Seddon. Roger Pryor, editor of *The South*, was the newspaper voice of the group. The other and opposing set of politicians were Henry A. Wise, who came from the low country but who had stolen the hearts of the western Virginians in 1850-1851; William J. Faulkner of what is now West Virginia, an anti-slavery man in 1830 but a convert to the safe and sane view of slavery in 1850-1860; and John B. Floyd, son of that fiery John B. Floyd who fought for Calhoun in nullification days. When Wise won his spectacular campaign against the Know-Nothings in 1855 he suddenly rose to national fame and gave Hunter and his machine almost as much trouble as the Know-Nothings might have given them, if they had won. Wise always claimed that he was the maker of President Buchanan, a claim which disgusted Hunter in the extreme.

It was this alignment of the Virginia political forces which gave Douglas so much trouble when he was finally to make his great fight for the presidency. When Douglas defied Buchanan in December, 1857, Governor Wise published an ardent defense of the recalcitrant senator in the Illinois papers. This Wise did because Hunter had finally become a warmer friend of Buchanan than Wise himself had been, and because most western Virginians were generally disposed to be hostile to slavery and eastern Virginians. But although Wise was a loud-mouthed governor and disposed to take the front of the stage on every possible occasion, Hunter and Seddon and Harvie were the real masters.

Virginia declared war to the knife upon Douglas and thus helped Lincoln to the presidency. Hunter was himself a candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1860, and Wise must of necessity ask as much or confess himself second fiddle to Douglas. This rivalry blinded the eyes of the greater Virginians of that day and made the Old Dominion, proud as she was, impotent at Charleston. The Hunter machine was not strong enough to crush Wise and, busy all the while trying to do so, let the leadership of the South fall to such men as Rhett and Yancey, who blindly drove forward the chariot of war into the fatal cataclysm—few of the people dreaming that war and bloodshed were to be their lot.

Historians will find much in these letters to explain, if not to change, their judgments. In 1852 Seddon wrote to Hunter that henceforth the South must nominate and control presidents, not endeavor to set up candidates of their own. Edmund W. Hubbard, a member of the Hunter machine, said in effect (p. 141), give the North the honors of government and we may take the measures. David R. Atchison wrote in March, 1855, that seven thousand Missourians were then in Kansas to take part in the election (p. 161). And Isaac E. Holmes of Charleston declared that Atchison was the master spirit in the Kansas "revolution".

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The War with Mexico. By JUSTIN H. SMITH, formerly Professor of Modern History at Dartmouth College. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xxii, 572; xiv, 620. \$10.00.)¹

No event in our history has been so distorted by ignorance, prejudice, misinterpretation, and downright misrepresentation as the Mexican War. Passions inflamed by the slavery question and the angry political struggles preceding and following the war created an emotional atmosphere in which vituperation took the place of sober reasoning and slanderous assertion too often supplanted proved fact. Probably not since the ratification of the Constitution has there been less national *esprit* and team-work than during the four years of Polk's administration. The multitude of presidential aspirants in and out of the army, each of whom believed his own success dependent upon the destruction of his rivals' claims to honor and intelligence, the irritating jibes and innuendoes of the British press, and the natural bitterness of Mexican writers, have left a fog of confusion which American historians until recently have shown little disposition to dispel. The task of doing so, indeed, was staggering, and to form a fair judgment of the present volumes at least two sets of difficulties must be kept in mind. In the first place, with a controversy at every step involving national or personal reputation and character, only a fine sifting of all the material would give the work permanent worth—and the amount of material is enormous, and

¹ See p. 755.

largely in manuscript. In the second place, refutation (and to a less degree confirmation) of traditional historical verdicts must be set forth in plain language, with emphasis enough to carry the point, with such evident fullness, fairness, and detachment as to avoid the suspicion of partizanship, and with explicit and abundant citations to sustain the position taken.

Of Dr. Smith's industry and success in mastering the first of these difficulties there can be no question. He believes, and there appears no reason to doubt, that he has examined "every pertinent document" in the government archives of the United States and Mexico, including some state collections in both countries; he has searched the archives of Great Britain, France, Spain, Cuba, Colombia, and Peru; has examined collections of historical societies and of individuals; and has studied more than twelve hundred books and pamphlets and two hundred periodicals, including magazine and newspaper files for the period. The examination of 100,000 manuscripts and the assimilation of those needed for his problem is an accomplishment that can be adequately appreciated only by one who has worked largely with such material. To qualify himself for the military part of his work, he studied Napoleon, Clausewitz, Jomini, Moltke, Henderson, and other authorities, and visited every battlefield of the war.

Of the fruit of this labor—the success with which he has attacked the second set of difficulties—there will perhaps be divergent opinions. In the main, the reviewer agrees with his conclusions concerning every important question affecting our national honor, and believes that they will become, substantially, the ultimate verdict of history. These are: the honest intent of our government to maintain neutrality during the Texas revolution; our own forbearance and Mexico's inexcusable shiftiness concerning the settlement of the claims; our right to annex Texas without just offense to Mexico; the sincerity of Polk's desire to avoid war by the Slidell mission; the necessity for and essential justification of the war; and the refutation of the charge that Polk provoked the war to seize California. Knowing the scope of the author's investigation, it was to be hoped that his findings would be so clearly stated and so firmly buttressed as to carry conviction to every reasonable reader; but it is to be doubted whether they will have that effect. The trouble is mainly with the method of presentation, but is partly due to a subtlety that amounts on occasions almost to casuistry (see, in general, for typical examples, ch. XXXII.). To particularize, Dr. Smith has adopted a style, deliberately one feels, which could perhaps be most readily induced by prolonged draughts of Carlyle topped off with *The Education of Henry Adams*. It is allusive, epigrammatic, sometimes cryptic, imaginative, and dramatic; rarely simply narrative and expository. "Remarks", at the back of the book, frequently supplement and elucidate the text, but we are advised to read a chapter as a whole before looking at the notes. Much space is given to the beauty of the scenery, the rare

shrubs and flowers, the clear atmosphere, snow-capped mountains, and brilliant birds; and much more to apparently casual, but in reality, one suspects, studied, descriptions of the human figures of the book, in which even the flush of a face is noticed. One need not quarrel, it is true, with the ice and mint at the end of a substantial luncheon, but one prefers not to have them follow the cocktails. And it is to be feared that Dr. Smith has unduly compressed his book for the sake of these pleasant travel pictures.

It is difficult in a short review to show concretely, as fairness demands, qualities that permeate the book, but two brief paragraphs will illustrate a good deal. The first is an incident in the battle of Contreras (II. 109):

Finally a slightly round-shouldered man, with blue eyes, a sandy mustache and sandy hair, walked slowly to the front and looked at his watch. It was about six o'clock. "Are you ready?" he asked in a cheery voice. "Ready!" the troops answered with a meaning smile. He gave them a keen glance. "Men, forward!" he then ordered, for it was General Smith. "Forward, forward!" flew the command through the ranks, and ahead they went.

The citation supporting this imaginative passage is note 11. The same citation follows every paragraph for seven pages, and the note itself, covering the whole battle of Contreras, includes nearly a page of references and three pages of "Remarks". The second is an incident in the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (II. 246). The treaty had reached Polk on February 19 amid a storm of disapproval:

But suddenly the head of John Quincy Adams, as he sat in the House, dropped. He was borne to the Speaker's room. "This is the last of earth; I am content", murmured the venerable statesman. For two days he lingered, unconscious; and then he passed away. This tragic event had a deep effect. There fell a hush, as when snow descends upon the city pavement. The sessions of Congress were suspended. Senators were prevented from announcing their positions hastily. And when discussion began once more, it was resumed with a new feeling of seriousness, a new sense of responsibility.

This is undeniably dramatic, but if Adams's death did have the effect which the author categorically asserts, the fact is worth a reference, and there is no citation in note 21, which covers also the preceding paragraph, to support the assertion.

The problem of references gave the author much difficulty; and while most scholars will sympathize with his perplexity, on account of his multitudinous sources, the system which he adopted will not seem to them a happy solution. With the utmost confidence in Dr. Smith's fairness, accuracy, and impartiality, they will want greater explicitness than is afforded by a single reference index, often repeated for many paragraphs, to a large group of titles. This is not to say that less general citations are never made, but they are the exception and not the

rule. The matter becomes serious when one doubts the accuracy of a conclusion—as inevitably many must in a subject bristling with controversy. The writer confesses to uneasiness at the eternal rightness of Scott, and the complete rehabilitation of Trist. Not once throughout the book is Scott at fault. Once, indeed, misinformation caused him to change a plan suddenly and order a movement which unexpectedly encountered a concealed fort and strong resistance; but here he “did what we know it had not been his intention to do” (II. 113-115). The law of averages warns against such perfection.

Most of this discussion may be reduced to the statement that the reviewer is disappointed, because it seems to him that Dr. Smith has not accomplished once for all the results that his immense labor and impressive grasp of the subject would have enabled him to do had he written with more regard to the necessary limitations of his readers. It would be a grievous error, however, to infer that he has not produced a notable book. He has settled some problems finally—for example, the quibble over whether the Herrero government consented to receive a commissioner *ad hoc* or an envoy with plenary authority (I. 91-96, 436-438); he has given us chapters on the navy, finance, politics, and foreign relations during the war which will satisfy the most captious; his analysis of Mexican politics and politicians, while not *simpático*, is keen and accurate; and he has gone very far toward putting the capstone to that readjustment of our ideas concerning the early relations between the United States and Mexico which Edward Gaylord Bourne inaugurated in these pages just twenty years ago.¹ One may not always agree with the author, but very few will be rash enough to neglect him.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

The Life of General Ely S. Parker, Last Grand Sachem of the Iroquois and General Grant's Military Secretary. By ARTHUR C. PARKER, State Archaeologist of New York. [Buffalo Historical Society, Publications, vol. XXIII.] (Buffalo: the Society. 1919. Pp. xiv, 346. \$5.00.)

THE Buffalo Historical Society has placed under obligation all students interested in biographical matters relating to the Seneca-Iroquois of New York state by the publication of volume XXIII. of their series of memoirs, *The Life of General Ely Samuel Parker* by Mr. Arthur Caswell Parker, whose excellent work in archaeology has, perhaps, a greater value to humanity than the deeds of the subject he so ably expounds.

The six Iroquois tribes or nations of New York state have produced many notable characters in warfare, oratory, diplomacy, statecraft, and in the poetry and philosophy of myth and religion. The ancestors of

¹ “The United States and Mexico, 1847-1848”, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, V. 491-502 (April, 1900).

General Parker were of mixed Seneca-Iroquoian blood. And his noteworthy career shows the responsiveness and adaptability of the Iroquoian mentality to the exigencies of the new conditions of life superinduced by the advent of European peoples and cultures. Much in his staunch character General Parker owed to the molding influence of the fundamental principles and institutions of the federal government of these Iroquoian tribes—the disciplines concerning peace and health, justice and righteousness, authority and spiritual integrity.

The author of the volume has set the life of his distinguished kinsman in an interesting background of instructive and little known facts and reminiscences in the lives of a number of persons, chiefly kindred of his subject, who measurably affected the life or emphasized the work of General Parker. The volume will well repay careful reading.

I will take up the remaining space in pointing out some erroneous and misleading statements of general import. The signification of the name of the chiefship which General Parker held, is "He holds the doorflap up", but not "The Doorkeeper" and much less, "The Keeper of the Western Door". There was no "western" or "eastern" door to the Iroquois federal council lodge. Its official name is "The Great Black Door".

Some time subsequent to the establishment of the league, an amendment to the federal constitution was adopted by the federal council, which provided for the admission as members of the federal council of two recalcitrant Seneca war-chiefs who had not before that time joined the league, although they had large bodies of kindred under their sway. Their federal chiefship names are Deyonin'hogā'wēn' and Gano'gei'dā'-hwi', respectively. The signification of the latter is the "Griller" or the "Broiler". These two are political cousins. In addition to their duties as members of the federal council, others of an administrative character were imposed on them and their successors in office. And the name of the "Broiler" properly stands last in the roll of federal chieftains, and not that of his political cousin. To Deyonin'hogā'we' all propositions and communications of alien tribes or peoples must be made directly. But he and the "Griller" jointly must ascertain the true nature of such communications before bringing them before the federal council. Their administrative duties are approximately those pertaining to modern portfolios of state and war, respectively. It was the duty of the "Griller", if the two political cousins upon careful scrutiny found the proposals of an alien embassy based upon treachery or treason, to broil, literally, the devoted member or members of such an embassy. At the back figuratively of the "Griller" stood "the warriors, the women and the children".

It is unfortunate that the author has used the word "sachem" as the designation of the federal chiefship of the league of the Iroquois; this name is of Algonquian origin, and does not accurately render the Iroquoian name, "royaner" or dialectically modified "hoyane", of the

federal chiefship; for the Algonquian peoples had not yet reached constitutional government, while the Iroquoian chiefship had a constitutional status; so that it would have been better to use the native term, "royaner", or its English equivalent, "federal chieftain".

J. N. B. HEWITT.

Days and Events, 1860-1866. By THOMAS L. LIVERMORE, late Colonel of the 18th New Hampshire Volunteers. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. xi, 485. \$6.00.)

COLONEL THOMAS L. LIVERMORE enlisted at seventeen years of age and was mustered out at twenty-one with the rank of colonel. He has been known for a long time by his work on *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War*, which has been one of the most valuable contributions to our military history. The work now before us is of an entirely different character and reflects the ability of the author from a new and no less interesting angle. Begun two years after the war and continued for several years with numerous interruptions, it is not an actual diary, although the author has freely consulted the diaries of several of his companions, whose experiences were for the most part similar to his own. The vivid memory of the author for small details makes up for the absence of a daily record. It is evidently written without access to records, and no other map than Bachelder's Gettysburg; it is not the studied effort of later years, and it must be judged mainly by its straightforward story of the gossip of camp and bivouac, its soldier prejudices, and its popular verdict, as such exists in the subordinate ranks of a great army. Naturally much space is given to the continual struggle to get something good to eat, and to seize the pleasures of the world. There is vivid portrayal and generous approval of the fighting, drinking, smoking, foraging, horse-racing, card-playing volunteer, with all his faults, if such they be, side by side with all his noble sacrifice. It is of course right to feel that such little wanderings may not be safely judged by those who sit in peaceful homes by household fires, who never committed sin, or felt a wound. Nor does the story forget the lesser breeds, cowards, skulkers, robbers of the dead, for an army is not composed entirely of heroes. Such have their place, along with unusual punishments, and "drumming out", and military executions. Free comment is made in criticizing others, both in praise and disapproval, but in the latter case the names are usually left in blank, which is of course best at this time.

As time wore on, the writer achieved higher rank and had opportunity to get a broader view of events, but not greatly so. At Gettysburg his duties in commanding a section of the ambulance corps called for great activity in many parts of the field, but the account is the most disconnected of all. How much we should have valued his studied version of the attack of Wright on the 2nd, and of Pickett on the 3rd

of July, about which so much fact and fable has been written, without satisfying some curious searchers as to what actually did happen. Although intimate with Haskell, no mention is made of the surprising statements given in the latter's diary published several years ago.

We are given high praise of Grant, Meade, Sheridan, Hancock, Sumner, Humphreys, and others with whom at one time or another the author had some personal or official relation under actual war conditions. McClellan comes in for criticism, showing that the writer did not concur in the popular verdict in that case—unless indeed he unconsciously adopted a later and revised estimate.

Students of the mental condition of the northern people in 1861 may find food for thought in the reference to a letter from "Sarah" asking him how many of the "dear negroes" he has freed. Interesting details of negro troops might have been of use if heeded in the World War.

EBEN SWIFT.

William Peters Hepburn. By JOHN ELY BRIGGS. [Iowa Biographical series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1919. Pp. xv, 469. \$2.00.)

THIS volume contains a plain unadorned account of the early life and public career of an Iowa congressman who served in the House of Representatives at Washington for most of the years from 1881 to 1909. Colonel Hepburn was born in 1833 and died in 1916. He retired from public life after his defeat for Congress in 1908. Eleven chapters of Mr. Briggs's volume (98 pages) are devoted to Hepburn's early years, his services in the Civil War, and his return to civil life. More than a fourth of the whole volume (124 pages) is given up to the index and to "Notes and References", the latter containing many excerpts of interest and value. These show the author's sources—letters, newspapers, scrap-books, congressional speeches, etc.

The rest of the volume (a little over half its pages) sets forth the congressional career of its subject, dealing, among other things, with Pork Barrel Legislation, Pensions, Currency, Civil Service Reform, Imperialism, the Isthmian Canal, Railroad Legislation, Pure Food, the Rules of the House, and the Progressive Movement. These topics indicate the importance of the subjects of state with which Colonel Hepburn had to deal during his congressional career. It was an era of agitation and fierce controversy, of change and unsettlement of the old order, from Garfield to Taft through the excitations of Roosevelt and Bryan. The volume shows that Mr. Hepburn was a conventional congressman, a routinier of the old school, not much disposed to change. Clearly he was not a pioneer in politics, nor did he show qualities of real leadership or statesmanlike grasp upon the great questions with which he was confronted. He owed his influence in legislative history largely to the official committee positions which he held, which came to him from his

long service in Congress and his standing well with the party organization of the House. Yet he was not altogether a reactionary obstructionist, largely because influences beyond his control led him toward progressive ways. It was the "back fires" in Iowa, built by men like Henry Wallace, and the "big stick" of Theodore Roosevelt in the presidential chair, that brought the name of William Peters Hepburn, chairman of the commerce committees, into prominent connection with legislation touching pure food, railroad regulation, and kindred subjects. It is fair to say that he gave these causes official and conventional support, but the leadership came from the push behind. Roosevelt testified to his great services, but Roosevelt well knew how "great services" for good causes were obtained from congressmen of the "stand pat" variety, such as Hepburn was.

Mr. Briggs's volume reveals to us the mind and work of an old-time G. A. R. Republican congressman, who believed in "the glorious record of the Republican party"; that money panics "were due to Democratic tariff tinkering"; that money had "intrinsic value" and that "sound money", bimetallism, and the "existing gold standard" should all be maintained together; that garden seeds and government literature should be liberally distributed among his constituents; that railroads were private property, despite the grange decisions; that obtaining pensions for old soldiers and offices for applicants was the chief function of a congressman; that his district should not fail to obtain its share of the congressional "pork" in the shape of public buildings; that the old way of making appointments—rewarding men for party work by public offices—was better than the new-fangled civil service reform, and that the "hordes of hungry office-seekers infesting the corridors of the Capitol" were worthy of defense, because those were the very men congressmen had to rely on in their quest for delegates. Such, as Mr. Briggs shows, was a large part of the mind and life of Hepburn as a congressman. It was dreary enough. The wonder is that a man like Hepburn, the victim of a system, could yet be used as the instrument of so much good work in legislation. Mr. Briggs says that Hepburn's work upon the transportation problem "constituted his principal achievement and earned for him enduring fame". Perhaps so. But one wonders where Henry Wallace comes in, a real Iowa statesman and a man of intelligence and vision, who, as an editor of a journal for Iowa farmers, instructed Hepburn on the transportation problem, and prodded him to the undertaking of his task. It was men like Wallace working with Dolliver and Roosevelt, in ways satisfactory to Iowa farmers and shippers, that did the real work. Men like Hepburn were but the pipe-lines through which flowed streams of legislation, originated by other men and pressed to issue by the force of public opinion. The name and fame may go to the Hepburns, the official "authors" of the bills, but the real merit and achievement belong to others. Such are the lives of many of our prominent congressmen who are soon to be forgotten. Mr. Briggs clearly brings

this out, with or without intention, in this life of William Peters Hepburn.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Our War with Germany: a History. By JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of American History, Smith College. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1919. Pp. 386. \$4.00.)

It is reassuring in these days of innumerable investigations and congressional committees to read a book that believes that the war was won and that the United States played a considerable and creditable part in the final triumph over the Central Powers. It is the story of our participation that Professor Bassett has here told very clearly and convincingly. The presentation of things achieved is modest—as properly so as were General Pershing's words in asking a place for American troops in the line of battle against the German onslaught. Taken all together the account of Professor Bassett is the clearest and best that has yet attempted in one volume the story of our part in the World War.

A little more than one-fourth of the book sketches the period before our entrance into the struggle. Another hundred pages or more tell the story of our organization, policies, and preparation as a nation fully conscious of the tremendous scale on which all things must be done. The last one-third of the book is an account of the land and naval operations that closed the war with American troops and ships in line of battle, and of the peace negotiations at Paris. In the preparations and in the conduct of the war and in the conclusion of the peace Professor Bassett holds that "the nation met the test with credit and in some respects with brilliant success".

In writing his book the author has made careful use of public documents and prints and has been able to fill out some points by reason of his residence in Washington during war-time and the personal information he gathered from those in places of responsibility. New sources will modify parts of the work, but the main outlines will stand much as this historian has dispassionately presented them. Minor errors there are both of commission and of omission: Barthelme did not leave with Bernstorff; Lansing is credited with the notes he signed but never wrote; not all the pro-German press was in the East by any means; the President's part in tabling the McLemore resolutions is unmentioned; the trip of the *Deutschland* which had a startling effect quite other than Germany intended is not mentioned; the President's note of December 18, 1916, is not distinctly brought out nor is the fact that the address of January 22, 1917, was not his first utterance on a League of Nations. Labor's resolutions of March 12 on the eve of the war are a ringing pronouncement that no historian of America's part in the war should pass over as all have so far done. The bold telegram of President Wilson to the threats of Jeremiah J. O'Leary in the midst of the campaign

of 1916 has its own significance. There is no good reason for hiding in anonymity the senators who under various pretexts held up such war measures as the establishment of the Food Administration.

Most of the above may however be considered merely matters of opinion. The chief complaint that some readers will make with justice is that the book is placid rather than penetrating or analytical. Perhaps such a treatment at this early date would seem to savor of bias, but Professor Bassett has been so admirably dispassionate in gathering his facts that one would gladly see him be even more of an historian. Certainly some of the characters responsible for America's part and policy were in reality more nearly flesh and blood than one would suspect from this volume. The actions and reactions of the nation between 1916 and 1918 revealed something more than America at war. The struggle over the ratification of the peace treaty which delayed the appearance of the book gave time for some reflection and analysis that might have been as suggestive as the final vote of the Senate. It is a perfectly valid reply on the author's part that he did not intend anything other than a plain tale of the outstanding facts, and no fair critic can deny that what he intended he has done. But he cannot complain if you still wonder why problems and persons did not tempt him into a slightly different treatment.

MINOR NOTICES

Proceedings of the British Academy, 1913-1914. (London, Humphrey Milford, n. d., pp. 538.) *Id., 1914-1915.* (*Ibid.*, pp. 592.) Though not so designated, these are the sixth and seventh volumes of the British Academy's proceedings, and, according to the Academy's custom of making all papers available in independent form, a number of "separates" from the eighth and ninth volumes have already been published. In the handsome volumes before us, many papers have to do with philosophical and philological themes, *e. g.*, Sir John Rhys's elaborate dissertation, in the earlier volume, on the Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul or the philosophical lectures given on the Henrietta Hertz foundation. Others relate to themes of literary scholarship, like the annual Shakespeare Lectures or the Warton Lectures on English poetry. Another series of endowed lectures, the Schweich Lectures in Biblical Archaeology, shows its first-fruits in these volumes. There are also well-written obituary notices of deceased fellows, as of Thomas Hodgkin in the sixth volume and of Lord Cromer in the eighth. Of the historical papers in the sixth volume, all but two are papers read at the International Historical Congress at London in 1913—the presidential address of Mr. Bryce, Professor Firth's survey of the study of modern history in Great Britain and Professor Tout's of the medieval, Archdeacon Cunningham's paper on the organization of the mason's craft in England, that of Professor Silvanus Thompson on the origin and development of the compass-card,

and that of Sir Clifford Allbutt on Palissy, Bacon, and the Revival of Natural Science. Some of these have been described in this journal in an article on that congress. Sir John Sandys's commemorative address on Roger Bacon came a year later. But the historical paper making the largest new contribution to knowledge is that of Mr. A. F. Leach entitled *Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England*, a very interesting discourse, one which overthrows many ancient traditions respecting medieval schools, especially the grammar schools of churches, and substitutes sound knowledge, based on those thorough researches which have since given authority to his *Schools of Medieval England*. In the later volume the paper of most importance to the historical student is that of Mr. G. Elliot Smith on Primitive Man. Both volumes gain much from the breadth and wisdom that pervade Lord Bryce's annual addresses delivered as president of the Academy. Among the "separates" from the eighth volume which have already been issued two at least are historical in character, Professor Firth's paper on Raleigh's *History of the World* and that of Dr. R. L. Poole on Benedict IX. and Gregory VI.; from the ninth, we have a paper by the last-named scholar on Seals and Documents, a very interesting one by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan on Englishmen and Italians: Some Aspects of their Relations Past and Present, and Lord Bryce's broad-minded and noble lecture on World History.

Origin of Government. By Hugh Taylor. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1919, pp. viii, 259, \$4.00.) All theory with regard to the origin of government, of society, or of civilization, must start completely afresh with Darwin and the struggle for existence. We cannot, however, rely on the formula "the survival of the fittest" to account for human emergence from barbarism. This formula is but little more than a trick of speech. It can mean no more than fittest for the surrounding conditions. It is an example of what Bentham denounces as "impostor terms" which impose upon our reason by an appearance of explanation. However explanatory of physical advance, fitness for the conditions in which the struggle takes place, that is, savage conditions, cannot lead to a moral advance, rather the contrary, for in such a struggle the moral virtues put the contestant who cultivates them at a fatal disadvantage. The only explanation of civilization which can be based on this formula, and it is a thoroughly logical one, is the philosophy of Nietzsche. He asserts that by departing from the scheme of life marked out by natural laws, and introducing considerations of mercy, gentleness, and pity, man has abandoned the rational and intelligible end of existence and has entered upon a course which leads to degeneration and misery. From the strict Darwinian point of view, this conclusion is unassailable. But the Darwinian explanation of man's physical evolution is so established, that we must explain the origin of moral advance in harmony with it. Moral advance must arise out of the conditions of the earlier advance.

Nietzsche must be met on his own ground. What he really does is to apply a formula, correct in its own field, in a field to which it does not belong, because the field has been changed by the entrance of a new factor, essentially changing the environment. But the character of the survival is not determined by the struggle alone, but by the struggle under the existing conditions; to change the conditions, to change the environment, is to change all. The new factor affecting this change is government. Government appears at a definite stage of evolution, and all is changed. Government originates in the struggle for supremacy, in the deadly struggle of one individual with another for supremacy, which arises as soon as the group in any form takes the place of the individual as the human unit, a struggle determined by character. By placing dominant character in control of the group, a modification is imposed upon the struggle which entirely alters its nature and converts the qualities of moral character from socially destructive agencies into means for promoting the welfare of the community.

This is in brief Mr. Taylor's argument. The bulk of the book is taken up with its expansion and illustration. The argument is very closely reasoned, but the style is so simple and clear that the reading is a pleasure. The book deserves careful study.

G. B. A.

The Psychology of Nations: a Contribution to the Philosophy of History. By G. E. Partridge. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1919, pp. xii, 333, \$2.50.) An educational interest predominant in this book appears explicitly in part II., which considers the Educational Factor in the Development of Nations. Two chapters dealing with Internationalism and the School and two others on the Teaching of Patriotism are especially sane and well-balanced and will be suggestive to teachers of American history who wish to base their influence for "Americanization" upon something less superficial than tradition and prejudice. An "aristocratic patriotism" in which "glory, honor and fame have played too large a part" must yield to a more democratic ideal, one in which the common idea of country may be worked for by all classes.

The first part of the book treats National Consciousness and the Motives of War, and here we have more specifically a psychological analysis of nations observed in the environment of war. Rejecting such biological bases of war as the instinct of the herd and the struggle for existence in the sense of a natural selection "to the point of eliminating races", Dr. Partridge finds psychic differentiations as the most essential factors in the production of wars. To understand the motives and causes of war, we must explain the war-mood and this may best be accomplished by studying it in its relation "to all the other great ecstasies—of art, religion, intoxication, love". While "the central purpose or motive of war to-day is a craving for the realization of the sense of power", the war-mood comes from what our author calls "the *intoxica-*

tion motive", which is not a reversion or a release of primitive instincts but a product of the spirit of the times in which it manifests itself.

The Psychology of Nations is offered as *A Contribution to the Philosophy of History*, but only one chapter brings us into contact with the question which some modern "scientific" historians seem to identify with that subject: Is history in the large a matter of chance relations or is there a rational whole? The late Henry Adams through his *Letter to Teachers* raises the question whether a philosophy of history may not be made "scientific" by correlating history with physico-dynamics. Dr. Partridge recognizes that conditions of peace must be taken into account by history, "for it is the power of adaptation to the conditions of stable life, which are fairly uniform for different groups over wide areas, that tests vitality and survival values", but his study of nations in their "war-moods" offers a more promising solution than does Adams, for it emphasizes both in history and in psychology the *human* interest, which is the leaven of all scientific erudition.

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin. Par Charles Diehl, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1919, pp. xi, 247, 7 fr.) This is an excellent little book, from the pen of a master. In about forty thousand words, Diehl has sketched the history and civilization from the days of Constantine to the fall of Trebizond in 1461, and has made an interesting book of it. The only criticism is one that seems inevitable in case of such a brief treatment: in a few places a statement is not full enough to prevent a reader from forming a wrong impression. *E.g.* on page 156 he writes: "quand arriva le désastre de la [seconde] croisade, on l'imputa surtout à la perfidie des Grecs". If this refers to the defeat of the Germans, it is correct; but if it refers to the failure of the crusade as a whole, it is not; this was generally imputed to the treachery of some leaders in the kingdom of Jerusalem. On the same page he writes, "L'un et l'autre [Jean et Manuel Comnène] rêvèrent d'établir réellement leur autorité sur les principautés arméniennes de Cilicie et sur les États latins de Syrie, et ils y réussirent." The last four words suggest too much.

There are fifteen illustrations, reproduced from Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, and four maps, two from Schrader and two made for this book. The appendix contains lists of emperors and of important historical events, and an excellent select bibliography. The last gives about seventy-five titles under separate rubrics. English readers will miss, among other titles, the two books by Sir Edwin Pears and Frederic Harrison's interesting lecture on *Byzantine History in the Early Middle Ages*; these may have been omitted intentionally from such a brief list. There is no index. This book should be translated into English because it is the best history of the subject in any language.

D. C. M.

Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over Levens- en Gedachtenvormen der Veertiende en Vijftiende Eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden. Door J. Huizinga. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1919, pp. xi, 568.) Deep is the debt of the "autumn of the Middle Ages" to those who approach its history from the side of art. Thus did Burckhardt when eighty years ago he gave us the conception and the name of "Renaissance". Thus did Henry Thode when a quarter-century later he led the attack on that conception and that name. And now from Holland comes this new study of art and life. Its author is no novice. At Groningen and later at Leyden he has done serious work in many a field of history. For years he has been one of the editors of the foremost of Dutch magazines. Even to Americans he should be known by the volume which a year or two ago he devoted to "the individual and the crowd in America" (see p. 558 above).

The present work, foreshadowed by an article in *De Gids*, grew out of the wish for a better understanding of the art of the Van Eycks and their followers and of its relation to the life of their time. At first this seemed possible from a study of the Burgundian lands alone; but it was soon evident that all France must be included in the survey. Wide is the literature drawn on; but it is especially Froissart and Chastellain among the historians, Eustache Deschamps among the poets, Gerson and Dionysius the Carthusian among the theologians, who with Jan van Eyck furnish the materials. They are made to illustrate for us how bitter was life to the Burgundian of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, how he strove to idealize it by the dreams of chivalry, by the exaltations of love, by brooding on death and adoration of sainthood, in ever-growing surrender to emotion and imagination. In Italy alone, maintains our author, did what we call the Renaissance come earlier than the sixteenth century; and much that we count Renaissance was perennially Italian. To date it back with every new-discovered foregleam of the younger day, he thinks absurd. But, even when Italy was already in full springtide, there lingered still in France and the Low Countries the medieval autumn. They who doubt it must reckon with this keen and patient study.

GEORGE L. BURR.

À Travers Trois Siècles: l'Oeuvre des Bollandistes, 1615-1915. Par Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J. (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1920, pp. 284.) The first two volumes of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, embracing the saints of January, appeared in 1643, the three volumes for February in 1638, but the beginning of publication of the Bollandist series may properly be dated from 1615, when Father Heribert Rosweide published, as the first-fruits of his great project, the *Vitae Patrum* (lives of the fathers of the desert, illustrating the beginnings of monachism in Syria and Egypt). An enterprise of high scholarship that has been going on successfully for three hundred years may justifiably celebrate

the fact; but the modest tercentennial celebration which was planned for 1915, did not take place ("le seul énoncé de la date nous dispense d'expliquer pourquoi", says Father Delehaye), and we have instead a modest commemorative volume, in which the present chairman of the group narrates the history of its labors. He treats of the design, of the successive laborers, of the materials, of the methods, of the controversies aroused in the eighteenth century, of the ruin consequent upon the suppression of the Society of Jesus and upon the French Revolution, of the restoration in 1837, and of the history of the modern Bollandists and their labors down to the outbreak of the Great War—and all with the utmost clearness, with much learning, with a bibliographical chapter that makes the little volume an excellent handbook for the study of the *Acta Sanctorum* and its treasures of knowledge, and in an entertaining style. Seldom has the history of a great enterprise of scholarship been so interestingly narrated. Would that we had more books of the sort! If this rich country is to develop any ambitions toward works of scholarship, at all commensurate with its powers of achievement, our young scholars should be given a much fuller knowledge of the history of learning. It is a pleasure to know that the Princeton University Press intends to issue an English translation of this admirable little book. It is to be hoped that a more widely diffused knowledge of what the Bollandists have been doing for human learning, historical and literary, may bring American aid to fill the gaps in their resources caused by the devastations of war.

The Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth. By John Milton. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by Evert Mordecai Clark, Ph.D., Instructor in English in the University of Texas. [Yale Studies in English, Albert S. Cook, Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. lxxi, 198.) This is an excellent piece of critical editing. Mr. Clark has written an introduction of seventy pages in which he deals with the dating and composition of the tract, gives the historical setting, and analyzes Milton's ideal of a state. He shows that Milton owed much to the republican conceptions of the medieval Church, and not a little to the militant republicanism of Harrington and the "Rota Club", that he found much to commend in the spirit of the Spartan constitution but gave full admiration to the constitution of Athens and to Plato's political thought. From Cicero, from Polybius, and from Justinian he drew ideas, from Machiavelli also who interested him as an Aristotelian and as a practical statesman, but most of all curiously enough from Jean Bodin. The text of the *Ready and Easy Way* is so printed as to show the editions and corrections. While that text occupies thirty pages, the foot-notes that follow require four times as much space and waste little. A short glossary is followed by an appendix that traces the processes of revision and presents a summary of contemporary comment and discussion.

It is no easy matter to retrace Masson's ground and make a fuller map. Mr. Clark has done it and with distinction. He has dated the writing and rewriting more surely than ever before; he has explained Milton's attitude more adequately in the light of chronology. His notes not only reveal wide and intelligent reading in the political literature of the time, but they really serve to interpret the thought and the words.

To suggest that the editor has placed possibly too much confidence in Ludlow (pp. xxvi, 46), that his explanation of the rise of the Independents is too simple (p. 77), and that he fails in his long and excellent note on Fifth Monarchy men to mention Miss Louise Fargo Brown's monograph is perhaps to be hypercritical.

The monograph is so much a contribution to history that one is likely to forget its literary purpose. The editor's comments on the language of the time and on Milton's qualities of style seem just and wise but hardly so penetrating as his comments on politics. Mr. Clark writes with ease and clearness.

There is more of Milton worth editing, if it be done as well.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

The French Refugees at the Cape. By Colin Graham Botha, of the Cape Archives. (Cape Town, *Cape Times Limited*, 1919, pp. viii, 171.) In the small compass of this volume the author has brought together much biographical information in regard to the Huguenots who came to the Cape during the fifteen years following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The book is divided into eight chapters, of which five give a general account of the settlement of the refugees, one contains an alphabetical list of the French settlers, and two consist of documentary material. In the first five chapters, which together make up about a third of the volume, the author describes the motives of the Dutch East India Company in sending out the refugees, the political conditions at the Cape, the location of the settlers in the Drakenstein valley, the effect of their coming on the development of certain industries, notably the manufacture of wine and brandy and the cultivation of olives, the organization of the French church, and the rapid amalgamation of the French and Dutch elements, resulting in the decline in the use of the French language and the corruption of French family names. Comparatively little of the information conveyed is entirely new, many of the facts being in somewhat briefer and disconnected form also given in George McCall Theal's *History and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi*, but as a separate study, based on original sources, the chapters have their value.

The alphabetical list of settlers contains biographical sketches of all the French emigrants to the Cape of whom any trace could be found. It is the result of several years of careful research in the Cape archives and is the most complete and reliable list that has appeared in print.

The documentary material includes a French baptismal record, 1694-

1713; a register of members of the Drakenstein church, 1715; a list of land-grants; and a series of extracts from important documents. The latter are printed in Dutch and are accompanied by English translations, which unfortunately do not always adhere closely to the original text and on that account are unsatisfactory.

The book contains facsimiles of fifty-four signatures of French refugees and two maps, one showing the extent of the colony in 1686, when most of the refugees came to the Cape, and the other showing the position of the farms of the French and Dutch settlers up to 1700, the year in which the immigration of the refugees practically ceased.

A. J. F. VAN LAER.

Documentary History of the Armed Neutralities, 1780-1800, together with selected Documents relating to the War of American Independence, 1776-1783, and the Dutch War, 1780-1784. By Sir Francis Piggott and G. W. T. Omond. [Law of the Sea series, vol. I.] (London, University of London Press, 1919, pp. xxxviii, 541, 42 sh.) "Out of the murk of distorted fact and perverted history sprang the Declaration of Paris", declares Sir Francis Piggott in the introduction to the "Law of the Sea" series, contained as a preface to this, the first volume of the series. This series is to be published by Sir Francis and collaborating editors as a justification of the traditional British interpretation of international law based on the "cardinal principle, which underlies the rights of the relations between belligerent and neutral", that "the belligerent will and may prevent the neutral merchant from giving assistance in any form to the enemy". The editors do not admit "that the fundamental rules of International Law are based on practice, however widely adopted", and imply that if the "long-buried" documents are brought to light British practice previous to the Declaration of Paris will have been justified, the armed neutralities and the "allusive hints" and discountenancing suggestions of British writers notwithstanding. They think that if the documents had been well known at the time of the Declaration of Paris it is likely that the instrument would never have been ratified by Great Britain. Sir Francis states that his purpose is to "clear away the fog surrounding the relation of belligerent and neutral, at its densest when the Declaration of Paris was agreed to".

The fact that the Declaration of Paris has been ratified by Great Britain and accepted by the consensus of international legal opinion has given rise to a rather wide-spread opinion differing from the contention of the editors. They seek to place the facts before the international lawyer. Students may form their own judgments in any additional light that these sources may throw. In addition to this already published volume the series is to include a *Documentary History of the French Wars, 1793-1815*, and the *War of 1812*, in two volumes; a volume of material relating to the Declaration of Paris; and two volumes on the Principles of the Law of the Sea.

The documents given in the volume enlarge considerably on Scott's recent compilation on the same subject, both as to the documents relating directly to the armed neutralities and as to supplementary material; but not enough use appears to have been made of the aid already furnished by Scott's work, for there are to be found in Scott eleven documents directly relating to the first and fourteen directly relating to the second armed neutrality, which do not appear in Piggott and Omond. The two works very handily supplement each other, however, and together give a pretty complete collection of sources for the two armed neutralities of 1780 and 1800.

SAMUEL F. BEMIS.

La Prusse et la Rive Gauche du Rhin: le Traité de Bâle, 1794-1795, d'après des Documents Inédits des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères. Par Ed. de Marcère. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1918, pp. 244, 3.50 fr.) This is one of several important contributions to diplomatic history recently published by Alcan. Its appearance on the eve of the Peace Conference is no mere coincidence. On the contrary, the purpose of its publication is naïvely avowed. These documents, the preface frankly states, are drawn from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the pious hope that they may support French diplomacy in its defense of the supreme interests of France (*les grands intérêts de la Patrie*). The thesis is the traditional doctrine of natural limits, but the method of maintaining it is not unequivocal. A series of notes and instructions, hitherto unpublished and valuable for the historian of the eighteenth century, is used to furnish arguments for a diplomatic settlement in the twentieth. And it is the enemy himself that is made to supply them. Secret disclosures of Prussian policy as far back as 1756 reveal a project on the part of Frederick the Great of becoming king (not emperor) of Germany up to the Rhine, leaving to France the left bank to form the boundary of the two countries. This information is given on the authority of a German diplomat who had it from a former minister of Frederick's. In the editor's view, "it is not without interest to note that since the middle of the eighteenth century, Prussia contemplated without apprehension the cession of the left bank to France". And by inference there should be no apprehension to-day.

Setting aside editorial comment, these diplomatic exchanges preceding the treaty of Basel are valuable illustrations of the aims and methods of the old Machiavellian *Realpolitik*. Prussia, although a member of the Coalition, is seen to be secretly antagonistic to Austria, her ally. The Prussian leaders reveal proposed military movements to the enemy. British subsidies are still a matter of necessity, but when they are paid in full, the King of Prussia can begin overtures for peace with France, his "natural ally", and thereafter preserve perfect neutrality. Anxiety over the Polish question preoccupies Prussia and makes her ready for peace at any price. Prussian policy is thought to aim at the formation

of a League of the North, to include Sweden, Denmark, and France, and to be used to checkmate Russian designs on Poland. In the minds of some of the French negotiators of 1795, the interests of France lie in the same direction. In such an atmosphere the cession of the left bank is proposed and discussed. The whole doctrine of natural limits is succinctly set forth in a report of Cambacérès, on behalf of the Committee of Public Safety, proving, in the opinion of the editor, that "nature, topography, and the imperious need for security call upon France to establish frontiers strong enough to assure independence and the peace of future generations". Thus propaganda in 1918 is served by the negotiations of 1795, "jumping o'er times" and quite oblivious of principles which, enunciated in the French Revolution, are popularly supposed to have been finally realized in the Great War.

HENRY F. MUNRO.

Balkan Problems and European Peace. By Noel Buxton and C. Leonard Leese. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919, pp. 135, \$1.75.) After trailing somnolently through three dull and weed-choked chapters of this brief book the reader, on attacking the fourth chapter, will suddenly find himself roused from his torpor by the startling perception that he has come out into the open. By a magical change, for which nothing has prepared him, he is brought face to face with the British negotiations with Bulgaria in the critical period of 1914-1915 preceding the entry of King Ferdinand's country into the war on the side of the Central Powers, and he is invited to peruse decisive diplomatic documents submitted and received by the special British envoy in the Balkans, who turns out to be identical with one of the authors of this book, Mr. Noel Buxton. And behold, Mr. Buxton, diplomat and author, has a grievance which, though entirely creditable to him, is by no means novel. He charges that the British Foreign Office (and for that matter the foreign office of every allied power) was totally incapable of seeing the Balkan problem as a whole, and that it "muddled through" with disastrous consequences to itself and to the Balkan states. The author, as the documents adduced by him sufficiently prove, did not suffer from the myopia of his London chiefs, and such is his faith in the advantage, nay, the necessity of a comprehensive view that he ventures, even at this late day, to sketch the plan of a settlement likely to lay the ghost of Balkan discord and to bring to the much-tried peninsula the blessings of peace. Of course the settlement for which he breaks a lance is not prompted by the cry of *vae victis*. It is planned with reference to a mitigation of ancient animosities in the ulterior hope of clearing the way for a Balkan federation offering guarantees of safety to all its members. Although the spirit of the book has received as little recognition from the peace-makers at Paris as the author himself while acting for Lord Grey at Sofia received from that distinguished diplomat,

Mr. Buxton need not fear that time will force him to retract a single feature of his generous and yet practical proposals.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Armenia and the Armenians from the Earliest Times until the Great War, 1914. By Kevork Aslan. Translated from the French by Pierre Crabitès, with a Preface on the Evolution of the Armenian Question by the Translator. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1920, pp. xxix, 138, \$1.25.) In his attempt to write a complete history of Armenia in less than 150 pages M. Kevork Aslan has produced a work which is not thoroughly scientific nor yet altogether popular. He sets forth the facts of Armenian history conscientiously, but without giving his evidence or citing his sources, and it is not always clear how much of the narrative is the result of scientific investigation and how much the tradition preserved by Armenian chroniclers. Furthermore, the general interest of the book is greatly impaired by the method of presentation. There are too many details and too many names, both of persons and of places, which are unfamiliar to the ordinary reader and only bewilder and confuse. The author is too prone to relate events instead of giving general descriptions which sum and correlate these events. His method is at its worst in the first and second chapters, which deal with the period extending down to the proclamation of Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century. While accepting the modern theory that the Armenians (Haik) are an Indo-European folk who came from Thrace by way of Asia Minor and absorbed the Urartians dwelling about Lake Van, he has introduced into his narrative so much semi-legendary and irrelevant material that no distinct impression of the earliest period is left in the mind of the reader. The best chapters are the fifth and sixth, which deal respectively with the Bagratid princes of Ani and the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia. While this portion of the work also bristles with names, the narrative is fairly clear, and a good picture is given of the quarrels among the great feudal lords and the resultant weakness of the nation.

In general, the book presents a convenient summary of Armenian history, and it is to be commended for its freedom from excessive partizanship, even in the narration of the events of the last few decades. While at times the author seeks to present his nation in the most favorable light, as in the omission of any mention of the outrages perpetrated by the revolutionary societies at the close of the nineteenth century, his book is free from any attempt at propaganda. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the preface written by M. Crabitès, for this abounds in the rhetoric which is only too familiar to those versed in the propaganda-literature evoked by the World War.

DAVID MAGIE.

The University of Pennsylvania, Franklin's College: being some Account of its Beginnings and Development, its Customs and Traditions, and its Gifts to the Nation. By Horace Mather Lippincott. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, pp. 249, \$2.50.) The university deserves a better history than this. Much that is included in this book can interest only a certain class of alumni; *e.g.*, fifteen pages of college songs, tales of janitors, of athletic employees, and of a saloon-keeper, who are described as "famous personages who have been a real part of the university's history since they have served her so well and left their impress upon so many of her sons". But a careful reading and rearrangement of portions of the volume will enable a student to realize why the university has had such a checkered career.

The first two chapters contain a rather mechanical account of the early history, short biographical sketches of the provosts, and a few pages on the history of the university during the last half-century. Two-thirds of these chapters are devoted to the period before 1800. Then follow four chapters, entitled respectively: the Seal, the Colours, the Cheer, and the Songs; Undergraduate Customs; University Characters; Athletics. The seventh chapter, To the Nation, is the roll of honor. It gives the names of the Pennsylvania men who signed the Declaration of Independence, who served in the Continental Congress, of those who died or achieved fame in the various wars, and of those who have been famous in civil life. It is a very noteworthy record, and will do more than any other part of this volume to make Pennsylvania men proud of the university. The last chapter, the Alumni, is misnamed; it should be, the Alumni Association.

This summary shows why the book fails to be a satisfactory history. The preface states: "The history of our venerable university has never been written", and the statement is still true. In fact, many alumni will prefer to read the older books, even if no one of them is "a complete history". The usefulness which this book might have is lessened by the lack of an index.

Our Foreigners: a Chronicle of Americans in the Making. By Samuel P. Orth. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXXV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1920, pp. xi, 255.) This book, by a professor of political science at Cornell University, is chiefly descriptive; and, owing to limitations of space, considerably condensed. It cannot, therefore, take the place of the larger works upon immigration. But the condensation has been well done, and the result is a very readable account of the successive waves of foreigners coming to our shores. Especially good are the first two chapters covering the period prior to 1820; and the unique fourth chapter upon Utopias in America, describing the various communistic experiments. The negroes, Irish, Teutons, and Orientals each have a chapter to themselves; but all the more recent types of immigrants are mentioned, and are illustrated by excellent cuts from photographs.

In general the treatment is impartial. Judging from the subtitle, the author probably considers environment more important than heredity. At any rate there is lacking a certain ethnological accent needed to bring out fundamental considerations. Thus, the diversity of nationalities at the time of the Revolution is emphasized, but not their Nordic unity; nor is the recent immigration classified according to modern ethnological methods. The old fallacy that, because restrictive legislation failed to come into existence until 1882, the deliberate attitude of the country prior to that time was one of welcome to all immigrants reappears in this book (pp. 221, 232). Practically all of the "fathers" were opposed to any but the most carefully selected immigration.

In the thirteen pages devoted to the history of immigration legislation, the only feature of the present law mentioned is the literacy test, so that readers will get very little idea of the present limitations upon immigration. A short bibliographical note is appended. This does not in some cases cite the latest editions of the books mentioned; and, under Special Groups, omits two of the most important, namely, Fairchild's *Greek Immigration* and Foerster's *Italian Emigration of Our Times*.

PRESCOTT F. HALL.

The Chief Phases of Pennsylvania Politics in the Jacksonian Period. By Marguerite G. Bartlett. (Allentown, H. Ray Haas and Company, 1919, pp. viii, 150.) The subject of this monograph presents great possibilities for historical workmanship and interpretation. The home of the Second United States Bank, an advocate of internal improvements, a believer in the protective tariff policy, and a source of strength for the Anti-Masonic party, Pennsylvania offers a fair field for the partizan politics of the Jacksonian era. Every problem, national and local, assumes a partizan aspect; and an adequate treatment of these topics could not help being instructive.

The author relates in detail the attempt of the National Republicans to throw off their hereditary name of Federalists; the long struggle over the Second United States Bank during this period and its subsequent recharter by the state of Pennsylvania; the tariff problem and the skillful manner in which Jackson's handling of the nullification episode appealed to the citizens of Pennsylvania; and the debates in the constitutional convention of 1837 over the familiar issues of the day—such as the use of "the German language in the public schools, the treatment of conscientious objectors, the observance of the Sabbath, and the extension of the franchise". The work is based upon a study of the newspapers of the period and numerous manuscript sources.

The reviewer feels, however, that the subject as discussed by the author still lacks adequate treatment. Much valuable material in connection with the recharter of the Second United States Bank by Pennsylvania could have been found by a brief perusal of the Biddle Papers in the Library of Congress. The use of internal improvement projects

to further political party policies and the relations of Governor Ritner and Thaddeus Stevens would bear further investigation. The presence of a map explaining the parties' strength would have added materially to a better understanding of many laborious paragraphs. The absence of summary and index, and a confusing use and disuse of quotation-marks detract from the otherwise interesting account set forth by the author.

R. C. McGRANE.

Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, Artiste et Savant Français en Amérique de 1816 à 1839. By Adrien Loir. (Le Havre, Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, 1920, pp. 108, 42 plates.) In the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Havre, France, is a great collection of drawings and water-color sketches made by the French artist and naturalist, Charles Alexandre Lesueur, during his residence in America from 1816 to 1839. Accompanying the sketches are descriptive notes written by Lesueur. This monograph by Madame Loir is an account of Lesueur's American journey, taken largely from his own notes, and illustrated by forty-two of his own sketches.

To appreciate the large part played by Lesueur in giving the scientific world more accurate knowledge of the fauna and geology of America, one must keep in mind a few salient facts concerning him. After receiving valuable experience in a scientific expedition sent by Napoleon to Australasia in 1800-1804, Lesueur was invited by William Maclure, eminent Scotch-American geologist, to make a scientific trip to the United States. The itinerary in America included the region about Philadelphia (where Lesueur was made a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences and also of the American Philosophical Society), New York, Buffalo, Pittsburg, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. For twelve years, from 1825 to 1837, he lived at New Harmony, Indiana, from which place as headquarters he made trips throughout Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. He was an indefatigable collector of natural history specimens, and delineator of picturesque scenes on his travels. He made frequent contributions to the learned journals of his day, several appearing in the first four volumes of the *Journal* of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

Very little about Lesueur has been published, either abroad or in America. It should be mentioned however that in 1904 the Société des Américanistes de Paris published as its fifth volume, *Les Voyages du Naturaliste Ch. Alex. Lesueur dans l'Amérique du Nord*. In that publication were included about twenty-five reproductions from Lesueur's sketches. There is little duplication, however, as to the sketches published, between that work and this one by Madame Loir.

The monograph by Madame Loir, fortified as it is by the *pièces justificatives*, and by a bibliography of the writings of Lesueur, as well as by the forty-two sketches previously mentioned, will appeal particularly

to all interested in early Western life. It is to be hoped a way may be found for publishing the hundreds of other sketches by Lesueur in the collection at Havre.

F. F. STEPHENS.

Derelicts: an Account of Ships lost at Sea in General Commercial Traffic and a Brief History of Blockade Runners stranded along the North Carolina Coast, 1861-1865. By James Sprunt. (Wilmington, the Author, 1920, pp. xv, 304.) Captain Sprunt's book is not well named. The first fifty pages relate to the general subject of derelicts, but are almost all quotations. Then follow one hundred pages on blockade-runners of the Civil War period, lost in the effort to come into Wilmington or go out thence, but in almost all cases burned, captured, or stranded, and not left derelict; but there are some thirty of these vessels, and their stories, recorded by one who knew all about them, and in some cases participated in their adventures, make very interesting reading, and something more than that, a really useful contribution to the knowledge of one important aspect of Civil War history. Then follow, filling the second half of the book, a series of "tales of the sea", of the same period and of the same general nature, which it was well to collect or record while so important and intelligent a participant in the doings of those days was still living.

Cours d'Histoire du Canada. Par Thomas Chapais, Professeur d'Histoire à l'Université Laval. Tome I., 1760-1791. (Quebec, J. P. Garneau, 1919, pp. ix, 350.) Those who have read the author's notable biographies of Talon and Montcalm will require no assurance that he is amply qualified, both by erudition and by temperament, to write a survey of early Canadian history. During recent years M. Chapais has been delivering at Laval University a course of lectures on the period intervening between the fall of Canada in 1760 and the enactment of the Constitutional Act in 1791. The present volume includes these lectures, "printed just as they were delivered, without modification in plan, or in substance, or in style".

The thirty-one years in question were replete with events of great interest. First came the era of military government and the departure of the *émigrés* for France. The extent and the nature of this exodus have long been matters of controversy. M. Chapais throws no new light upon it. Then followed the series of twists and turns which led to the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774. To these events the author gives particularly close attention. The invasion of Canada during the American Revolution receives a lengthy chapter, and the book closes with a study of Canadian affairs during the administrations of Haldimand and Dorchester.

The book is exactly what one would expect from its author. It is, on the whole, well-proportioned, accurate, and reasonably dispassionate.

More attention is devoted to matters directly affecting the Catholic Church than one would expect from a secular historian, but these lectures were delivered at Laval, where ultramontane sentiment still holds sway.

M. Chapais is so good an English scholar that he should have dipped further into the standard works on the American Revolution, particularly with reference to the events which led up to the invasion of his country in 1775-1776. His dependence upon Lecky for information in connection with this aspect of his discussion is too nearly complete, and there is an undue fondness for Bancroft, from whom he seems to have obtained in this, as in all his earlier writings, his clue to the main currents of American history during the Revolution and after.

All this, however, is incidental, and does not alter the fact that M. Chapais has managed to give us a clear and accurate survey of a difficult period. His industry in research discloses itself on page after page; his reflections are mature; he harbors no unreasoning animus against anything or anybody; and he writes with a firm and practised hand. The result is a well-seasoned book. Some readers will doubtless wish for a more unequivocal pronouncement on controverted matters than they can find in this volume; but M. Chapais is more of a historian and less of a propagandist than most writers of his race have been. It is to be hoped that he will carry out the plan of also publishing, in due course, his lectures on the later periods of Canadian history.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

Historia de la Independencia Americana. Por Daniel Florencio O'Leary. *La Emancipación del Perú según la Correspondencia del General Héres con el Libertador, 1821-1830.* [Biblioteca Ayacucho bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid, Editorial-América, 1919, pp. 495, 8.50 pesetas.) Except for certain changes in the table of contents, this is a reprint of a portion of the fifth volume of the "Correspondencia de Hombres Notables con el Libertador" in the *Memorias del General O'Leary*, published by the government of Venezuela in 1880. More than half of the material is composed of letters of Héres to Bolívar, and the remainder, chiefly of communications with O'Leary, San Martín, Sucre, Santander, and other individuals prominent in the military or political life of the time. A few plans of campaign, proclamations, and other documents not of an epistolary nature are scattered through the text. Most of the letters are dated from Lima, and elsewhere in Peru. The period covered in the correspondence with the Liberator ranges from 1821 to 1828, and in that with other personages, to 1829.

Tomás de Héres was a Venezuelan of good family whose affiliations at the outset of the struggle for emancipation from Spain lay with the cause of the mother-country. He enlisted accordingly in the royal forces, although his own personal sympathies inclined him in favor of

the patriots. Not until April, 1820, however, when he was lieutenant-colonel of the "Battalion of Numancia", one of the most trusted of the corps of loyalists, did the moment arrive for him openly to shift his allegiance. He and his entire command, which formed part of the garrison of Lima, then deserted to San Martín's army.

Held in high esteem by Bolívar and Sucre, Héres rose to the rank of brigadier-general and occupied in addition a variety of positions of importance, both military and civil, during the years that Peru was subject to the control of the Liberator. Later he served in the campaign that ultimately failed to keep that republic within the grandiose political structure made up of the Great Colombia and its two satellites to the southward. From the correspondence it would appear that during much of the time Héres suffered from poor health. More perhaps than many of his fellow-officers, also, he cherished the ambition of Cincinnatus. Even if he may hardly be regarded as one of the most eminent of the patriot leaders, the fact that he had been active so long in the ranks of the loyalists gives peculiar value to his statements and opinions about the events of the period between 1821 and 1829.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

COMMUNICATIONS

To the Editor:

Dr. Barker has very courteously sent me a copy of his somewhat impressionistic review of *The War with Mexico*,¹ presumably to enable me to answer it promptly. Most of his criticisms are of such a nature that your necessary rules do not permit a reply, but I should like to cite vol. I., pp. xi and 406, and to mention three simple questions of fact. 1. He generously credits me with having visited "every" battlefield of the war; but the preface (p. viii) only says "chief" battlefields. 2. He calls "imaginative" a passage relating to the battle of Contreras (actually based on twelve first-hand sources); but, as he cannot have read all (if any) of these sources, how can he do so? 3. He protests against "the eternal rightness of Scott" in my narrative, and says, "Not once through the book is Scott at fault". But Scott is unfavorably criticized on the following pages at least: I. 197, 198, 477, 544; II. 59, 129, 147, 188, 284, 318, 390, 391, 401, 402, 436. Perhaps these three illustrations are enough. But Dr. Barker did not intend to misrepresent the book.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

To the Editor:

I hope that readers who may be interested will examine the references cited by Dr. Smith and determine for themselves the correctness of my impression of his attitude toward Scott.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

¹ [Pp. 729-732, above. Ed.]

HISTORICAL NEWS

From June 25 to September 5 the managing editor of this journal is to be addressed at North Edgecomb, Maine (telegrams to Wiscasset, Maine); after the latter date, at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., as usual.

Copies of no. 2 of vol. I. of this journal and of no. 2 of vol. VI. are urgently desired by the managing editor.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Under the will of the late George L. Beer, the American Historical Association receives the sum of \$5000, to be kept as a separate fund, the income from which is to be devoted to an annual prize for the best work by an American author on European international relations since 1895.

At the annual meeting of the Agricultural History Society, in April, Dr. Rodney H. True of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C., was elected president, Professor William J. Trimble of the University of Idaho, vice-president, Mr. Lyman Carrier of the Bureau of Plant Industry, secretary-treasurer, with Professor Percy W. Bidwell of Yale University and Dr. O. C. Stine of the Office of Farm Management, Washington, as additional members of the executive committee. The memorandum of affiliation between the American Historical Association and the Agricultural History Society (pp. 386-387, above) was ratified.

PERSONAL

Dr. James Schouler, author of a notable *History of the United States under the Constitution, 1789-1877* (1880-1891, 1899, 1913) and president of the American Historical Association in 1897, died on April 16, at the age of eighty-one. He has given an interesting account of his life, as well as of his methods, in his *Historical Briefs* (1896). Another work of some note was his *Americans of 1776* (1905). A lawyer and legal writer by profession, and for twenty years a professor in a law school, he wrote his American political history largely from a legal point of view, with less attention to economic movements than would now be customary, and he wrote it with some preconceptions natural to the son of a Whig editor and Civil War adjutant-general of Massachusetts. But it rested on careful study, extensive information, and independent thinking, it was fair in all intention, it was marked by much political acumen, it presented the general reader within a dozen years with the whole story from 1789 to 1861, for which that reader had long been waiting, and the style, though it was too picturesque and lacked sim-

plicity and at times dignity, was piquant and readable. Therefore the book deserved and obtained high success. Personally Dr. Schouler was a genial and even lovable man, simple, cordial, and friendly.

Paul Fredericq, one of the most distinguished of Belgian historians, and for many years professor in the University of Ghent, died there on March 31 at the age of sixty-nine. Writing in both French and Flemish, for he was an ardent though liberal "Flamingant" (a fact which lent additional poignancy to the indignation caused by the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment by the German government in Belgium), he had made his early reputation by an *Essai sur le Rôle Politique et Social des Ducs de Bourgogne dans les Pays-Bas* (1875), and by the first volume of a history of *De Nederlanden onder Keizer Karel* (1885). His later studies were concentrated on the history of the Inquisition in the Netherlands; fruits of them were two excellent volumes on the *Geschiedenis der Inquisitie in de Nederlanden* (1892, 1897), and a remarkable series, of which five volumes have hitherto been published, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Haereticæ Pravitatis Neerlandicæ* (1889-1906). Professor Fredericq was a high-minded gentleman of the utmost dignity and social charm. His imprisonment and harsh detention in Germany from March, 1916, to November, 1918, undermined his constitution. If efforts made to secure his release on condition of his coming to America, where a temporary professorship was promised him either at Cornell University or at Princeton, had been successful, he would certainly, we are assured by Professor Pirenne, have recovered.

Jacques Flach, the author of numerous historical works on a wide range of subjects, died on December 4, 1919, at the age of seventy-four years. His masterpiece was *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, of which four volumes have appeared (1886-1917) and a fifth volume is in press.

Henri Welschinger died in November, 1919, in his seventy-fourth year. Most of his numerous historical works related to the history of France during and since the Revolution.

Professor W. C. Abbott of Yale University has accepted a professorship of history in Harvard University.

Professor Ralph V. Harlow of Simmons College has been elected professor of history in Boston University.

Professor Arthur I. Andrews of Tufts College will be absent in Europe during the coming academic year, part of the time as lecturer in the University of Prag.

Dr. Verner W. Crane, of the University of Michigan, has been elected assistant professor of history in Brown University, with American history as his field.

Henry M. Wriston has been promoted to the rank of professor of

history in Wesleyan University, but will continue on leave during the ensuing year. His courses will remain in charge of Dr. William J. Wilkinson, formerly dean of Washington University (Tennessee) for another year. Paul Burt has been advanced to an associate professorship in the same department.

Professor Max Farrand of Yale University has been granted a second year's leave of absence. His courses will be given by Professor N. W. Stephenson of Charleston College. Professor Kent R. Greenfield of Delaware College has been appointed professor of history in Yale, and there have been the following promotions: Sydney K. Mitchell to the rank of professor; Clarence H. Haring to that of associate professor; John M. S. Allison, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Richard A. Newhall to that of assistant professor.

Professor Charles D. Hazen of Columbia University will be on leave of absence during the coming academic year, serving as professor of American institutions in the University of Strasbourg. Dr. David S. Muzzey of the same institution has been promoted to the rank of professor, and Dr. Austin P. Evans to that of assistant professor.

Professor John B. McMaster, after thirty-eight years of continuous service as professor of American history in the University of Pennsylvania, has, in accordance with the rules for retirement of that institution, withdrawn from active service and become professor emeritus. Professor St. George L. Sioussat has resigned from Brown University to become professor of American history in the University of Pennsylvania, where also Dr. Witt Bowden of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh has been elected assistant professor of European history.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt of Western Reserve University, after teaching in the summer session of Columbia University, will go to Europe to spend a year in study, mostly in London.

Dr. Reginald C. McGrane has been advanced to the rank of professor of history in the University of Cincinnati; Dr. Beverley W. Bond, jr., of Purdue University, has been elected associate professor in the university first named.

Dr. Paul Van Brunt Jones has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois.

Dr. A. E. R. Boak of the University of Michigan has been promoted from an associate professorship of history to a professorship. Professor William L. Schurz, who has been in South America for a year and a half on a mission for the government, will return to his academic work in September.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois has accepted an election as professor of American history in the University of Minnesota.

Dr. James Howard Robinson, professor of history in Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., has been granted leave of absence for the year 1920-1921. He will spend the furlough in England, principally at the universities of Manchester and Oxford.

Professors James F. Willard of the University of Colorado and William A. Morris of the University of California will be absent during the coming year, engaged in research in London. Dr. C. C. Eckhardt will take Dr. Willard's place, as acting professor.

Professor Samuel F. Bemis of Colorado College has been elected professor of history in Whitman College.

Dr. Ralph H. Lutz, now assistant professor in the University of Washington, becomes associate professor of European history in Stanford University at the beginning of the next academic year.

In the summer schools of the various universities the following professors external to the regular staff will be giving instruction in history: in the University of California, W. E. Lingelbach and Morris Jastrow, jr., of Pennsylvania; in that of Chicago, H. E. Bourne of Western Reserve University; in that of Colorado, Clarence W. Perkins of Ohio State University; in Columbia, R. J. Kerner of Missouri, R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins, R. W. Rogers of Drew Seminary, and B. E. Schmitt of Western Reserve; in Harvard, R. H. George of Yale; in the Johns Hopkins University, B. W. Bond of Cincinnati; in Leland Stanford, F. A. Golder of Washington State College; in the University of Minnesota, F. M. Anderson of Dartmouth; in that of Pennsylvania, E. C. Barker of Texas; in that of Texas, C. H. Ambler of West Virginia and A. C. Cole of Illinois; in that of Wisconsin, E. H. McNeal of Ohio State University.

GENERAL

The *Historical Outlook* continues its exceedingly interesting and informing series of articles on war activities by participants eminently capable of describing what they saw. The April number presents an account of the Procurement of Quartermaster's Supplies during the World War, by Mr. Albert L. Scott, a principal assistant to Mr. Stettinius; the May number, Experiences of a Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Russia, by Thomas P. Martin; the June number, Intelligence Work at First Army Headquarters, by Capt. John C. Parish, of the State Historical Society of Iowa. The April number has also an article on the Bias of History, by B. C. B. Tighe; the May number, a very interesting "source-study" on the Personality of Robespierre, by Professor H. E. Bourne; the June number, an article by Professor R. L. Finney on the Course in General History from the Sociologist's Standpoint; and all three have other valuable material on teaching.

The April number of *History* continues its article on the History of the Scheldt, by Professor Charles Terlinden of Louvain. The "historical revision" in this number is a paper on the battle of Bannockburn, by Professor T. F. Tout.

Articles in the April number of the *Journal of Negro History* are: the Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri, by Henry S. Williams; the Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection, by John W. Cromwell; and Religious Education in Negro Colleges and Universities, by David H. Sims.

A new edition of Putnam's *Tabular Views of Universal History*, revised to January, 1919, has appeared. The contents are, as heretofore, a useful series of chronological tables and an alphabetical index of subjects, but the material respecting the period of the war gives added value.

Professor M. Delacre of the University of Ghent has issued an *Histoire de la Chimie* (Paris, Gauthier-Villars, 1920, pp. xvi, 632); and A. Bordeaux, an *Histoire des Sciences Physiques, Chimiques, et Géologiques au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Béranger, 1920, pp. 660). *La Part des Croyants dans les Progrès de la Science au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Perrin, 1920) appears in two volumes, the first dealing with the exact sciences, and the second with the natural sciences.

Dr. Cabanès deals with such scourges of humanity as the plague, leprosy, cholera, smallpox, and grippe in the fifth volume of his *Mœurs Intimes du Passé* (Paris, Michel, 1920). Entertaining essays on the quarrel of the physicians and pharmacists, legends of Virgil, horse-racing in medieval Italy, papal finance in the fifteenth century, and other topics compose the second volume of *Études et Fantaisies Historiques* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, pp. 260) by E. Rodocanachi.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. R. Thayer, *Biography in the Nineteenth Century* (North American Review, May).

ANCIENT HISTORY

A. Ungnad has edited the *Briefe König Hammurapis, 2123-2081 v. Chr., nebst einem Einleitenden Überblick über die Geschichte und Kultur seiner Zeit und einem Anhang Briefe anderer Altbabylonischer Herrscher enthaltend* (Berlin, Curtius, 1919, pp. viii, 138).

In *Caractère Indo-Européen de la Langue Hittite* (Christiania, 1919), C. J. S. Marstrand has presented evidence that the Hittite language was Indo-European and most nearly related to the Italic, Celtic, and Tokharic. The author has carried forward the researches begun by E. Weidner in his *Studien zur Hethitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (1917) and by Hrozný in his *Sprache der Hethiter* and in his *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*.

G. Glotz, professor of Greek history at the Sorbonne, has published *Le Travail dans la Grèce Ancienne: Histoire Économique de la Grèce depuis la Période Homérique jusqu'à la Conquête Romaine* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 468).

The third volume of the *Storia Critica di Roma durante i Primi Cinque Secoli* (Rome, Loescher, 1918, pp. xi, 423) by Professor E. Pais has appeared.

The first volume of a *Topografia Storica dell' Etruria* (Pisa, Spoerri, 1918) by A. Solari has appeared.

H. Brinkmann has supplemented the work of Peters, who has utilized only the fragments by known authors, by publishing *Anonyme Fragmente Römischer Historiker bei Livius: eine Ergänzung zu H. Peters Historiecorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. 119).

Στρατηγὸς Ὑπατος, *Étude sur la Traduction en Grec du Titre Consulaire* (Paris, Boccard, 1918, pp. x, 168), presents careful researches by Maurice Holleaux.

Das Wesen des Römischen Kaisertums der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte (Paderborn, Schöningh, pp. viii, 94) of Otto Schulz has been followed by his later and more important *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat, das Wesen des Römischen Kaisertums des 3. Jahrhunderts* (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. viii, 304).

A group of important studies by E. Ciaceri is collected in the volume *Processi Politici e Relazioni Internazionali: Studi sulla Storia Politica e sulla Tradizione Letteraria della Repubblica e dell' Impero Romano* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1918, reviewed by E. Bottini-Massa, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, January). The subjects of study include the relations with Egypt, the relations with Judaea in the time of Agrippa I., the conspiracy of Catiline, the servile war in Sicily, the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero, and the career of Pliny the Elder under Claudius and Nero.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. T. Olmstead, *Kashshites, Assyrians, and the Balance of Power* (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, January); T. J. Meek, *A Proposed Reconstruction of Early Hebrew History* (*American Journal of Theology*, April); M. H. Segal, *Studies in the Books of Samuel, V., The Chronology of David's Reign* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April); D. Sidersky, *La Stèle de Méša, avec Index Bibliographique* (*Revue Archéologique*, July, 1919); Lieut.-Col. Dieulafoy, *Balthasar et Darius le Mède* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, March, May); W. S. Messer, *Mutiny in the Roman Army: the Republic* (*Classical Philology*, April); M. Besnier, *L'Interdiction du Travail des Mines en Italie sous la République* (*Revue Archéologique*, July, 1919); E. J. Hardy, *The Catilinarian Conspiracy* (*Journal of Roman Studies*, VII. 2); E. Pais, *Il Trionfo e lo Svolgimento della Civiltà e dell' Imperialismo Romano* (*Nuova Antologia*, March 1); W. L. Westermann, *The "Un-*

inundated Lands" in *Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Classical Philology, April); R. Cagnat, *L'Armée d'Occupation de l'Égypte sous la Domination Romaine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The leading matter in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXXVIII. 1 and 2, is a treatise of 136 pages by Father Hippolyte Delehaye on St. Martin of Tours and his biographer Sulpicius Severus, a treatise of much importance to fourth-century history. The reviews of books lying within the field of hagiography have their usual high character.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

B. Krusch and W. Levison have edited vol. I. of *Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum Aevi Merovingici* (Hanover, Hahn, 1919, pp. 440) for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

H. Hoffmann has presented some of the bases for a critical study of the historical sources relating to Charles the Great in his thesis on *Karl der Grosse im Bilde der Geschichtschreibung des Frühen Mittelalters* (Berlin, Ebering, 1919, pp. xvi, 166).

The second volume of B. Mandrot's edition of the *Dépêches des Ambassadeurs Milanais en France sous Louis XI. et François Sforza* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire de France, 1919) contains despatches for the year 1464.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne* (Revue Historique, November); L. Bréhier, *La Situation des Chrétiens de Palestine à la Fin du VIII^e Siècle et l'Établissement du Protectorat de Charlemagne* (Le Moyen Age, January, 1919); A. Fliche, Hildebrand, I., (*ibid.*); A. Pelzer, *Une Source Inconnue de Roger Bacon: Alfred de Sareshel Commentateur des Météorologiques d'Aristote* (Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, January); T. Plassmann, *Bartholomaeus Anglicus* (*ibid.*).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The first issue of the *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* contains *L'Expansion Belge à Rome et en Italie depuis le Quinzième Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. xii, 379).

A comprehensive account of the Society of Jesus by one of its members is *La Compagnie de Jésus: Esquisse de son Institut et de son Histoire, 1521-1773* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1920, pp. ix, 844) by Joseph Brucker.

G. Drei has edited *La Corrispondenza del Card. Ercole Gonzaga, Presidente del Concilio di Trento* (Parma, la Bodoniana, 1918, pp. 173); and written *Intorno al Pontificato di Pio IV. e al Concilio di Trento* (Perugia, Unione Tip. Cooperativa, 1918, pp. 150).

Herman de Vries gives an account of students from the Low Countries at Geneva in the days of Beza in the first volume of *Genève, Pépinière du Calvinisme Hollandais* (Fribourg, Fragnière, 1919, pp. xvi, 331).

Annales Prince de Ligne (Paris, Champion) is a new magazine of history and society issued for the purpose of exploiting a considerable mass of family papers relating to Charles-Joseph, Prince de Ligne, 1735-1814, who was a general in the Austrian army and conspicuous at the Austrian court especially as the friend of Joseph II. The journal bids fair to contribute much to the history of the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the Napoleonic era.

The *Memoirs of the Count de Rochechouart, 1788-1816*, now published in English translation (London, Murray; New York, Dutton), is the autobiography of one who was an adopted son and aide-de-camp of that Duc de Richelieu who served in high position under the tsar during the Napoleonic period; he was also an aide to Alexander I. in 1812-1814.

The interval from 1828 to 1878 is considered by F. Mourret in the first part (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1919, pp. 714) of the eighth volume of his *Histoire Générale de l'Église*.

Les Résistances à la Politique Religieuse de Pie X. (Paris, Victorien, 1920) are discussed by J. Rocafort.

Duke Johann Georg of Saxony and Professor Ernst Daenell have edited *Briefwechsel Königs Johann von Sachsen mit George Ticknor* (Leipzig, Teubner, pp. 180), containing 72 letters, 1837-1871, both correspondents writing in English. The book is one of great interest and considerable importance.

Among recent volumes on European international relations of the last half-century are *L'Intervention de la France dans la Question du Slesvig du Nord* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. vii, 152) by F. de Jessen; the volume of *Briefe Wilhelms II. an den Zaren, 1894-1914* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. xxvii, 439) edited by W. Goetz; and the seventh volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 490) dealing with the outbreak of the Great War and its opening months from June, 1914, to February, 1915.

Professor H. Delbrück treats of modern times in the fourth volume of his *Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der Politischen Geschichte* (Berlin, Stilke, 1920, pp. x, 552).

G. de Lamarzelle has presented the subject of *L'Anarchie dans le Monde Moderne* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1919, pp. xxi, 472).

Professor Fernand Baldensperger, who has been exchange professor at Columbia University, has published *L'Avant-Guerre dans la Littérature Française, 1900-1914* (Paris, Payot, 1919).

Professors Charles H. Haskins and Robert H. Lord of Harvard, two of the expert advisers to the American commissioners at Paris, are about to publish a book entitled *Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (Harvard University Press).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. F. Wright, *The Divorce of Henry VIII.: a Contemporaneous Discussion at one of the Continental Universities* (American Catholic Quarterly, October); C. Espejo, *La Carestia de la Vida en el Siglo XVI. y Medios de Abaratarla*, I. (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January); Lieut.-Col. de Thomasson, *Un Précédent: la Résistance Prussienne après Tilsit* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 28); J. E. S. Green, *Wellington and the Congress of Verona* (English Historical Review, April); Commandant Weil, *Metternich and the Entente Cordiale* (Quarterly Review, April); E. Despréaux, *Les Réfugiés Russes à Paris et la Révolution de 48: Hertzén* (Révolution de 1848, September); F. J. Goodnow, *Former Plans for a League of Nations* (Columbia Law Review, January).

THE GREAT WAR

A Brief History of the Great War, by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, treats the political, military, diplomatic, and social aspects of the war to the close of the Peace Conference (Macmillan).

Professor T. Niemeyer has edited a volume of *Politische Urkunden zur Entwicklung des Weltkrieges* (pp. viii, 755) which has been published as a supplement to the sixth volume of the *Jahrbuch des Völkerrechts*. *Die Brandstifter der Entente* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1918, pp. xv, 371) is by P. Rohrbach and J. Kühn and is published as the first volume of *Chauvinismus und Weltkrieg*. W. Schücking has made a study of *Die Völkerrechtliche Lehre des Weltkrieges* (Leipzig, Veit, 1918, pp. vii, 239).

Among the recent German contributions to the history of the war are the following volumes by generals: *Mein Bericht zur Marneschlacht* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 85) by Field-Marshal von Bülow; *Erinnerungen an den Marnefeldzug, 1914* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1920, pp. 246) of General Freiherr von Hausen, edited with a critical study by M. Kirch-eisen; *Feldzugsaufzeichnungen, 1914-1918* (Stuttgart, Belser, 1920, pp. 336) by General von Moser; and *Meiner Truppen Heldenkämpfe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1920, pp. 182), by Curt von Morgen.

A. Mousset has prepared *Éléments d'une Bibliographie des Livres, Brochures, et Tracts imprimés ou publiés en Espagne de 1914 à 1918 et relatifs à la Guerre Mondiale* (Madrid, Tello, 1919, pp. 108).

Volume VI. of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *History of the Great War* has come from the press (Doran). The volume deals with the British campaign in France and Flanders, July to November, 1918.

A volume entitled *Au Bord du Gouffre* (Paris, Flammarion), by Victor Margueritte, is devoted to adverse criticism of the French General Staff and its plans and preparations before and at the beginning of the war.

General Lanrézac has dealt with the strategic rôle of the fifth army under his command in *Le Plan de Campagne Français et le Premier Mois de la Guerre, 2 Août-3 Septembre 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 288). F. Engerand, in continuation of his *Charleroi*, has published *La Bataille de la Frontière, Août 1914, Briey* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 244) in which he utilizes official documents. Commandant de Civrieux has joined the controversy on *L'Offensive de 1917 et le Commandement du Général Nivelle* (Paris, Van Oest, 1919); and H. Galli has contributed to the same subject *L'Offensive Français de 1917, Avril-Mai, de Soissons à Reims* (Paris, Garnier, 1920, pp. vii, 262). From the pen of Jean de Pierrefeu we have *G. Q. G., Section 1, Trois Ans au Grand Quartier Général par le Rédacteur du Communiqué* (vols. I.-II., Paris, Éditions Françaises Illustrées, 1920).

Joffre, la Première Crise du Commandement (Paris, Ollendorff, 1919, pp. 380) by "Mermeix" contributes much information relating to the problems of the French high command. Capt. Raymond Recouly ("Capitaine X.") is the author of *Foch, le Vainqueur de la Guerre* (Paris, Lahure, 1919, pp. 246), which has been issued in English by Scribner. M. Dutrèb and P. A. de Granier de Cassagnac in their life of *Mangin* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 256) have used documentary materials relating to the general's career throughout the war. Vice-Admiral Dartige du Fournet, who commanded the Allied fleets in the eastern Mediterranean, has published his *Souvenirs de Guerre d'un Amiral, 1914-1916* (Paris, Plon, 1920, pp. 320).

Lieutenant-general von Cramon, who from the beginning of 1915 until some months after the armistice was German military plenipotentiary at Austro-Hungarian headquarters, has published a book of much importance, temperately written and interesting, on the relations between the German and Austrian supreme commands during the war, *Unser Oesterreich-Ungarischer Bundesgenosse im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Mittler).

A German attack on the terms of the armistice by B. Schwertfeger bears the title *Der Irrtum des Marschalls Foch, Gründe der Deutschen Kapitulation vom 11. November 1918, nach Amtlichen Urkunden des Französischen Grossen Generalstabes* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1919, pp. 96). The same author has published *Der Geistige Kampf um die Verletzung der Belgischen Neutralität* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1919, pp. xvi, 191).

A. Albert-Petit is continuing the reprinting of his articles from the *Journal des Débats* in *La France de la Guerre*, vol. III., *Septembre 1917-Juin 1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 603). Joseph Reinach has

published the nineteenth and final volume of *La Guerre de 1914-1918: les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1920), and has supplemented it with *L'Année de la Paix* (Paris, Van Oest, 1920, pp. 258). *La Politique du Pain pendant la Guerre, 1914-1919* (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 365) is by Dr. A. Beaucourt.

L'Expédition des Dardanelles au Jour le Jour (Paris, Colin, 1920, pp. 352) is a careful compilation by F. Charles-Roux.

The German advance into Italy is described by W. Oertel in *Der Vormarsch in Oberitalien vom Isonzo zur Piave* (Stuttgart, Franck, 1918, pp. 77, 10 maps), and the repulse by A. Fraccaroli in *La Vittoria del Piave, Giugno-Luglio 1918* (Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix, 1918, pp. 153).

Capt. R. Bernotti of the Italian navy has written *Il Potere Marittimo nella Grande Guerra* (Leghorn, Giusti, 1920, pp. 553), and A. Hurd, *Italian Sea-Power and the Great War* (London, Constable, 1919).

Two extremely interesting articles contributed by Professor Henri Pirenne to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of February 1 and 15 have been brought together in a small volume, *Souvenirs de Captivité en Allemagne, Mars 1916-Novembre 1918* (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, pp. 93). Aside from personal details which will be of interest to M. Pirenne's friends in this country, the main interest of the book lies in its acute observations of German character and conduct during the war, taken during his enforced residence in Jena and Creuzburg, after his release from technical imprisonment. It will be a pleasure to many American scholars to learn that, "À Bruxelles, au mois de juin 1919, le président Wilson me fit l'honneur de me raconter qu'il avait lui-même écrit deux fois en notre faveur à l'empereur d'Allemagne, sans en obtenir d'autre réponse qu'un refus laconique".

The aftermath of the peace conference furnishes the subject for *Der Weltprotest gegen den Versailler Frieden* (Leipzig, Der Neue Geist-Verlag, 1920, pp. 78) by A. Fried the well-known pacifist; for *L'Allemagne et la Paix; la Lutte contre les Conséquences de sa Défaite* (Paris, Perrin, 1919) by J. Mont; and for *Le Pacte des Nations et sa Liaison avec le Traité de Paix* (Paris, Sirey, 1919, pp. x, 462) by G. Scelle.

Messrs. Constable will publish a volume of documents, edited by C. E. Manteyer, dealing with *The Austrian Peace Offer*.

Ludwig Deppe's *Mit Lettow-Vorbeck durch Afrika* (Berlin, Scherl, 1920, pp. 508) is an interesting contribution to the history of the East African phase of the Great War.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. E. M. Stutfield, *A Pre-War Mystery* [the concordat between the Vatican and Serbia, signed June 24, 1914] (*National Review*, April); Lieut.-Col. R. H. Beadon, *The Supreme War Council of the Allied and Associated Nations: its Origin,*

Organization, and Work (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); XXX, *La Coopération Franco-Italienne pendant la Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1, 15); Maj. T. E. Compton, *The Campaign of 1918 in France* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); L. Madelin, *Le Chemin de la Victoire* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 7–April 10); General Mangin, *Comment finit la Guerre* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1, 15); Lieut.-Col. C. C. R. Murphy, *The Turkish Army in the Great War* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); Col. G. E. Mitchell, *The Rout of the Turks by Allenby's Cavalry*, I., (Cavalry Journal, April); Y. Guyot, *L'Année de l'Armistice* (Journal des Économistes, January); Raymond Recouly ("Capt. X."), *What Foch really said: the Historic Scene when the Armistice was Signed in a Railway Car* (Scribner's Magazine, May); *La France et le Traité de Paix avec l'Allemagne*: I., H. Truchy, *Les Clauses Financières*; II., F. Sauvaire-Jourdan, *Les Clauses Économiques*; III., O. Festy, *Les Clauses Ouvrières*; IV., A. Girault, *Les Clauses Coloniales*; V., C. Gide, *Le Partage de l'Afrique*; VI., E. Villey, *Notre Situation Financière* (Revue d'Économie Politique, November).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A. Crespi has given an estimate of the significance of the development of the British Empire and of the character of British imperialism in *La Funzione Storica de l'Impero Britannico* (Milan, Treves, 1918).

The corporation of Warwick proposes to issue a translation with introduction and notes of the *Household Accounts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*, Rouen, 1431. The manuscript covers a year when Henry VI. and his court were resident at Rouen, and contains valuable information relating to articles of food, prices, weights and measures, manners and customs, especially modes of travel.

Volume I. (*Die Anfänge des Hauses Hannover*) of Professor Wolfgang Michael's *Englische Geschichte im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* appears in a second edition (Berlin, Rothschild), accompanied by a second volume, *Das Zeitalter Walpoles*. The new volume not only deals with internal affairs but also furnishes a remarkably thorough treatment of the international relations in the troubled years 1718–1720.

J. Pons has studied the influence of the ideas of Rousseau on education in England in *L'Éducation en Angleterre entre 1750–1800* (Paris, Leroux, 1919, pp. 273).

With a view to casting light on the present situation with respect to issues of British paper money, Professor Edwin Cannan, in a small book called *The Paper Pound of 1797–1821*, prints the Bullion Report of 1810, with an able introduction and comments.

The second and concluding volume of Herr M. Beer's English ver-

sion of his *History of British Socialism*, which was almost completed at the outbreak of the war, will appear before long; also, a reprint, edited by Mr. R. H. Tawney, of the more noteworthy writings of the early English socialists, whose works are now almost impossible to obtain.

In *A Social and Industrial History of England, 1815-1918* (Methuen), J. F. Rees seeks to show the historical background of modern social and industrial problems.

The Private Letters of Sir Robert Peel, edited by his grandson, Hon. Robert Peel, are announced for publication by Mr. John Murray.

The April number of the *Scottish Historical Review* has articles on the Spanish Story of the Armada, by Dr. W. P. Ker, on Clerical Life in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century, by Sir James Balfour Paul, and on the Constitutional Growth of Carlisle Cathedral, by Canon Wilson.

Fresh ground is broken by Dr. John R. Elder in *Spanish Influences in Scottish History, 1458-1603* (Glasgow, MacLehose).

Of Lord Ernest Hamilton's *Ulster under the First Two Stuarts* (London, Murray), quite one-half is occupied with a detailed account of the native rising of 1641 and 1642.

A history of the first successful plantation in Ireland and of life in County Down from 1600 to 1800 is told by John Stevenson in *Two Centuries of Life in Down* (Belfast, McCaw, Stevenson, and Orr).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. R. Reid, *Barony and Thanage* (English Historical Review, April); G. F. Abbott, *The Levant Company and its Rivals* (Quarterly Review, April); E. N. S. Thompson, *War Journalism Three Hundred Years Ago* (Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, March); Vice-Adm. C. B. Ballard, *The Development of Malta as a First-Class Naval Base since its Inclusion in the British Empire* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); H. A. Gibbons, *Great Britain in Egypt* (Century Magazine, May).

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France: le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, January); R. Guyot, *Histoire de France de 1800 à nos Jours et Questions Générales Contemporaines* (*ibid.*).

R. Doré has prepared a small but useful *État des Inventaires et Répertoires des Archives Nationales, Départementales, Communales, et Hospitalières de la France à la Date du 1^{er} Décembre 1919* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. xiii, 30).

Gabriel Hanotaux has undertaken the editorship of an *Histoire de la Nation Française des Origines Préhistoriques jusqu'à nos Jours, 1920*,

in fifteen quarto volumes to be published by Messrs. Plon. The first volume contains the editor's general introduction and a portion of the geographical section by J. Brunhes. Successive volumes or groups of volumes will be assigned to the political, military, diplomatic, religious, economic, and social history, and to the history of arts, letters, and sciences.

Two volumes of *Études Franques* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 356, 347) by the Belgian scholar, the late Professor Godefroid Kurth, contain thoroughly revised reprints of various articles which he had contributed in later years to several historical reviews and a half-dozen unpublished studies. These articles relate chiefly to the history of the sixth century, and several of them are critical studies of the history by Gregory of Tours.

The *Cartulaire de Sainte-Foy de Peyrolières* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 376) has been edited by J. Contrasty. Victor Carrière has published the *Histoire et Cartulaire des Templiers de Provins avec une Introduction sur les Débuts du Temple en France* (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. lxxxviii, 231). Dr. V. Le Blond has edited the *Cartulaire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beauvais* (*ibid.*, 1919, pp. xv, 853).

Father Mortier, a Dominican, has written an *Histoire Abrégée de l'Ordre de Saint-Dominique en France* (Paris, Mame, 1920, pp. x, 390).

For the series *Figures du Passé*, Professor J. H. Mariéjol of the University of Lyons has prepared a biography of *Catherine de Médicis, 1519-1589* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

Dr. Victor Martin has edited *Les Négociations du Nonce Silingardi, Evêque de Modène, relatives à la Publication du Concile de Trente en France, 1599-1601* (Paris, Picard, pp. 118).

The third volume of G. Schelle's edition of the *Oeuvres de Turgot* (Paris, Alcan, 1920) includes Turgot's administration as intendant at Limoges from 1768 to 1774 and throws important light on the development of his economic ideas and their applications in his measures of reform.

The publication of the careful and valuable *Dictionnaire des Conventions* (Paris, Rieder, 1919, pp. iv, 617) by A. Kuscinski has been completed.

Professor A. Chuquet has edited two new volumes of *Inédits Napoléoniens* (Paris, Boccard, 1920). Col. E. Bourdeau has followed his *L'Épopée Républicaine, 1792-1804*, with *Campagnes Modernes: l'Épopée Impériale, 1804-1815* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1919, pp. 585). Baron Hennet de Goutel has utilized much new documentary material in *Le Général Cassan et la Défense de Pamplune, 25 Juin-31 Octobre 1813* (Paris, Perrin, 1920).

L. Cahen and A. Mathiez have edited a useful selection from *Les Lois Françaises de 1815 à nos Jours* (Paris, Alcan, 1920, pp. 374).

Paix-Séailles has devoted a volume to *Jaurès et Caillaux* (Paris, Figuière, 1920), and "Justin" has attempted to prove from the writings and speeches of Jaurès his patriotic attitude on the subject of national defense in *Jaurès Patriote* (Paris, Bossard, 1920, pp. 100).

President Paul Deschanel's war-time speeches are collected in the volume *La France Victorieuse: Paroles de Guerre* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1920, pp. 416).

Volumes XXX.-XXXIII. (November, 1914-April, 1919), of the *Annales de Bretagne*, have recently come to the office of this journal after long delays due to the war. Among the contributions of historical interest should be noted the following: Maurice Bernard, "La Municipalité de Brest de 1750 à 1790" (November, 1915-April, 1919); B. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, "La Vie Temporelle des Communautés de Femmes à Rennes au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècles" (January, 1916-April, 1917); Léon Maître, "Le Gouvernement de la Bretagne sous la Duchesse Anne, 1489-1513" (April, 1917); J. Allenou, "Histoire Féodale des Marais, Territoire, et Église de Dol" (July, 1917-October, 1918); R. Durand, "Le Commerce en Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle" (October, 1917); P. Viard, "Les Subsistances en Ille-et-Vilaine sous le Consulat et le Premier Empire" (July, 1917-January, 1918); Louis de Laigle, "Nantes à l'Époque Gallo-Romaine" (January-October, 1918); Lucien Guillou, "André Vanderheyde, Courtier Lorientais, et ses Opérations, 1756-1765" (January, 1918-April, 1919). "La Métropole de Bretagne" (October, 1916-April, 1919), consists of a documentary account of the church of Dol in the eleventh century, followed by lists of ecclesiastical dignitaries. The volumes also contain the annual compilations constituting the "Bibliographie Bretonne", for the years 1913 to 1917.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. Ferré, *L'Idée de Patrie en France de Clovis à Charlemagne* (Le Moyen Age, January, 1919); L. Mirot, *Lettres Closes de Charles VI. conservées aux Archives de Reims et de Tournai* (*ibid.*, July, 1918, January, 1919); G. Goyau, *Les Étapes d'une Gloire Religieuse, Jeanne d'Arc*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15, May 1); K. Glaser, *Aufklärung und Revolution in Frankreich: eine Literar-historische Studie* (Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur, XLV. 7); G. Lenotre, *Le Roi Louis XVII.*, IV.-VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, March 1, 15); E. Lenient, *Les Généraux du Directoire* (Annales Révolutionnaires, January); M. Marion, *Le Retour aux Prix Normaux sous la Révolution après la Disparition du Papier-Monnaie* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, December); A. Chuquet, *Le Départ de l'Île d'Elbe*, I.-II. (Revue de Paris, February, March); M. and M. Dunan, *L'Armée d'après Guerre il y a Cent Ans: le Premier Ministère Gouvion-Saint-Cyr*

(Revue Historique, November); P. Rain, *Les Centenaires de la Restauration: Chronique de 1819* (Revue des Études Historiques, October).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

G. Pardi has edited the geographer Edrisi's description of Italy under the title *L'Italia nel XII. Secolo, descritta da un Geografo Arabo* (Florence, *Rivista Geografica Italiana*).

A. Gherardi has edited Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* (Florence, Sansoni, 1919, 4 vols.) from the original manuscripts.

The proceedings at the exercises in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of Leonardo da Vinci are published in *Leonardo Commemorato in Campidoglio, 11 Maggio 1919* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1919). L. Beltrami has edited a volume of *Documenti e Memorie riguardanti la Vita e le Opere di Leonardo da Vinci in Ordine Cronologico* (Milan, Treves, 1919), and another volume contains *Raccolta Vinciana presso l'Archivio Storico del Comune di Milano* (Milan, Allegretti, 1919). L. Venturi has written of *La Critica e l'Arte di Leonardo da Vinci* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1919) and L. Beltrami, of *Leonardo e i Disfattisti suoi* (Milan, Treves, 1919).

A. Valente has devoted a biographical study to *Margherita di Durazzo, Vicaria di Carlo III. e Tutrice di Re Ladislao* (Naples, Pierro, 1919, pp. 230). *Il Carteggio Intimo di Margherita d'Austria Duchessa di Parma e Piacenza* (Naples, Jovene, 1919, pp. 276) has been edited by Ines d'Onofrio.

Signor Pompeo Molmenti's *Curiosità di Storia Veneziana* (Bologna, Zanichelli) is composed of a number of recent studies, published in Italian periodicals, on the relations of Venice with the envoys of foreign states, etc. Two hitherto unpublished accounts of Venice in the seventeenth century, one of them by a secretary to a papal nuncio, are printed in the volume.

Italian conditions under Napoleonic rule are depicted by Jehan d'Ivray in *La Lombardia au Temps de Bonaparte* (Paris, Crès, 1919, pp. 372), and by P. Pedrotti, E. Tolomei, and others in *La Venezia Tridentina nel Regno Italico, 1810-1814* (Rome, Garroni, 1919, pp. xi, 486).

M. degli Alberti narrates the events of the years 1842-1846 in the third volume of his *La Politica Estera del Piemonte sotto Carlo Alberto* (Turin, 1919). L. C. Bollea has edited *Una Silloge di Lettere del Risorgimento di particolare attinenza all'Alleanza Franco-Italiana, alla Guerra del 1859, e alla Spedizione dei Mille* (Turin, Bocca, 1919, pp. viii, 541).

A portion of Mazzini's correspondence appears in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth volumes of his *Scritti Editi ed Inediti* (Imola, Galileati, 1918). There is a new biography, *Giuseppe Mazzini* (Milan, Casa Ed. Risorgimento, 1918), by F. L. Mannucci.

Biographical accounts of *Vincenzo Monti* (Catania, Gianotta, 1918, pp. 223), by M. Cerini, and of *Il Conte Giuseppe Greppi e i suoi Ricordi Diplomatici, 1842-1888* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1919, pp. xvi, 342) by R. de Cesare, as well as the third and fourth volumes of P. Boselli's *Discorsi e Scritti* (Turin, Baravalle and Falconieri, 1919, pp. 384, 452) have recently appeared.

J. Miret y Sans has worked out and published the *Itinerari de Jaume I.*, "*El Conqueridor*" (Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1918).

Los Almirantes de Aragón Datos para su Cronología (Madrid, Fortanet, 1919, pp. 76) has been compiled by the Marqués de Laurencín and is obviously valuable quite out of proportion to its size.

Under date of 1915, Don Julian Paz, formerly chief archivist at Simancas, has recently published in a volume, *Catálogo de los Documentos de las Negociaciones de Flandes, Holanda, y Bruselas, 1506-1795* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. 185), his data previously published on the sections thus named in those archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Luzio, *Raimondo Doria e Giuseppe Mazzini* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); G. La Piana, *The Roman Church and Modern Italian Democracy* (Harvard Theological Review, April); E. Mayer, *Studien zur Spanischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung, Germ. Abth., XL.).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: A. Stern, *Histoire d'Allemagne, Publications relatives à la Réforme* (Revue Historique, November).

L. Lorenz has prepared several useful lists of *Die Besten Deutschen Geschichtswerke, Zehn Listen zur Auswahl, mit einer Einleitung über die Entwicklung der Deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipzig, Kochler, 1920, pp. vi, 137).

The first volume of a *Bibliographie der Sächsischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1918, pp. xii, 521) compiled by Rudolf Bemann has been issued under the patronage of the Königliche Sammlungen für Kunst und Wissenschaft.

A thesis by G. Gronen deals with *Die Machtpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen und sein Gegensatz gegen das Kaisertum* (Berlin, Ebering, 1920, pp. xxxii, 157).

Germany and the French Revolution (Longmans) is an excellent study by Mr. G. P. Gooch of German thought in the years from 1789 to 1800, a period uneventful on the side of practical affairs but important in its intellectual aspect because the opinions and characters were then forming which were to shape the new Germany.

Paul Wentzcke has undertaken an exhaustive *Geschichte der Deutschen Burschenschaft*, of which the first volume (Heidelberg, Winter, 1919, pp. xiv, 399) deals with events prior to the Carlsbad congress.

Professor F. Meinecke of the University of Berlin discusses recent aspects of German affairs in *Nach der Revolution: Geschichtliche Betrachtungen über unsere Tage* (Berlin, Oldenbourg, 1920, pp. 144). An Alsatian view will be found in *L'Allemagne après la Débâcle: impressions d'un Attaché à la Mission Militaire Française à Berlin, Mars-Juillet 1919* (Strasbourg, Imp. Strasbourgeoise, 1920). The French fears are expressed in *L'Armée Allemande depuis la Défaite* (Paris, Payot, 1920) by Paul Gentizon.

Louis Leger has continued the narrative to 1918 in a new edition of his well-known *Histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie* (Paris, Hachette, 1920).

The former premier of France, Louis Barthou, has written the preface for *Le Catastrophe Austro-Hongrois: Souvenirs d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 266) by M. Martchenko. Count S. Gopčević indicates the thesis of his volume in the title *Oesterreichs Untergang, die Folge von Franz Josefs Missregierung* (Berlin, Siegismund, 1920, pp. 328). A third Slav, S. Benco, has described *Gli Ultimi Anni della Dominazione Austriaca a Trieste* (Milan, Casa Ed. Risorgimento, 1919, 3 vols.).

One portion of the *Bibliographie Nationale Suisse* is devoted to a *Bibliographie de l'Église Évangélique Réformée de la Suisse*, of which two parts have already been published, that for German Switzerland, by G. Finsler, in 1896, and that for Romance Switzerland in general, the Bèrnese Jura, Neuchâtel, and Vaud, by H. Vuilleumier, in 1911. MM. Henri Heyer and Eugène Pallard, charged with the Genevan list, have now published the first part of it, embracing some 4500 items, of the period 1535-1900, relating to the constitutional, political, and more strictly ecclesiastical history of the Genevan church, and carrying down to Calvin inclusive the bibliography of the biographies of individuals. There are not fewer than one hundred pages on the bibliography of Calvin.

Dr. Paul Marx, under the direction of the Swiss ministry of justice, has compiled a *Systematisches Register zu den geltenden Staatsverträgen der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft und der Kantone mit dem Ausland* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1918, pp. xvi, 476).

Alfred Escher: Vier Jahrzehnte Neuerer Schweizergeschichte (Frauenfeld, Huber, 1919, 2 vols.) by E. Gagliardi is of special value because of the paucity of works on the recent history of Switzerland.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Waddington, *Le Roi de Prusse Frédéric-Guillaume Ier, son Éducation, son Tempérament, son Caractère* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, December).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

In the beautiful illustrated series published under the direction of Professor Brugmans by Meulenhoff of Amsterdam, a model for such series, Professor P. J. Blok of Leiden has published the first of two volumes on *Willem de Eerste Prins van Orange*, which is clearly written and of great interest.

A *Short History of Belgium*, by Professor Léon Van der Essen of Louvain, reviewed in a former volume of this journal (XXI. 847), has now been brought out in a revised edition (University of Chicago Press) with a brief additional chapter on the period of the war.

Professor E. Van der Smissen of the University of Liège has edited *Léopold II. et Beernaert d'après leur Correspondance Inédite de 1884 à 1894* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1920, 2 vols., pp. 456, 428). The first volume contains materials relating to the foundation of the Congo State and the question of the defense of the Meuse; the second volume relates to the revision of the constitution.

In *Documents Belges* (Paris, Payot, 1919) Dr. Richard Grelling, the author of *J'Accuse* and of *Le Crime*, continues the latter work and makes a critical study of the reports of the Belgian ambassadors published by the German government.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: *Charles XII*. [publications of 1902-1919] (*Revue Historique*, January).

G. Bonwetsch has contributed a *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonien an der Wolga* (Stuttgart, Engelhorn, 1919, pp. 132) to the series of *Schriften des Deutschen Ausland-Instituts*.

The *Memoirs* of M. Izvolski, Russian minister of foreign affairs from 1906 to 1910, are soon to be published in English by Messrs. Hutchinson (London).

From the long list of books and pamphlets which have appeared in the last few months relating to the Russian revolution, the following may be cited as perhaps the more important: *Mes Cahiers Russes: l'Ancien Régime, le Gouvernement Provisoire, le Pouvoir des Soviets* (Paris, Crès, 1920) by M. Verstraete; *De Zimmerwald au Bolchévisme ou le Triomphe du Marxisme Pangermaniste: Essai sur les Menées Internationalistes pendant la Guerre, 1914-1920* (Paris, Bossard, 1920) by "Jean Maxe"; *La Révolution et le Bolchévisme en Russie* (Paris, Perrin, 1920) by N. Zvorikine; *Les Partis Politiques et la Révolution Russe* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 272) by G. Demorgny; *Trotsky* (Paris, Humanité, 1920, pp. 160) by Roger Lévy, who presents considerable new documentary material on Brest-Litovsk and the "red army"; *Le Commerce Russe et la Révolution* (Paris, Payot, 1920, pp. 240) by F.

Denjean; and *Une Législation Communiste: Recueil des Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés principaux du Gouvernement Bolchéviste* (ibid., 1919, pp. xx, 588), edited by R. Labry.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Countess Keller, *Souvenirs de la Révolution Russe au Caucase* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 10, 17); O. Hoetzs, *Tschecho-Slowakei und Polen* (Neue Rundschau, March).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

General review: E. Stein, *Die Byzantinische Geschichtswissenschaft im Letzten Halben Jahrhundert* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertumsgeschichte, XLIII. 10).

The *Bibliographie Hellénique ou Description raisonnée des Ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au Dix-huitième Siècle*, the compilation of which was undertaken by the late Émile Legrand, has been completed and the first volume (Paris, Garnier, 1920) published by Mgr. L. Petit, archbishop of Athens, and H. Pernot.

Dr. Nikos A. Bees (Βέης) has undertaken the editorship of a new journal, *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 62 Uhlandstrasse), in co-operation with a considerable list of scholars, mostly Germans. The following announcement of its subscription price ought not to encourage American patronage: "Der Bezugspreis pro Band beträgt für Deutschland und Deutsch-Oesterreich 25 Mark, für Griechenland 20 Drachmen, für Amerika 10 Dollar, für alle übrigen Länder 25 französische Frank."

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Ancel, *La Politique de la Roumanie Vaincue, Mars-Novembre 1918* (Revue du Mois, February).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has selected and edited a volume of *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (Madras, University, 1919, pp. 413).

J. J. A. Campos is the author of a brief *History of the Portuguese in Bengal* (Calcutta, Butterworth, 1919, pp. 309).

Mr. Henry Dodwell, curator of the Madras Record Office, has made a valuable study, based on the original records, of the "ideas and conditions" which "resulted in the establishment of the English Company as the principal power in India". The volume, entitled *Dupleix and Clive*, is published by Methuen.

The Otto Elsner Verlagsgesellschaft (Berlin, S. 42) announces for publication this summer *Alt-Kutscha: Archäologische und Religionsgeschichtliche Forschungen an Tempera-Gemälden aus Buddhistischen Höhlen der Ersten Acht Jahrhunderte nach Christi Geburt*, by Professor Albert Grünwedel, an important product of the Prussian expedition to Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, published as a book of some 300 pages

folio, in a limited edition (600 M., \$150) with nearly 200 illustrations, 25 of them in colors.

C. Maybon has edited *La Relation sur le Tonkin et la Cochinchine de M. de la Bissachère, Missionnaire Français, 1807* (Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 187). Auguste Pavie has completed, with the issue of the seventh volume, the publication of *Mission Pavie en Indo-Chine, 1879-1895, Géographie et Voyages* (Paris, Leroux, 1920).

Mrs. Thomas A. Janvier has given to the New York Public Library an interesting collection of letters written from Japan, 1856-1862, by Townsend Harris, our first consul-general and first minister in that country. An account of them is given in the April *Bulletin* of the library.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Cahen, *Deux Ambassades Chinoises en Russie au Commencement du XVIII^e Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, January); R. Pinon, *L'Offensive de l'Asie* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The government of Algeria has undertaken the publication of a *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de l'Algérie après 1830*, for which Charles Esquer is editing the *Correspondance du Duc de Rovigo, Commandant en Chef du Corps d'Occupation d'Afrique, 1831-1833* (vols. I., II., Algiers, Carbonel, 1920).

Friends of history in South Africa have formed the Van Riebeeck Society under the presidency of the Right Hon. J. F. X. Merriman, for the publication of South African historical documents. The secretary's address is at the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anon., *Tangier: a Study in Internationalization* (*Round Table*, March).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, galley-proofs of the first volume of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, edited by Dr. E. C. Burnett, have now been read. Professor Bassett, research associate, continues through July, and expects by the end of that month to finish, his examination and selection of materials from the Jackson papers for the proposed edition of the Correspondence of Andrew Jackson.

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are: miscellaneous records of the United States army, principally accounts of the quartermaster-general and returns, 1795-1848 (26 volumes); papers of W. W. Corcoran, 1815-1888 (83

volumes and unbound papers); diaries of William L. Marcy, 1833-1857 (9 volumes); letters of John Sherman to his brother, Gen. William T. Sherman, 1847-1890 (285); diaries and papers of Gen. Montgomery C. Meigs, 1849-1889 (59 volumes); diary of Nicholas King, 1796-1799 (1 volume); diaries and letters of Lieut. Theodore Talbot, 1843-1860 (3 pieces); miscellaneous papers of Jonathan Potts, 1776-1780 (43 pieces); miscellaneous letters of Dolly Madison, 1794-1845 (15 pieces); miscellaneous papers of William Brent, 1824-1848; diary of Henry Kloeppel on board U. S. ironclad *Pataasco*, January to December, 1863; draft of Gallatin's pamphlet on the Oregon question, 1846; and rare Kansas broadsides, 1856-1857 (6 pieces).

The Library of Congress has put forth a *List of References on the Treaty-Making Power* (pp. 219), compiled under the direction of Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer.

The award in June of the annual prizes established by the late Joseph Pulitzer included the bestowal of the prize of \$2000, for the best book upon the history of the United States printed during the preceding year, to Dr. Justin H. Smith for his *History of the War with Mexico*, and of the prize of \$1000 for the best American biography to ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge for his *Life of John Marshall*.

In 1921 the American Philosophical Society will award the Henry M. Phillips Prize, of \$2000, to the best essay on the following subject, partly historical: "The Control of the Foreign Relations of the United States: the Relative Rights, Duties, and Responsibilities of the President, of the Senate and the House, and of the Judiciary, in Theory and in Practice". Essays, of not more than 100,000 words, exclusive of notes, must be sent, in six copies, to the president of the society before December 31, 1920. Essays already published or printed are not eligible.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for April contains the interesting address respecting Catholic historical organizations which Professor Peter Guilday read at the inaugural session of the American Catholic Historical Association last December; an article by Father Victor F. O'Daniel on the unhappy relations between the early Dominicans in Kentucky and Fathers Badin and Nerinckx; and a paper by Professor C. E. Chapman on the Jesuits in Baja California, 1697-1768. The editor continues his list of the sources for the biography of the members of the American hierarchy.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* of Philadelphia is chiefly occupied with a sketch of the life of Mother Cornelia Connelly, 1809-1879, foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.

The *Journal des Américanistes*, n. s., XI., contains an extensive "Bibliographie Américaniste", 1914-1919 (63 pp.), by P. Rivet, in which American archaeology, ethnography, and linguistics have the main place.

No. 155 of the sale catalogues of the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, a catalogue of books relating to the United States and the various states, counties, and cities, is so extensively and usefully annotated as to rise much above the level of the ordinary sale catalogue and to constitute a useful book of reference.

The American Year Book for 1919 (New York, Appleton, 1920, pp. 874) is prepared on the same general plan as its predecessors, in the same careful and competent manner, and under the hand of the same editor, Mr. Francis G. Wickware. The peace treaties and the problems involved in the return of the United States to a peace basis give of course a special character to this volume. There is a comprehensive statistical summary of the Great War (pp. 168-193), with particular attention to the part played by the American forces.

The University of Iowa Extension *Bulletin*, no. 60, which bears the title *Great Charters of Americanism*, and is edited by members of the faculty, includes the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, the Ordinance of 1787, the Constitution of the United States, the Monroe Doctrine, the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Platt Amendment, President Wilson's War Message, and the Covenant of the League of Nations. To these is added as an appendix the Constitution of Iowa.

In the March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* is an interesting sketch, by William P. White, D.D., of the noted temperance lecturer, Rev. Thomas P. Hunt (1794-1876). In the same issue of the *Journal* Rev. Charles E. Corwin gives an account of the Introduction of the English Language into the Services of the Collegiate Dutch Church of New York City.

The lectures of Professor A. C. McLaughlin at Wesleyan University on the George Slocum Bennett Foundation have been published by the Abingdon Press with the title *Steps in the Development of American Democracy*.

Col. G. O. Shields, a veteran of the Civil War, who has been intimately associated for many years with the life of the Northwestern Indian, is publishing through the Vechten Waring Company of New York, in a limited edition *de luxe*, an historical volume entitled *The Blanket Indian of the Northwest*.

Pan-Americanism: its Beginnings, by Joseph B. Lockey, is a recent publication from the press of Macmillan.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

An Answer to John Robinson of Leyden, by a Fellow Puritan, edited by Champlin Burrage, from a manuscript of 1609, has been published by the Harvard University Press.

The town of Plymouth, England, is making elaborate preparations to celebrate on September 3-5 the tercentenary anniversary of the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers from that port. The exercises include a civic reception, a literary and historical conference, a united religious service, and a historical procession and pageant.

The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, by H. G. Tunnicliff, is from the press of Revell.

A useful addition to the historical literature respecting the part played by the French in the American Revolutionary War is a volume by the late Captain Joachim Merlant, of the faculty of the University of Montpellier, called *Soldiers and Sailors in the American War for Independence* (Scribner, pp. 123).

America's Merchant Marine: a Presentation of its History and Development to date, with Chapters on related Subjects is the title of a volume (pp. 257) put forth by the Bankers Trust Company of New York.

Alexander Hamilton, by Professor Henry Jones Ford, and *Stephen A. Douglas*, by Louis Howland, have been added to Scribner's *Figures from American History*.

It is understood that Miss Penelope McDuffie of Converse College is engaged in the preparation of a life of Willie P. Mangum.

The Navy Department expects to issue before long the two concluding volumes of its invaluable series, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*.

The Life and Letters of Alexander Hays, Brevet Colonel U. S. A., Brigadier-General and Brevet Major-General U. S. V., edited and arranged, with notes and contemporary history, by George T. Fleming, from data compiled by Gilbert A. Hays, has been published in Sewickley, Pennsylvania, by the latter.

Henry M. Calvert has brought out through Messrs. Putnam his recollections as a Union soldier, to which he has given the title *Reminiscences of a Boy in Blue, 1862-1865*.

Volume LXXXIX., part II., of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, is *The Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884*, by Harrison C. Thomas.

Addresses delivered by President Wilson on his Western Tour, September 4 to September 25, 1919, on the League of Nations, etc., has been issued by the Government Printing Office.

Harper and Brothers have brought out a volume of the messages and addresses of President Wilson, delivered between July 10, 1919, and December 9, 1919, including selections from his country-wide speeches

in behalf of the treaty and covenant. The volume carries as the principal part of its title *The Hope of the World*.

Herbert Hoover, the Man and his Work, by Professor Vernon L. Kellogg, is from the press of Appleton.

Doubleday, Page, and Company have brought out a *Life of General Leonard Wood*, by John G. Holme.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

A body of the correspondence between Count Bernstorff and the German authorities, together with some documents of the German peace proposal of 1916, has been brought out in Philadelphia by P. Reilly, with the title *Washington and Berlin, 1916-1917*. Bernstorff's own book is entitled *Deutschland und Amerika: Erinnerungen aus dem Fünfjährigen Kriege* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1920, pp. 414).

The Turn of the Tide: American Operations in Cantigny, Château Thierry, and the Second Battle on the Marne, by Lieut.-Col. Jennings C. Wise, U. S. A. (New York, Holt, 1920, pp. 255) is an exceptional book, written by a member of the Historical Section of the General Staff of the American Expeditionary Forces, who was able to base it upon the archives at General Headquarters, and upon a personal examination of the terrain involved, made immediately after the armistice. This is apparently the first time in the history of the United States army that a history of a campaign has been written under such circumstances by an officer detailed for the purpose. The result is a contribution of much scientific value.

Under the title *Our Greatest Battle* (London, Murray; New York, Dodd, Mead) Lieut.-Col. Frederick Palmer gives a history of the battle in the Argonne.

In its series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has brought out a valuable treatise on *Negro Migration during the War* (pp. 189) by Mr. Emmett J. Scott, secretary and treasurer of Howard University.

The first of a series of four volumes containing sketches of the lives and services of Harvard men who fell in the World War, prepared by M. A. DeWolfe Howe, appointed by the Harvard Corporation as official biographer, has just issued from the Harvard University Press. It bears the title *Harvard Dead in the War with Germany*.

A work in three volumes entitled *Soldiers of the Great War*, edited by W. M. Hauslee and others, has been brought out in Washington by the Soldiers' Record Publishing Association.

Brown University in the War is a report by the war records committee, including a statement of the war work of the university, the biographies of Brown men who died in service, and a directory of the

military service of alumni, former students, and undergraduates (Providence, the University).

Pictorial History of the Twenty-sixth Division, United States Army, by Albert E. George and Edwin H. Cooper, contains official government pictures made by the United States Signal Corps unit under the command of Capt. Edwin H. Cooper. There is an appreciation by Maj. Gen. Clarence R. Edwards (Boston, Ball Publishing Company).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Luther H. Gulick's *Evolution of the Budget in Massachusetts* (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 243) is a product of the work of the Bureau of Municipal Research in Boston and of the Training School for Public Service.

A History of Lowell and its People, in three volumes, by Frederick William Coburn, is from the press of the Lewis Historical Publishing Company.

The convention at Hartford of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, May 17, was signalized by a reception given by the Ruth Wyllys Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in the building of the Connecticut State Library, which then set forth a remarkable exhibition of its treasures of historical manuscript material from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries and from the recent war.

A History of the First Church and Society of Branford, Connecticut, 1644-1919, by Jesse R. Simonds, is published in New Haven by the Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Company.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Lenape Indians: their Origin and Migrations to the Delaware, an address delivered before the Trenton Historical Society by Carlos E. Godfrey, has been published by the society.

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association for April contains an article on Thomas Paine by Hon. James A. Roberts, one on Verrazano's island of Luisa (identified with western Long Island) by Mr. J. H. Innes, and translations by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer of two letters written by Nicasius de Sille from New Amsterdam in 1654, and lately discovered at the Hague.

The Third Annual Report and Year Book of the Martelaer's Rock Association, 1919-1920, an association formed for the preservation of the Warner house and places of historic interest on Constitution Island, contains authoritative historical accounts of the fortifications on that island and at West Point, the former by Capt. Adam E. Potts, U. S. A.,

the latter by Lieut.-Col. Raymond F. Fowler, of the Corps of Engineers, accompanied by plans.

The Buffalo Historical Society has received as a gift from Hon. Peter A. Porter a quantity of the papers of his grandfather, Gen. Peter B. Porter (1773-1844), who commanded a body of troops during the War of 1812, chiefly engaged on the Niagara frontier. Many of the documents relate to this service.

The April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains a biography of Cortlandt Parker, 1818-1907, by Edward M. Coile, a sketch of John M. Berrien, and an account of Lafayette's visit to New Brunswick in 1824.

The Mechanics National Bank of Trenton has privately printed an account of its history by Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, *The Mechanics Bank, 1834-1919, Trenton in New Jersey* (pp. 164), the product of careful research, and useful to the student of financial history. Others will value the interesting chapter on the site, which is that of the French Arms Tavern, where the Continental Congress sat for two months in 1784 and where the New Jersey legislature, for a time, and the convention of 1787, which ratified the Federal Constitution, also held their sessions.

Papers read before the Lancaster County Historical Society, vol. XXIV., no. 1 (January 2, 1920), includes a continuation of Mr. H. Frank Eshleman's selections of Items of Local Interest in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, covering in this number the years 1761-1770. The issue for March 5 (no. 3) contains a group of ten Letters of Col. Matthias Slough to Robert Morris, contributed, with an introduction, by Hon. Charles I. Landis. The letters were written from Lancaster in 1778.

The Moravians and their Missions among the Indians of the Ohio Valley is the title of an article by Charles W. Dahlinger in the April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

A History of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, by Howard Douglas Dozier, professor of economics in the University of Georgia, is a Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essay in economics (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company).

In the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* Dr. Bernard C. Steiner records some results of an examination of the Reverdy Johnson papers recently acquired by the Library of Congress, Edward S. Delaplaine presents the fourth installment of his Life of Thomas Johnson, and Aaron Baroway writes a sketch of Solomon Etting (1764-1847). The biographical sketches of Maryland soldiers who lost their lives in the World War, compiled by Alice E. Haswell, are continued, as are also the selections from the Carroll papers.

Among recent accessions to the Virginia State Library are the survey book of Robert Bolling, largely concerning Prince George and Brunswick counties in the early eighteenth century, and a certified copy of a list of marriage bonds and licenses of Northampton County, dating from 1706. The general assembly of Virginia at its recent session provided for a permanent assistant to the archivist. The archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, reports that the work of indexing the Confederate records has now advanced to about 81,000 cards of the estimated 140,000.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently acquired a body of papers (561 pieces) of William A. Graham (1804-1875). Besides a large number of Governor Graham's own letters there are letters of William Gaston, Millard Fillmore, Daniel Webster, George E. Badger, Henry Clay, Willie P. Mangum, John M. Morehead, Gen. W. T. Sherman, and Zebulon B. Vance. To the papers of Chief Justice Walter Clark 1618 pieces have been added. The commission has also made considerable additions to its collections of photographs illustrating the activities of North Carolina soldiers in the World War, has gathered a large number of soldiers' letters and diaries, and has brought about the organization in a number of counties of effective war records committees.

The Georgia Historical Association held its fourth annual meeting in Atlanta on May 22. Besides the presidential address by Judge Andrew J. Cobb, there was a paper by Dr. E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia on the Nullification Movement in Georgia, 1828-1833, and one by Miss C. Mildred Thompson of Vassar College on the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia in 1865-1866. An important feature of the meeting was the amalgamation of the Georgia Historical Association and the Georgia Historical Society, as forecast in the April number of this *Review* (p. 595). The combined societies will bear, appropriately, the name of the older organization, the Georgia Historical Society, the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* becoming its organ of publication.

A monograph entitled *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama, 1819-1842*, by Theodore H. Jack, has been published in Menasha, Wisconsin, by G. Banta.

The Mississippi Historical Society has brought out a volume entitled *Public Administration in Mississippi*, by Alfred B. Butts. It is volume III. of the Centenary series of the society's *Publications*.

The *Annual Report* (1919) of the Board of Curators of the Louisiana State Museum records among the accessions of the past year some personal papers of General Beauregard, including a journal of the year 1866, and many early newspapers, including a nearly complete file of *Le Courrier de Louisiane*, 1807-1842, and less complete files of *La Renaissance Louisianaise* and *Courrier des États-Unis*, etc. The newspapers, together with a number of manuscripts and historical relics, were received from Mr. Gaspar Cusachs.

WESTERN STATES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Greencastle, Indiana, April 29-May 1. The presidential address of Dr. M. M. Quaife, of Wisconsin, was on Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant. Of especial interest were the papers of Dr. E. M. Coulter of Georgia on Elijah Clarke's Foreign Intrigues, of Professor C. E. Carter of Miami on the Significance of the Military Office in America, 1763-1775, and several papers on the Puritans and on Lincoln.

The March number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a paper, by Dr. Archibald Henderson, on Isaac Shelby and the Genet Mission; one by Dr. Lester B. Shippee on Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi after the Civil War, dealing in particular with the activities of William F. Davidson; one by J. Fred Rippey on Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico regarding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, 1848-1860; and a biographical sketch, by Henry D. Jordan, of Daniel W. Voorhees (1827-1897), member of Congress and senator from Indiana.

The *Collections* of the Western Reserve Historical Society (*Publication* no. 101, 1920, pp. 235) is a monograph, by Dr. William C. Cochran, entitled the Western Reserve and the Fugitive Slave Law: a Prelude to the Civil War.

The principal content of the numbers of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1918, and January, 1919, is a history of the Development of the Free Public High School in Illinois to 1860, by Paul E. Belting. Among the articles in the October number are: the First Official Thanksgiving in Illinois, by Isabel Jamison; Life and Services of William Wilson, Chief Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, by B. D. Monroe; and some brief articles in local religious history. In the January number is an article entitled George Washington, Land Speculator, by Ada H. Dixon, and an account, by Robert Lindley, of the Cannon-Starks Indian Massacre and Captivity, contributed and edited by Milo Custer.

A *History of Cumulative and Minority Representation in Illinois, 1870-1919*, by B. F. Moore, is a recent number of the University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.

Articles in the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are: Recollections of Notable Pioneers, by Rev. Charles Coppens, S. J.; Marquette University in the Making, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J.; the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Fort Chartres, by Gertrude Corrigan; the Irish in Chicago (to be continued), by Joseph J. Thompson; and continuations of the papers of Rev. John Rothensteiner and Rev. Silas Barth on the Northwestern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, and the Franciscans in Southern Illinois, respectively.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* prints in the October number an installment of the Journal of John Sevier, 1790-1815 (the heading has erroneously "1835"). The entries for 1790 pertain to the journey from his home in what is now eastern Tennessee to New York to take his seat as a representative for North Carolina in Congress. Entries for October, 1793, concern the Etowah campaign, in which he commanded. The journal for the years 1794-1797 consists principally of jottings of daily life on his farm and as governor of Tennessee (1796). There are numerous annotations by Col. H. M. Doak and Judge John Allison, and an introduction and notes by Mr. John H. DeWitt. This number contains also a sketch, by Mr. A. V. Goodpasture, of Col. John Montgomery, associated with George Rogers Clark in the northwest enterprise of 1778, and Gen. John B. Floyd's report of the battle of Fort Donelson, reprinted from the *Daily Nashville Patriot* of March 26, 1862.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin plans to prepare a Domesday Book of Wisconsin, comprising an Atlas of First Settlers, an Atlas of Settlers about 1870, and an historical and statistical discussion of the settlement of each county and the subsequent changes in population.

Through the administration of a family estate, the Wisconsin Historical Society has obtained a small but significant group of papers concerning the Canadian revolt of 1837, and the subsequent plans of the exiled leaders in the United States. The papers consist chiefly of letters written to Louis Perrault, brother of Charles Ovide Perrault, who fell at the battle of St. Denis. Among the writers of the letters are such noted names as William Lyon Mackenzie, Louis Joseph, Papineau, and Edmund B. O'Callaghan. Their plans involved a possible war between Great Britain and the United States, with Louis Philippe as an ally of the latter. The connection of the exiled "patriots" with Governor Fairfield of Maine and his proclamation of the so-called "Aroostook War" of 1839 concerning the northeastern boundary controversy, is of diplomatic interest.

Minnesota Geographic Names: their Origin and Historic Significance, by Warren Upham, has been issued by the Minnesota Historical Society as vol. XVII. of its *Collections*. The society has also issued a *Handbook* descriptive of its organization and activities. The most noteworthy accession to the society's collection of historical materials is the collection of records and papers gathered by the historical society of the Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The material relates to the period from about 1840 to the early years of the present century. The society has also received, as a gift from Mrs. Charles M. Neely of St. Paul, a number of manuscripts, principally of midwestern interest.

The principal content of the November number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* is Benjamin Densmore's Journal of an Expedition on

the Frontier, 1857, with notes by Miss Dorothy A. Heinemann and Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The Minnesota War Records Commission has gathered, besides the service records of more than eighty thousand Minnesota soldiers, sailors, and marines, numerous state and local files of correspondence, records and papers of leading war agencies, and even private collections of manuscripts and graphic material relating to the state's participation in the war. Under the terms of the act establishing the commission these materials are deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society. The Saint Paul and Ramsey County branch of the commission has undertaken the preparation of a county war history and has entrusted the task to Franklin F. Holbrook.

The principal paper in the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is an examination, by George F. Robeson, of Special Municipal Charters in Iowa, 1836-1858. An account of the experiences of a surveying party in northwestern Iowa in 1855 was written by J. L. Ingalsbee about fifteen years ago. J. W. Rich contributes a brief paper, entitled General Lew Wallace at Shiloh: How he was convinced of Error after Forty Years, pertaining to some statements in Wallace's *Autobiography*, and embodying a letter (February 13, 1909) from Maj. D. W. Reed, secretary and historian of the Shiloh Military Park Commission.

A History of the War Activities of Scott County, Iowa, 1917-1918, edited by Ralph W. Cram, has been published in Davenport by W. J. McCullough.

The issue of the *Missouri Historical Review* for April-July (double number) contains a History of Woman Suffrage in Missouri (pp. 104) by various hands, edited by Mary S. Scott. Among the other articles are a paper by Cardinal L. Goodwin on Early Exploration and Settlement of Missouri and Arkansas, the third of William G. Bek's articles on the Followers of Duden, the concluding paper of Rollin J. Britton on Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War, and the third installment of Shelby's Expedition to Mexico, by John N. Edwards. It is announced that the October number of the *Review* will be a Missouri centennial number.

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* Professor Charles E. Chapman continues his studies of the exploration of California with a paper on Sebastian Vizcaino, A. K. Christian contributes a second paper on Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, and Ruby C. Smith a third paper on James W. Fannin, jr., in the Texas Revolution, while the documentary series of Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor E. C. Barker, has reached its tenth installment.

The issue of *Historia* for April 1 contains an article, by Judge Thomas H. Doyle, sketching briefly the history of the Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court.

A monograph entitled *The Mormon Battalion: its History and Achievements*, by Brigham H. Roberts, is published in Salt Lake City by the *Deseret News*.

The *Correspondence of the Reverend Ezra Fisher, Pioneer Missionary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon*, which has appeared serially in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, has been published by the society in book form. It is edited by Sarah Fisher Henderson, Nellie E. Latourette, and Kenneth S. Latourette.

CANADA

The second (June) number of the *Canadian Historical Review* sustains the high character indicated by its predecessor. The two chief articles are one by the managing editor, Mr. W. S. Wallace, on the Growth of Canadian National Feeling, and one by Mr. William Smith of the Public Archives, on the Struggle over the Laws of Canada, 1763-1783, which reviews, in the light of fuller information than has heretofore been presented, the controversy of Carleton and Livius. Dr. H. P. Biggar has a note revising the history of the death of Poutrincourt.

Dr. Adam Shortt and Dr. Arthur G. Doughty have made a second edition of their *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, differentiated from the edition of 1907 by many additions and by being made up into two volumes (pp. xvi, 1-581, 583-1084). The additions of special note are the report of the Board of Trade of September 2, 1765, the draft of an ordinance for establishing courts of justice, 1775, the commissions for a court of appeals and a court of civil jurisdiction, 1776, and the report of the committee of the Privy Council respecting the dismissal of Chief Justice Livius, 1779. There are however many others; and the volumes, issued by the new Historical Documents Publication Board, are of greatly improved appearance.

Volume II. of the *History of the Organization, Development, and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the Present Time*, edited by the Historical Section of the Canadian General Staff (see p. 176, *supra*), has come from the press. Of the three chapters in this volume chapter III. treats of the American invasion and the surrender of Chambly, St. Jean, and Montreal; chapter IV. of the siege and blockade of Quebec; and chapter V. of the province of Quebec under the administration of Carleton, 1775-1778. The greater part of the volume is occupied with illustrative documents, 275 in number.

La Naissance d'une Race, by Abbé Lionel Groulx (Montreal, Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1919, pp. 294), is a highly eulogistic account, in the form of a series of lectures, of the origins and development of the French-Canadians. Although written from an ultra-clerical point of view and marked throughout by a strong *Tendenz* the volume contains nevertheless a valuable compilation of facts and statistics relating to the social and economic history of French Canada.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Under the auspices of the King of Spain, the papal nuncio at Madrid, and various distinguished members of the Royal Academy of History, an ambitious series of historical volumes is announced, under the general title *Biblioteca de Historia Hispano-Americana*, in which it is proposed to issue many monographs, richly documented, treating of Spanish-American history. In large part the volumes will be constructed around the personalities and careers of the viceroys, but others will treat of ecclesiastical, civil, social, and economic institutions. The first volume, already published, is entitled *La Infanta Carlota Joaquina y la Política de España en América, 1808-1812*. Other volumes, relating to the early viceroys of New Granada and Nicaragua, or presenting *memorias* or *relaciones* of the viceroys of Peru and New Spain, are promised for early issue.

Dr. T. Esquivel Obregón has discussed the *Influencia de España y los Estados Unidos sobre México* (Madrid, Calleja, 1919, pp. 396).

The Government Printing Office has issued the first (pp. 387) of two volumes entitled *Mediation of the Honduran-Guatemalan Boundary Question, held under the Good Offices of the Department of State, 1918-1919*. Besides arguments the volume contains English translations of many documents, and will be of use to students in spite of the imperfections of the translations.

Señor Don Emilio Bacardí of Santiago de Cuba is causing extensive investigations into the history of that city to be made in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, with a view to the writing of an historical work.

The American Antiquarian Society (Worcester) has obtained the South American papers of the Hon. Samuel Larned, secretary of the legation in Chile from 1823 to 1828, and chargé d'affaires in Peru and Bolivia from 1828 to 1839. These papers, about 600 pieces, comprise his official and personal correspondence relating to South American affairs.

Students of early diplomatic relations with Chile will be interested in a competent little volume, *Los Primeros Años del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1919, pp. 145) by Señor Alberto Cruchaga, illustrated by portraits of the ministers.

